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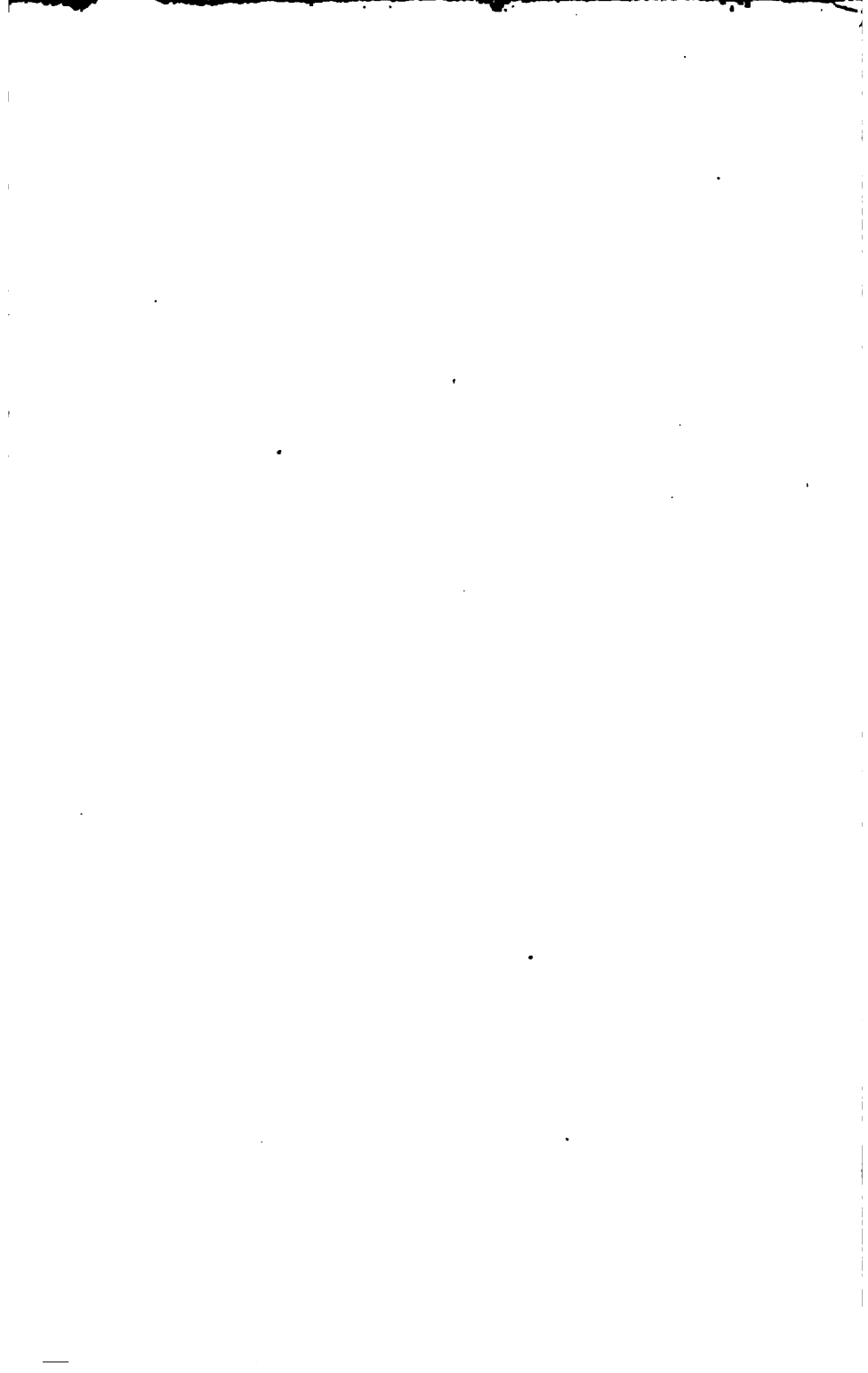
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IN a former number of this Journal* we attempted a concise description of the various systems of naval tactics which have been adopted since first men began to fight with organised forces at sea. Going back to a remote historical period, we endeavoured to distinguish the several changes and revolutions which have taken place, at different epochs, in the shifting art of maritime war. We showed, or tried to show, how each successive revolution had been brought about by important alterations or improvements in the construction of ships, in the weapons with which they were supplied, in the application of

* No. 278, October 1872; 'The past and future of Naval Tactics.'
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their motive power, and in the manner of arranging them in combined masses for attack, or for defence. We called attention to the well-attested fact, that as tactical knowledge advanced amongst the officers of the British navy, as true tactical principles came to be understood and appreciated by them, so the victories of our fleets became the more decisive and the more glorious. We lamented that, in the present age, so little had been done to construct a new system of tactics which should meet the requirements of a fleet so abundantly furnished as our own with the ingenious inventions of modern science. And we ventured to express the hope, that naval officers might be induced to apply themselves to the task of considering how to conduct the future battles of the British navy on a plan which should promise results commensurate with its enormous power, and worthy of its old renown.

That hope has been most agreeably fulfilled. Since the publication of our former article marked attention has been paid to the elucidation of the many questions connected with the management of our transformed fleets in action, questions which promised but a short time ago to almost defy solution. Great interest has been evinced by officers of various ranks in working out the difficult problems of modern tactics; and their labours have resulted in releasing the service from the surprising and scarcely creditable condition, in which it had so long appeared content to remain, of having devised no method of properly employing the wonderful machines which science had so bountifully placed at its disposal. It is now no longer necessary for those who essayed to convince naval officers that a new tactical system had to be established, to linger over explanations of the elementary bases and rudiments of the art, or— from fear of arousing disgust rather than of interest—to clothe with vague rhetoric appeals to the memory of former glories, or ideas of future acquirements which it was desired to bring into notice. A real, and, we believe, a profitable tactical system has been developed, not too indefinite nor too rigidly precise, but suited to the weapons of the time and to the genius of English seamen. It is indeed pleasant to be able to assert, that—though availing themselves of what was useful in the labours of foreign students—the authors of this new tactical system, in its final shape, are officers of our own British navy.

It is our intention in the present article to give some explanation of the new conditions under which a naval battle will probably be fought, and to lay before our readers a description of the various weapons with which the fleets of modern times are armed. We have not concealed from ourselves the extreme

difficulty of giving such explanation and description in a manner which shall not deter the 'general reader' from the perusal of them. But we promise those who care to submit themselves to our guidance, that we will avoid all unnecessary technicalities, and explain those which—throughout our account—we may be compelled to use, in the ordinary language of civil literature. We may regret having to make these preliminary terms with our readers, who may be supposed to belong to a public which is apt to pride itself on its nautical proclivities and tastes; but we fear they are not at all uncalled for. Had but a fraction of the extended and intelligent interest taken in the discussion of purely military matters been evinced in those relating to our navy—which, after all, is the greatest in the world—it would, most likely, have been possible to write this article several years ago. For some time past tens of thousands of readers have been able to peruse weekly, or perhaps even daily, disquisitions upon the recent changes in the tactics of the three military arms—infantry, cavalry, artillery—whilst scarcely any attention has been called to the vast revolution in naval warfare caused by the introduction of steam-propulsion, of armour-plates, and of heavy rifled guns. The consequence is, that to the many who can appreciate the merits of the 'half-battalion system,' or of the 'company-column,' the 'starboard line of bearing,' or the 'bow-and-quarter line,' would be phrases of an unknown tongue. This want of interest in a matter so intimately connected with the efficiency of the navy has reacted upon the service itself, and the few men in it, who—till but quite lately—stood alone in urging the necessity of a deep study of modern tactical problems found but a small audience amongst their brother-officers. Happily a change has taken place.

In order to understand clearly the stupendous character of the revolution in maritime war to which we have just alluded, it will be necessary to cast a retrospective glance at the methods in use during the tactical period which was completed by the cessation of our great contest with the first Napoleon. Practically, perhaps, the period actually ended at Trafalgar, but its maxims and ideas retained their vigour long after. Its significance in naval history consists chiefly in that it comprised the latest testing by actual experiment in war of the system of tactics which has now for ever passed away. Yet that system has not become so completely obsolete that we are, even now, unable to draw from the study of it some useful lessons for our guidance in the future.

The principles of the tacticians of the time were few in

number, but they were perfectly sound. It was recognised as a fundamental principle that the ships of a fleet should be so arranged that the fullest effect might be given to the employment of the weapons with which they were armed. These weapons were only a numerous 'broadside' artillery, and the strong arms of the crews. Consequently the proper position of each ship, and therefore of the whole fleet, was on a line parallel to that of the enemy, so that every gun might bear; and so close that, when the guns had done their work, the boarders might be enabled to finish the contest. The parallel arrangement of two fleets in conflict was as old as the seventeenth century; and the actions fought from its first introduction down to the time of Rodney's victory in the West Indies usually took the form of a fierce exchange of cannonades; of mutual hard-poundings in which those who pounded hardest in general came off the best. Clerk of Eldin's, or Rodney's, innovation, brought to such splendid development by Nelson, consisted in the recognition, as a recent English writer* on *Naval Tactics* has well remarked, of 'the advantage of being 'two to one.' These then were the recognised principles of the tactics of the age: to adopt a formation which would allow of the effective use of every gun on the broadside; to bring an overwhelming force against some portion of the enemy's line; and to be near enough to carry his disabled ships by boarding. He would be a bold man who would assert that the first two have, even yet, ceased to hold good. To these may, perhaps, be added two others, which were acted upon when the British fleet had become habituated, by a long series of successes, to regard the day of battle as the day of assured victory. One was to run through the hostile formation and engage it from to leeward, thus preventing the possibility of the flight of the part attacked; and to attack those ships which were so placed as to look for no assistance from their unengaged consorts till after a long delay.

It will be easily seen that these principles led but little beyond the mere bringing a fleet into action. The battle once really begun the duty of the tactician ended, and the result lay in the hands of the hardest fighter. This was so universally recognised, that as soon as the fight had been set fairly going, the formal methods of conveying orders were deliberately laid aside. The naval historian, James, tells us that on the 1st of June, Lord Howe shut up his signal-book with emphasis; in token, it would seem, that all manœuvring had

* *Naval Science*, vol. i. p. 16.

ceased, and that it was, thenceforth, a time for fighting alone. Indeed when an admiral, after the beginning of the fray, saw fit to make a signal, it was often regarded as a sort of slight upon the conduct of his subordinates, and, as such, was usually resented. Nelson's* refusal to comply with, or even to see, Sir Hyde Parker's signal at Copenhagen, is the subject of a story now become classical. When his own celebrated signal at Trafalgar was reported to Collingwood, before the latter had learned its purport, he petulantly expressed a wish, 'that Nelson would make no more signals.'

Naturally actions fought on these principles conduced to a splendid display of individual courage; and, as has been more than once observed, it was the superior condition of each particular British ship in the last great war that contributed so much to the winning of our most glorious victories. But the practice undoubtedly checked the extension amongst our officers of any knowledge of tactics. Personal bravery was considered to be as much the sole characteristic of a good naval commander as it might have been of the heroes of the Iliad. Indeed, it is probable that the eminence in council attributed to the latter would have been regarded, in the former, as rather a failing. The superior tactical knowledge of the French, displayed in so many actions during the eighteenth century, was looked upon by our countrymen as something almost beneath contempt. 'The French were spoken of,' says Mr. Laughton, in an essay which we shall have to examine farther on, 'as running away; as afraid to fight; a thousand disparaging epithets were invented for their navy and their officers; but it was not perceived that in each of these actions we had been out-mancœuvred; that the French refusal of battle was based on strategic considerations; and that each indecisive encounter, under the circumstances, was for them a strategic victory.'

Nor was it perceived that, as the tactical ability of French admirals declined, and that of our own improved, so our seamen became more confident of success, and our victories more decisive. Of all the illustrious chiefs, whose careers added increased splendour to the heroic age of the British navy, there was no more zealous student of tactics than Nelson. Southey

* 'Damn the signal!' he said, 'keep mine for closer battle flying! That's the way I answer such signals.' (*Southey*, ed. 1867, p. 292.) Compare also the reply of the Hon. W. Montague, Captain of the 'Bristol,' in Anson's battle with La Jonquière, when hailed by his senior officer.

has recorded, as we have remarked in our previous article, how—during his pursuit of Brueys before the battle of the Nile—he intently pondered on all the possible circumstances of the coming conflict. The utter destruction of the French fleet—

‘Vix una sospes navis ab ignibus,’

which resulted from his studies was, by his own contemporaries, extolled as the consequence of his valour far more than of his skill. Many who hailed him as a hero would have thought it but a poor compliment to have styled him a great tactician. Yet to the last day, almost to the last hour of his life, his mind was occupied with the thought of how best to lead his fleet to attack the enemy. His celebrated *Memorandum*, in which he indicated the method ‘of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive,’ was written but twelve days before Trafalgar. On the morning of that day it struck his friend, Blackwood, that ‘his mind seemed entirely directed to the strength and formation of the enemy’s line, as well as to the effects which his novel mode of attack was likely to produce.’

Even in his own service the imitators of Nelson were not numerous, and had they been so, few opportunities would have been afforded them of exhibiting their skill. During the long peace which ensued the whole aspect of naval affairs was changed by the introduction of steam. The immense importance of this invention was slow in being fully appreciated. It seems almost impossible to believe that down to 1859, in our own navy, we had done little more than merely recognise its existence. As the manœuvring capabilities of ships propelled by the new power began to be understood, officers in most countries occupied themselves in devising numerous sets of evolutionary movements, with a view to their being adopted as the basis of the tactics which were seen to be inevitable. Clearly recognising the immense advantage, in precision of movement and maintenance of formation, which the mechanically-propelled ships must have over those that depended solely on the wind, many attributed to the steamship a faculty that it did not possess. They appeared to think, and the diagrams illustrating their views tend to prove that they so thought, that a steamer might turn at almost any angle, no matter how abrupt. They therefore constructed a great many ingenious figures which exhibited the fleets of their imaginations as taking up, in quite impossible ways, just the positions that happened to be desirable. It seemed that they had merely

to wish some particular change of formation to be carried out, and that the manœuvre was at once executed, exactly as it should be, by the novel kind of vessel with which they were dealing. Their ships bore some resemblance to those Phæacian (we beg pardon, Phaiakian) craft described by Alkinoos to Odysseus; those

‘ . . . wondrous ships, self-mov’d, instinct with mind;
No helm secures their course, no pilot guides;
Like man intelligent, they plough the tides.’

Increased experience and careful observation at length revealed the truth, that ‘ a ship, in altering course, does so, ‘ not at a sharp angle, but by traversing the arc of a circle ‘ through the required number of points ’ of the compass. It was assumed that, in consequence of this evidently curvilinear path of a turning ship, a complete turn was made on the circumference of a circle. On this assumption—resting on no observation—several rather elaborate systems of evolutionary manœuvres for steam fleets were devised. Admiral Boutakov, of the Russian navy, pointed out that a ship making a complete revolution and reverting to the original direction of her head, does not return to the point from which she started, but to one some distance in advance of, and to one side of it. But that this difference between the actual figure described by her path and the theoretical circle was not of sufficient importance to invalidate the system of evolutions based upon the idea of a true circular path.

Since the promulgation of Admiral Boutakov’s views a very noteworthy work has appeared from the pen of Commander Lewal, of the French navy. This book is a wonderful, indeed an almost touching example of conscientious industry and laborious ingenuity exerted in the construction of a system, the development of which evidently was to the author a labour of love. As far back as 1860, he tells us (p. 2), ‘ he had addressed to the minister a memoir on the special subject ’ of the path traversed by a ship in turning; to illustrate which he had, for ten years, been collecting *data*. ‘ But,’ he adds, ‘ for ‘ the investigation of this question, as for many others, I could ‘ obtain no assistance, no facilities; and I had to collect myself ‘ with patience and as opportunity offered, the facts of which ‘ the assemblage was without method or completeness.’ The result of his labours has been laid before the public. Unhappily his being suddenly ordered on foreign service, he tells us (p. 262), interrupted them at a particularly interesting point, and the part of his work which was to have been

devoted to the consideration of the *Tactique de Combat* was left unfinished.

He has shown, however, pretty conclusively that the true path of the ship making a complete turn is twofold; that it begins as a *spiral* and ends as the arc of a true circle; and that it varies in diameter at different speeds. The great merit of his discovery, if such it may be called, and of the excessive elaboration with which he has illustrated it, is, that it will assist the consideration rather of theoretical tactics, than of those practical methods of engaging an enemy which must be adopted in accordance with circumstances and opportunities. In all theoretical investigations of the tactical art there must be some standard to which to refer; and the copious tables and numerous figures of such works as those of Lewal and Boutakov, contain the materials of which it may be constructed. Should Lieutenant Castle's very admirable imitation of the German *kriegs-spiel* ever be, as we hope and believe it will be, generally adopted as a vehicle of tactical instruction, it will be to Boutakov and Lewal that constant reference will have to be made.

Both these officers, therefore, have done excellent service in laying the foundation of the new system of naval tactics; and though the man of natural skill and practical knowledge may not be required to bear their maxims constantly in mind, yet, without doubt, he may derive much assistance from them. Without waiting for the promulgation of these elementary calculations, the late Sir Howard Douglas had essayed to formulate the requirements of steam fleets in action. The work which he published—the last gift of his genius to the British navy, which owes its present efficiency so much to his efforts to improve it—appeared towards the end of 1858. Unfortunately its publication preceded by but a short time the introduction of a novel description of war-ship—the iron-clad ram. The new tactics necessitated by this latter innovation have to some extent modified the conclusions at which the distinguished author had arrived; but to those who look beneath the surface of things, to those to whom broad principles appear as something widely different from mere details, his book has not yet become, is not likely soon to become, obsolete.

As far as any official injunction went to establish the contrary, the tactical system of the British navy might be taken to be just what it had been left by Nelson's *Memorandum*. The 'line-of-battle' was still the 'line-a-head close hauled.' 'Engage the enemy as closely as possible' was still a signal which had been hoisted more than once in the recent Russian war. Sir Howard Douglas raised his voice to awaken his

countrymen to the reality of the new condition of affairs. He was not indeed the first who attempted to do so, but his name added force to the effort which was being made. This was his text :—

‘ The employment of steam as a motive power in the warlike navies of all maritime nations is a vast and sudden change in the means of engaging in action on the seas, which must produce an entire revolution in naval warfare, and must render necessary the immediate adoption of new measures in tactics, and new material resources; these should be forthwith studied, and provided, with all the mental and physical energies which the talent and wealth of this country can exert; in particular no money should be spared, considering the magnitude of the object at stake—no less than the preservation of our naval supremacy—in procuring all that is necessary to meet the requirements of the service at this momentous epoch.’ (*Naval Warfare with Steam*, p. xi.)

He accordingly occupied himself, first, in proving that evolutions and manœuvres, which fleets of ships dependent upon the wind could not execute with certainty and precision, or even at all, might be effectually performed by those provided with steam-power; and secondly, that there were certain movements and formations which were more suited to the new class of ships, when about to engage, than the survivals of a time when things were widely different, which still cumbered the pages of the official *Signal-book*. ‘ Steam propulsion,’ he remarks,* ‘ entirely annuls all the limitations and disabilities imposed by the wind on the evolutions of fleets, and opens the whole surface of the ocean as a battle-field for the contests of steam fleets. With this new power it may be presumed that success will more than ever depend upon the tactical skill and the quick perception of the chief, together with prompt and resolute execution on the part of those under his command.’ He lays down, as an essential principle of the new tactics, that fleets should be kept concentrated in columns, or ‘ line-of-bearing ’ in *échelon*; the ‘ line-of-bearing ’ being a line drawn from the leader’s ship on a particular point of the compass and having the other ships arranged upon it, at certain regulated distances, irrespective of the direction in which their heads might happen to point. As, with land-armies, ‘ modern military science renounces the practice of fighting in parallel order, line against line, multitude against multitude, ignorance against chance;’ so the ‘ rude practice of forming a fleet for battle in one long line,’ would give place to the more scien-

* *Naval Warfare*, &c., p. 79.

tific one of arranging it in separate columns, or divisions, ready to be employed where required, and to execute such tactical movements as circumstances might render desirable.

The formation of each separate column, and of the whole fleet should be such that reciprocal defence and support should be afforded both by the ships composing the column and the columns composing the fleet. A fleet, expecting to be engaged, should have 'advanced posts' of light vessels in its front, or, nautically, 'ahead;' and between these and the main body vessels of somewhat greater force as 'supports;' whilst in rear, or 'astern,' of all should follow a reserve of swift, powerful ships. Each division of the main body was to be formed in the shape of a wedge, or isosceles triangle, the sides inclining to each other at an angle of 90° , and the vertex being to the front. Each of these wedges was to be *en échelon*, that is, rather more retired, on the right, or left rear (nautically, 'on 'the quarter'), of the one on its flank. This arrangement allowed the guns that could be pointed ahead, as well as those mounted on the broadside, to be used without danger to friends, and brought the vessels of the enemy within range under the cross-fire of at least two ships, or two divisions: mutual protection being the essence of good tactics.

The manœuvres to be executed in bringing on an action were to be such that the ships could not be called upon to undergo the ordeal of passing under the fire of the whole hostile broadside. With a view to prevent this, an attempt should be made to double upon, and attack with superior force, the enemy's rear, by coming up on it from astern. No steam fleet should passively receive an attack made upon it, but should promptly adopt the strongest formation of which it was capable, and actively resist the enemy's advance by opposing to it a vigorous offensive of its own. The enemy should be approached, when within range, obliquely, by which means the effect of a raking fire—so disastrous to the crews of wooden ships—would be avoided; and the oblique order of advance would also give considerable facilities for the performance of the advantageous manœuvre of outflanking some portion of the opposing fleet, and bringing against it an overwhelming force. It will be observed, from the scanty outline of the details of the system which we have given, as a striking illustration of the changed aspect of naval warfare, that a battle was to be fought by a series of manœuvres, and no longer by a simple exchange of cannonades; but that the gun still continued to be the one weapon in use afloat.

The suggestions of Sir Howard Douglas received far less

attention than they deserved. Practically they met with no official recognition; and it is doubtful if, in the navy itself, they became even known to the great majority of officers. Changes of vast importance in the naval art succeed each other with such startling rapidity, that men might almost claim to be excused from attempting to master the details of every innovation which they felt convinced was certain to be soon followed by another. As Captain Philip Colomb, a most accomplished writer on, and able exponent of modern tactics, has observed,* 'All these changes have been attended by one extraordinary characteristic. They had no sooner reached perfection than their death-warrant was signed!' As an instance of this we may mention that Sir Howard's essay appeared towards the end of the year 1858, and that in 1859 the 'Warrior' and the 'Black Prince,' the first of our iron-clad ships, were ordered to be built. The conviction had been gaining ground that the use of the 'ram' would assume an important position in the tactics of future combats; and these ships were so constructed as to be capable of dealing a most destructive blow with their prows. Thus the revival of an ancient method of attack was beginning to appear above the horizon of naval invention.

Hitherto no persistent attempt had been made to systematise the manœuvres of fleets which had been forced into prominence by the occurrence of the recent changes. The antique plans still retained the authority of official sanction. A terminology founded upon the necessities of ships dependent for their propulsion upon the wind was still in existence in squadrons from which purely sailing vessels had for some time quite disappeared. The propriety of providing for cases in which it would be desirable to keep an engaged fleet well in hand, with its divisions in a state to be launched against some particular squadron of the foe, had not been in reality admitted. Indeed even the methods of moving masses of ships in combination, of changing the direction of their advance, and of rapidly altering the arrangement in which they happened to be, had not been devised.

Whilst this was the condition of tactical science in the navy, and whilst the ships of the new type, the 'Warrior' and the 'Black Prince,' were still upon the stocks, Admiral Sir William Martin was placed at the head of the Mediterranean fleet. His command of that important force marks an epoch in the history of the navy; a landmark from which to date the rise of many of the improvements which have added so much to the

* Lessons from Lissa, R. U. S. I. Journal, vol. xi. p. 122.

efficiency of the sea-service. The fleet itself was the last great collection of ships of the old description that sailed beneath the British flag. At one time it numbered fourteen sail-of-the-line, besides some heavy frigates, and several smaller vessels. Political considerations, events that had recently taken place in Europe, and the shadows cast by others that were already developing themselves, had led to the formation of this powerful array. Hastily got together as its crews necessarily were, ignorant of most of the essentials of a seaman's duty, and chafing under the restraints of a discipline to which few of them had been accustomed, the first duty of the chief was to instruct and reduce to order the unpromising materials that formed the companies of his ships. This was accomplished with a rapidity and completeness that recalled to the minds of those who studied the history of the navy the age of Lord St. Vincent. There now remained to put the whole fleet, of which the components had been so admirably prepared, into a state in which it should be equal to coping with any emergency which—in the then strained condition of diplomatic affairs—might probably arise.

Accordingly, the Admiral applied himself to the task of revising the system of evolutions which till then had been almost universally accepted as sufficient for the requirements of our fleets. Advantage was taken of the presence of a squadron in the capacious waters of the Bay of Naples to experiment with the ships themselves; and the smooth roadsteads in other parts of the Mediterranean afforded a practice-ground on which to test, by means of boats, the value of the proposed formations and manœuvres. Thus was laid the first stone of the foundation of a new tactical system. The evolutionary scheme then devised was not approved by the superior authorities to its full extent, but it is known that the one which has been since adopted has, in many particulars, been founded upon it. The author of the scheme had, at all events, been quite successful in drawing attention to the pressing necessities of a fleet which might almost at any moment be called upon to act against the navies of other powers, in which tactical questions had been more deeply studied than in our own.

Events shortly afterwards occurred which threw the urgent want of a deep consideration of these questions into a stronger light than ever. The havoc caused by a rudely-constructed Confederate iron-clad amongst the Federal fleet in Hampton Roads gave a startling prominence to the power of the ramming attack. Never was there a more striking exemplification of the superiority of one illustration to a thousand arguments.

The views of those who had foreseen, in the general use of steam-power, a certain reversion to the tactics of a bygone age, were no longer regarded as visionary and impracticable. Their interpretation of the signs that betokened a fresh innovation in naval warfare were unreservedly accepted. The naval constructor hastened to adopt the material expression of their ideas. Thenceforth the powers of all iron-clad ships were so contrived and fashioned as to be capable of being used in the same manner as was the beak of the ancient galley. Thus a new weapon had been added to those in use in the fleets of the world.

A further illustration of the stupendous importance of this weapon was supplied by the assault of the Austrian admiral, Tegethof, upon an Italian iron-clad at Lissa. The battle fought off the island of that name, in spite of the irregular manner in which, on the whole, it was conducted, was unquestionably the most momentous naval occurrence since Trafalgar. For the first time in history fleets of iron-clad ships met in hostile collision in the open sea. As far as the British navy was concerned, this event did not find it altogether unprepared. Already Captain Colomb had pointed out to his brother-officers, assembled in the theatre of the Royal United Service Institution, that they must expect that the question, who is to win in a combat at sea? would be solved somewhat after this fashion. That officer and Captain Pellew, who had shared the labours of Sir William Martin in carrying out his evolutionary experiments in the Mediterranean, had already been appointed to assist the admiral in command of the Channel Squadron in the revision of the 'Naval Signal Book,' the work which contains whatever tactical rules are authorised for the guidance of the service. Owing to the state of Captain Pellew's health he was compelled to retire from his occupation before the completion of the task on which he and his *collaborateur* were engaged. The work was then left in the admirably safe hands of Captain Colomb, and to him chiefly—if not entirely—belongs the merit of devising the basis of the tactical system now in use in the fleet. 'Sir William Martin's book,' he says, 'was the only complete system of tactics which was before us when we had to draw up the new plan. . . . I based the system of tactics almost entirely upon that book, making alterations in the language here and there, and the committee which sat to investigate the system adopted it almost throughout.' This system we have spoken of as being a basis, or foundation, on which the new tactics might rest, rather than a real tactical system itself. It was principally composed of descriptions of

the methods of executing certain manœuvres, and of getting into certain formations, which the changed condition of the art of war promised to render necessary or useful. The terminology employed was adapted to the requirements of modern times; and the directions given were characterised by a simplicity sadly wanting in previous works.

In the meantime a new weapon was being invented which was, if ever brought into use, to widen still more the gulf between the method of fighting a naval action hereafter and that which was in vogue in the days of Nelson. The practice of defending positions which lay open to attack by means of submarine mines had, in recent wars, become more and more common. The destructive power of these terrible inventions had been so greatly dreaded, that in more than one instance the line of defence which they supplied had been deemed impenetrable, and had proved sufficient to ward off even the semblance of attack. In the many cases, during the war in America, in which their power had been defied, their efficacy, in spite of their necessarily somewhat imperfect construction, had been amply vindicated. The possibility of using them offensively from ships under-way suggested itself to many minds; and a plan of working them by placing a heavy charge of gunpowder in a suitable case at the end of a long spar thrust out from a vessel's bow, and igniting the explosive by electric agency under the bottom of an enemy's ship was adopted. The difficulties that, under many circumstances of ocean warfare, must interfere with the employment of the weapon thus constructed, led to a very ingenious arrangement, the invention of Captain Harvey.

Amongst deep-sea fishermen there is in use a not uncommon plan of sending a hook and line out from a boat proceeding through the water, to such a distance from her laterally, that they shall be made to pursue the same course as that on which she is running, but parallel to it and not behind her, or as the nautical phrase is, 'in her wake.' This is brought about by her suspending a piece of wood in such a way, that when towed by a line from the moving body it shall present a flat surface obliquely to the water, and, in obedience to a well-known mechanical law, diverge in the direction of the resultant of the forces by which it is acted upon. This instrument, known amongst fishermen as a 'sea-otter,' is, being of suitable size, employed by Captain Harvey as the receptacle of his mine, or torpedo. The object of the assailant provided with this weapon is to tow it, so that on the line being suddenly slackened, it will sink beneath the bottom of an enemy's ship, and on the

line being checked and the towing resumed, be brought into sharp contact with her hull, and be then put in action by means of an ingenious arrangement of levers which are pressed by the contact upon a specially prepared substance which ignites on puncture and explodes the mine.

Yet another weapon for the use of fleets of war-ships has been provided by the mechanical ingenuity of the time. The 'Fish-torpedo' is the invention of an English gentleman, Mr. Whitehead, settled at Fiume, in Austria, at which place he is the owner of a large engine-factory. The details of his invention have been kept secret; and a knowledge of them has been imparted only to a very select few. Enough, however, is known of the extraordinary weapon which he has invented, to allow of its being described sufficiently fully for those who have not seen it to understand its action. Its name of 'Fish-torpedo' is not at all a misnomer. A long case of thin iron or steel, cylindrical about the middle and tapering to a point at either end, there being fixed at one the steering apparatus and propeller, give it no insignificant resemblance to some of the fish which, far out on the ocean, dart about athwart the course of ships moving through the waves. This resemblance is increased when, being set in motion, it rushes along beneath the surface of the water. It contains, of course, a charge of gunpowder, or mine, which will be exploded by mechanical agency upon its striking the object against which it is directed. Its great peculiarity is, that it contains its propelling machinery within itself. Placed inside it is an engine, believed to be worked by means of compressed air, which imparts the necessary rotation to the propeller attached to one end. A special form of rudder is provided which suffices to steer this submarine vessel, for such it really is, and turn it either to the right or left, or up or down. A beautiful adaptation of the results of our knowledge of the relation between the specific gravity and the floating capacity of bodies keeps it at the proper depth; and is so effective, that it is said to insist upon its maintaining that depth, either descending, or rising to it, should it be launched forth above or below the proper level. The method of using it would be, to thrust it out through a tube affixed to a ship beneath the water, so arranged that some 'stop,' or expedient of the kind, should, on its ejection, just catch a specially provided prominence in the tube, so that the pressure resulting would free some valve within and set the internal machinery in motion. The tube would be directed towards the object aimed at. The torpedo, finding its proper depth, would rush on at a rate quite equal to that of a moderately fast steamer,

and would, at the distance of several hundred yards, strike with sufficient energy to insure ignition of its explosive contents.

Thus, it will be seen, several novel weapons have been added to the gun, so long the only important component of the armament of our fleets. The gun itself, indeed, has undergone so many changes and improvements in power, construction, and system of mounting, as almost to be no longer what it once was. Smooth-bore ordnance and spherical projectiles—from the invention of gunpowder till within the last fifteen years in our own navy, and till the present day in the American, the only pattern known to artilleryists—are now universally looked upon as things of the past. Even the Americans, who have so long exhibited in artillery matters an unusual conservatism, have decided upon adopting a heavy, rifled gun as the type of their naval ordnance, and are at this moment engaged in carrying out a series of experiments intended to settle which is the best description of weapon with which to arm their ships.

The increase in the power of artillery during a recent period has been positively stupendous. The weights of the modern guns and their projectiles would have appeared fabulous to the contemporaries of Nelson and Collingwood. In the naval history of the French war by James, ships are frequently designated by the weight, as well as by the number of their guns; and 'the 12-pounder 32-gun frigate' is no uncommon prefix to the proper name of a vessel of that class. Lord Dundonald relates in his 'Autobiography' that, on one occasion, he jestingly put into his coat-pocket a whole broadside of shot belonging to the vessel which he commanded, and walked about with it. Now, the lightest naval gun, officially styled 'light,' is the 64-pounder. The guns of the 'Devastation' throw a projectile weighing 700 lbs. In the weight of the guns themselves progress has been equally active. The heaviest gun mounted afloat in the age of Trafalgar was one which weighed about two tons and three-quarters. The present 64-pounder weighs three and a quarter, whilst the 700-pounders of the 'Devastation' weigh no less than thirty-five tons. The advance in the weight of the cartridge, or charge of gunpowder, by which these enormous projectiles are propelled, has been on a proportionate scale; and the quality of the explosive, owing to improvements in manufacture, has been greatly raised.

The plan of rifling the bore of large guns has very greatly increased precision of fire. Excellent practice is now made at ranges which in the beginning of the century would have seemed preposterous. Owing to the elongated form of the projectiles fired from the new guns, it is possible to send a

huge mass of iron through the air presenting but a comparatively small resisting surface. The result is that the velocity retained by a shot after a long flight is so little diminished that it delivers, even at long ranges, a most tremendous blow; the total energy, expressed in 'foot-tons,' attributed to the thirty-five ton gun being eight thousand two hundred and five. The form of projectile, its comparatively small diameter, and the pointed shape of its fore part aid greatly its penetrating powers, and thick plates of iron can be perforated at thousands of yards' distance. The material of which modern guns are composed, and the method employed in their construction, render almost impossible their destruction by explosive rupture; the bursting of such as have been hitherto destroyed having taken place gradually and with warning. The security that this gives to the men employed in working them in action, and the confidence in their safety which it must engender, will be easily appreciated by those conversant with the disastrous results of bursting guns in some of our older battles; and will be felt certain to exert a moral effect of no mean importance upon the conduct of crews under fire.

It is not so very long ago that the use of explosive projectiles in battle was considered a breach of the laws of war. Shells also were long thought to be unfitted for use with guns, and were employed only with mortars, elevated at a high angle and bringing against the enemy what is known as 'vertical fire.' The shell has now almost taken the place of the shot, which will probably be seldom fired in battle. Even the protective covering upon the sides of iron-clads is not sufficiently impervious to the newer form of shell to prevent its penetrating and causing fearful havoc 'between decks.' The 'chilled shell,' one of the many improvements in artillery due to the inventive ingenuity of Sir William Palliser, is especially designed as a plate piercing projectile. It is distinguished by several striking peculiarities. It contains no 'fuze,' or arrangement purposely applied to insure the ignition of its bursting charge. The latter, which is enclosed in a bag of light material, is compressed, by the violent concussion which ensues on one of our present heavy guns being fired, into a hard and solid mass, and is forced against the rear part of the hollow receptacle in which it is placed. When the shell strikes a hard substance, such as an iron plate, this mass is driven forward with intense violence, and so great is the heat generated by the friction of its passage from one end of its chamber to the other that the gunpowder is ignited and the shell explodes. The short interval of time necessary for this ignition to be developed is just sufficient—so care-

fully balanced are all accounts and calculations in the modern art of war—to permit the passage of the projectile intact through the armour-plating, and it only bursts when it has passed through, and so employs its destructive powers to the best purpose within the ship at which it is aimed. Thus the massive protection with which the sides of iron-clads are covered is made use of as a means to bring about the destruction of their defenders.

Powerful as are modern guns, and frightful as is the havoc they are capable of working amongst those against whom they are directed, it was for some time very doubtful if they could be successfully worked on board ships likely to be tossed about upon the tempestuous waters of the ocean. To mount these ponderous masses of iron upon the broadside of sea-going vessels seemed but to put on board them objects which in unfavourable weather must necessarily be out of all control of the crew. There seemed also little likelihood of devising any system of mounting them which could stand the terrific shock of their recoil on discharge. All difficulties have been completely overcome. The generation which had been taught to regard the old smooth-bore 68-pounder as too heavy a piece to form part of the broadside armament of ships-of-war has seen the gun of twelve, and even that of eighteen tons worked with ease and rapidity on the sides of the 'Hercules' or 'Sultan.' The iron carriages on which this monstrous artillery is mounted, the invention of Captain Scott of the Royal Navy, constitute in themselves a notable innovation in the art of gunnery, and have, to a great extent, taken the place of the old wooden carriage upon four wheels, or trucks, which—as old as the days of Queen Elizabeth—has not even yet quite disappeared from the gun-decks of the fleet.

In constructing a system of naval tactics it is essential to attribute to each weapon its proper value in actual combat. Writers on modern tactics have accordingly devoted much attention to a true estimate of the power of the gun. The development of its destructive energy attained of late years, the precision with which its projectiles might be discharged against an object aimed at, the scientific methods introduced into the plans of pointing artillery, and the high training now considered necessary for the career of a gunner, all tend to place the weapon in the front rank of those employed in naval warfare. But the stupendous effects known to have been produced by the ramming attack, or by the explosion of the subaqueous torpedo, have, on the other hand, done much towards lowering its relative superiority. Provided the speed at which the ships are moving, and the nerves of the gunners

be such as to insure hitting, the importance of the gun would be conclusively demonstrated. 'This shell (the 700-pounder)' says Commander Noel, in an essay to which we shall shortly refer at greater length, 'if it burst in the centre of such a battery as that of H.M.S. "Hercules," would probably place half, if not the whole of the men *hors de combat*.' As Mr. Laughton observes, 'a gun that can drive a shot against the enemy's side with a force of nearly five thousand foot-tons, is a weapon of vast capabilities.' It is remembered that, though at Lissa Tegethof sank the 'Re d'Italia' by a blow from the prow of the 'Ferdinand Max,' the 'Palestro' in the same action was destroyed by Austrian shells; and the 'Affondatore' foundered, not many hours afterwards, in consequence of injuries received from guns. Opinion, then, as to the true position of the gun is much divided, and it may be said to share with the 'ram' the foremost place.

The same difference of opinion does not exist as to the relative merits of the sea-torpedo. The great power of that weapon is doubted by no one; but the difficulties in the way of successfully manœuvring it are seen to be by no means small. Its value has to some extent been tested by actual experiment. Its explosive powers being known with absolute certainty require no testing; but the possibility of placing it in suitable proximity to ships in various positions has been submitted to the proof of several trials. In a discussion of its merits, as exhibited on these trials, by Lieutenant H. H. Grenfell—the title of which will be found in the list of works heading this article—the result of these experiments is carefully estimated. It appears that they were carried out under circumstances which, to say the least, were not unfavourable to the torpedo; the vessel manœuvred against being forbidden to adopt any approach to offensively defensive tactics. The vessel attacked was limited, by order, as regards her reliance upon speed and ramming capabilities; and the manœuvrers of the torpedo might naturally be expected to gain the advantage. They do not, however, appear to have done so; and Lieutenant Grenfell sums up the result of the trials as follows:—

'If the torpedo had succeeded we might be disposed to press these points; but as, even under these conditions, it failed, we have a satisfactory *à fortiori* argument as to its chances in real warfare.' (*Practical Deductions, &c.*, p. 21.)

In the dearth of tactical literature this memoir of Lieutenant Grenfell's appears as an essay of considerable importance. He has set himself to work to form an exact estimate of the real

value of a new weapon for naval warfare. He has investigated most of the points connected with its use with an impartiality and acumen worthy of all praise; and he has set an admirable example, for this investigation of distinct and separate questions of modern naval tactics will probably lead us more surely than ever to a general solution of the problems of the whole subject. He has not, unfortunately, considered it necessary to form any estimate of the capabilities of the arm when employed by ships collected in fleets; but he has probably for ever set at rest any doubts that might arise as to the method of manœuvring it in a duel between single ships. It would lead us into too many of the technicalities, which we have promised not to inflict upon our readers, were we to follow Lieutenant Grenfell throughout his investigation; but we may summarise his conclusions by stating, that the proper position to try and obtain, the 'weather-gage' of the new tactics, is on the circumference of the outer of two concentric circles of which your adversary should be compelled to choose the inner; and that he should be forced, whilst still upon it, to keep somewhat in advance. It is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon the great importance of this tactical discovery, for such it is. It is obvious that such a proceeding would be out of the question in the case of a ship belonging to a fleet, and obliged to conform in her manœuvres to the movements of others. The torpedo also, still provided only with a mechanical arrangement for exploding its charge which, of course, would be unable to distinguish between friend and foe, would be scarcely a safe weapon to employ when friendly ships were close at hand. These considerations point to the conclusion that if fleets are ever to rely upon it, it will be in its capacity, not so much as an offensive, as a defensive weapon, near which any enemy, anxious to try his powers of ramming, will probably not deem it judicious to venture.

With respect to the prominence likely to be given, in future sea-fights, to the revival of the ancient method of assaulting with the prow, there is a decided agreement amongst those who have devoted their attention to the changed aspect of ocean warfare. Commander Noel has collected (p. 75) the opinions of several authors, who, differing in their estimate of the relative value of the offensive power of the gun and the ram, still allow a vast importance to the latter. The discussion now appears to assume the shape, not so much of an investigation of the value of this mode of attack, as of an inquiry how best to deliver and avoid it. This inquiry is, of course, very greatly complicated, when the case of ships manœuvring in company

has to be considered, and is not by any means free from difficulties when that of two opponents only is dealt with. Captain Colomb has done good service towards the elucidation of the question, by reminding students of tactics that there is such a thing as an area of impunity, within which a vessel may place herself with positive security against the onset of another. 'Every ship,' he says, 'when advancing at speed carries on each side of her two circles of considerable size, within the circumference of which no power on earth can place her. These circles will vary according to the speed at which the ship travels, and according to the power she possesses of stopping herself quickly. Another ship which is anywhere inside this circle cannot be rammed so long as she remains there.'

The importance of this argument, the cogency of which it is difficult to avoid admitting, lies in the fact of its tendency to condemn the proposal, which at one time was commonly made, to construct a special class of 'rams,' unprovided, or but scantily provided, with heavy artillery. Unless the 'ram' were a vessel possessing turning capabilities of a very exceptionable nature, her 'circle of evolution' would greatly exceed in radius the lateral distance to which she could cause a sea-torpedo to diverge; and she would thus be at the mercy of a heavily-armed antagonist, sufficiently well manœuvred to keep within the circle, inside the circumference of which she herself is precluded from intruding. There would, very likely, be great practical difficulty in maintaining a position within this circle of safety; but the ability to do so, great practice in manœuvring would be pretty sure to render attainable. In any case the discovery of its theoretical existence is by no means without a special value in enabling us to estimate correctly the tactical requirements of the future.

The employment of the 'fish-torpedo' will probably necessitate the construction of a special class of vessels; or at least important changes in the appliances of those of existing type. In the rapid movements likely to be common in general engagements, when friend and foe will alike be occupied in a frequent exchange of position, opportunities for the profitable use of the weapon will not be numerous, due regard being had to the safety of friendly ships. But as a method of delivering the *coup de grace* to an obstinate enemy refusing to strike and still dangerous, it will probably be found highly useful. Whilst against a group of hostile ships in confusion it may be launched with far more certainty of doing them damage than could the fire-ships of old, whose place in a naval battle it may be regarded as, in some measure, supplying. And cases may occur

in which its discharge towards an advancing opponent, at the beginning of an action, will be attended by consequences of sufficient importance to permit its being used.

Such are the weapons with which the ocean warfare of modern times will be carried on. It is a matter, therefore, of extreme interest to the people of this country to know if our fleet is in a condition to make use of them with effect. The question—are we so skilled in the use of the new weapons, are we so prepared with a plan for their proper employment, that we may confidently advance to the attack of an enemy, should a war unhappily come upon us?—is eminently deserving of a well-considered answer. For improvements in the domain of military tactics we may watch the proceedings of the mighty armed forces of continental nations; but in naval matters the initiative, by right of pre-eminent power and of old renown, belongs to, indeed is thrust upon, ourselves. Every modern British writer upon tactics, without exception, laments the scanty attention bestowed upon a subject which is so closely bound up with the security, no less than the dignity, of a great naval nation. We have now to examine what has been done towards settling the great tactical questions which have arisen out of the many and startling innovations of the last few years.

The paucity of the attempts that have been made in this country to arrive at a settlement is very striking. The publications of the Royal United Service Institution contain but four short essays which profess to deal with tactics in the real meaning of the word. These essays are all the work of a single author, Captain Colomb; and three only, or in reality but two—for one is divided into two separate parts—have appeared since the sea-fight off Lissa. This state of things admits of various explanations. In the first place, several writers have thought that they have been dealing properly with tactical problems, whilst they have been engaged in simply discussing the best methods of executing manœuvres, or evolutions, many of which never would be, nor were intended to be attempted, in the presence or neighbourhood of an enemy. The very word lost its true signification, and, even in grave treatises, was applied to simple movements of peace-time or parade; whilst in the popular language of the navy it was, perhaps still is, used to designate the ordinary drill of a small collection of ships. In a note to the Introduction to his book, Captain Lewal gives an amusing instance of this misapplication of the word. In the rarity of books on the subject he had lighted with delight upon one which bore the title '*Tactique des Abordages.*' He 'im-

‘mediately thought that the subject of it would be the manœuvres of steam rams; or, at least, a sketch of the methods familiar to Duguay-Trouin and his rivals of the *grand siècle*.’ After a long-continued search he succeeded in obtaining a copy; and was greatly disappointed at finding that it contained simply an examination, creditable enough in itself, of the plans that should be adopted on board merchant vessels, going in and out of harbours, to avoid running foul of one another.

A multitude of radical changes in all that concerns the art of war by sea, succeeding one another in quick succession, prompted the belief that it was useless to attempt to devise a tactical system till the appearance of something like fixity in the various details of the art. It was triumphantly pointed out that we had no experience of warfare under the new conditions, and that till we had it would be a waste of labour to try and forecast the future. The numerous body of those who are ever eager to discourage the expenditure of patient thought upon any subject which is too difficult to be mastered at first sight, quickly supplied arguments to show the futility of any mere theoretical investigation of the subject. ‘Is success to be submitted to rules?’—these are their queries, as noted by that most painstaking of students, Commander Lewal—‘Is victory the result of a geometric figure, or a mathematical calculation? Are not triumphs often achieved in defiance of rules? Without inspiration or genius in the commander there will be no success. Genius needs no rules, which are made only for the vulgar.’ ‘Ce sont là des lieux-communs,’ is his comment, ‘qu’on retrouve un peu partout sous la plume facile de ceux qui craignent de s’engager dans l’examen approfondi des questions souvent ardues et toujours complexes que soulève l’art militaire.’ In the British service it was forgotten that Howe and St. Vincent were noted amongst their contemporaries as industrious experimenters in tactical movements, and that in all naval history there is mention of no more zealous student of the art than our great Nelson.

Though Captain Colomb for a long time stood almost alone, his labours were not altogether thrown away. No one who, in the present state of our knowledge, desires to look the questions that have arisen fully in the face can afford to disregard what he has written on the subject. He has laid down in his ‘Attack and Defence of Fleets’ some rules which are likely to be long observed. Here, for instance, is such a one:—‘The fleet which rigidly maintains its end-on position, and whose ships only swerve from that to deliver their blow upon the

‘ enemy, who presents his broadside while attempting to ram the ships to whom they are guards, goes into action with an advantage.’ It is true that he condemns the system of formations composed of groups, or as they are often called, *pelotons*, which the very latest writers agree in commending as the best; but he has pointed out, and apparently before anyone else, the great advantage of manœuvring so as to pass round the enemy’s flank.

His paper, from which we have just quoted, bears date January 1872. Since then, as we began this article by remarking, a great deal has been done in the way of extending tactical study in our navy. Lieutenant Castle has completed his imitation of the German war-game, of which we have spoken above, and we may believe that, when it is more generally known, and the use of it more encouraged by authority than it is at present, it will become a powerful engine towards leading the minds of naval officers to the study of a subject which imperatively demands attention. It seems obvious that frequent recourse to this game will reveal to us many aspects of future conflicts which no number of diagrams and figures, no matter how ingenious, are likely to enable us to discover.

To a little knot of young naval officers at Portsmouth is due the credit of having originated the composition and publication of a volume of ‘ *Essays upon Naval Tactics*,’ which, in our opinion, are unquestionably the most important contributions to the study of the art which have appeared since the work of Sir Howard Douglas. It may interest our readers to learn something of the circumstances which led to the production of this suggestive and valuable collection of essays. From the introduction to the volume containing them we learn that a society, with the somewhat cumbrous title of ‘ *The Junior Naval Professional Association*,’ was established in January 1872, ‘ with the design of affording increased opportunities of instruction and information to the junior officers’ of the navy and its kindred services. The promoters of the association desired to afford their brother-officers opportunities ‘ of collecting and comparing the different experiences of service in various parts of the world, and of obtaining that light on detailed professional questions which results from discussion and the conflict of opinion.’ It is creditable to the navy to be able to say that this institution has been successful. Its members have increased to three hundred, and last year its finances were in so flourishing a condition that the committee of management was in a position to offer a prize of fifty guineas for the best essay on the tactics of fleets of ships of modern

construction in action in the open sea. Three distinguished officers, Sir Alexander Milne and Vice-Admirals Ryder and Sir Cooper Key, consented to adjudicate on the essays sent in for the prize, competition for which was to be open to all. On a comparison of the efforts of the several competitors the judges were of opinion that the prize should be awarded to the one which proved to have been written by Commander Noel; and that two others, by Mr. Laughton and Lieutenant Campbell, exhibited so much talent that it was desirable to publish them, together with the prize essay. The three have accordingly been very recently published, and the title of the volume, 'The Gun, the Ram, and the Torpedo,' will be found amongst those of the works which are prefixed to this article.

Each one of the essays is distinguished by conspicuous merits, and it adds greatly to their value, taken as a whole, that the authors have looked at the subject under discussion each from a somewhat different point of view. Commander Noel, recently advanced to his present rank for his services in the Ashantee war, was gunnery-lieutenant of the flag-ship of the admiral commanding the Channel Squadron; and his extensive practical acquaintance with the use of the weapons with which modern fleets are armed, and his familiarity with the evolutionary manœuvres of a collection of ships, are clearly apparent from his method of handling his subject. There is a striking similarity between the position of Mr. Laughton and his predecessor in the field of tactical inquiry, Paul Hoste. The latter instructed naval officers in mathematics at Toulon, as Mr. Laughton does now at Greenwich; both had seen much service at sea; both had written for the use of officers of the service other works on subjects connected with naval science; and both show signs of a deep interest in the history of maritime warfare. Lieutenant Campbell, during the composition of his essay, held the position of flag-lieutenant to the officer commanding the Flying Squadron, and, not unnaturally, has interested himself considerably in the important matter of the conveyance of an admiral's orders and wishes during an engagement. The literary merits of Mr. Laughton's contribution, already known as a forcible and elegant writer, are particularly high. His work abounds with historical allusion and historical parallel. Even when he deals with the mathematical questions which happen to arise, he does so in a manner by no means likely to prove repulsive to an ordinary reader. The productions of Commander Noel and Lieutenant Campbell are those of practical men handling their subject in a practical way. Attempts at literary adornment are almost entirely

dispensed with, though both express themselves clearly and correctly; and should these essays, as we sincerely hope they will, be commonly studied by naval officers, we can promise those not very extensive readers that theirs will be found to be much superior to the debased style of those wonderful productions, 'Admiralty Circulars,' or 'Station Orders,' with which officers afloat are compelled to be so familiar.

A detailed examination of the contents of this volume, necessarily dealing so much with technicalities, would be obviously unsuited to the pages of this Journal; but we place so high a value on the opinions of the authors, especially of Commander Noel, as therein expressed, that we deem it only right to give an account of their views before we conclude our article. In the first place, we may note that there are several matters in which all these writers are in unanimous agreement. All speak strongly of the necessity of increased study of tactics in the navy, and of more frequent exercise of the ships in evolutionary manœuvres. All agree that the proper formation for a fleet about to engage an enemy is that in groups, or *pelotons*, in some special arrangement depending on circumstances. All give to the 'ram' the foremost place as a weapon of attack. Commander Noel and Mr. Laughton both hold that, in action, fire should be reserved till the hostile fleets are but a short distance apart; that shots from bow-guns, when advancing, should not be fired. Both writers also incline to the opinion that the number of guns mounted on board iron-clads might be profitably increased.

Commander Noel begins by an examination of the relative value of the three different weapons, the gun, the ram, and the torpedo. He then proceeds to organise an hypothetical fleet, which is so far not imaginary that the ships composing it are chosen from those included in the official 'Navy List,' and sends forth this truly imposing array to meet the enemy at a distance from our shores. The commander-in-chief of this force has the good fortune to fall in with the latter, and immediately directs his course towards him. Commander Noel now tells us what formations are to be adopted, viz., 'groups in columns of two divisions in line ahead,' and 'groups in line abreast;' the former if the enemy present a narrow front, the latter if in extended front. We venture to think that in place of the second formation specified, one in *échelon* would be found very much more advantageous; and our opinion is to a great extent corroborated by those of our author's fellow-essayists; but we should be straying beyond the limits we have set ourselves were we to adduce here the

arguments that occur to us in favour of our views. With the great advantages offered by the former of the two 'orders' of attack proposed by Commander Noel it is impossible not to be struck. We should explain, that the formation consists of two parallel lines or columns of ships, at a certain distance apart, the direction of which lines is similar to that of the course steered, and of which each is composed of a series of triangular groups of three ships, one in rear (or astern) of another. This formation enables every ship in one column to fire her broadside at the suitable moment, without a chance of injuring those of her own side; and it gives the outer ships a kind of reserve which should secure them against any attempt on the part of the enemy at an attack by ramming. The writer supposes the hostile fleet to be in two lines ahead—that is, two parallel lines of ships in rear of one-another. He then proceeds:—

'Approaching in column of two divisions an enemy's fleet exposing a small front, the object will be to make it pass outside your nearest (say the first) division, that division exchanging broadsides and moving directly ahead, keeping all the enemy's ships well enveloped in smoke, and doing all the damage it can with guns. In the meantime (or directly the leading ships meet), the other (or second) division, having been previously instructed, will turn eight points towards the first division, and, in column of groups in line abreast, will pass astern of the first division and charge the enemy along its whole line before it can have recovered from the effects of the first encounter: this is the time to use the rams.' (P. 15.)

This extract will show what it is Commander Noel proposes to effect. His suggestion appears to us to be founded upon the soundest tactical principles, to be more valuable than nearly everything that has been written upon ocean warfare for many years, and to be eminently deserving of adoption by those who are likely to conduct naval operations in future. It will be seen that he manœuvres so as to pass the enemy upon one flank, thus neutralising the effect of the fire from one of the latter's columns; that he develops a powerful attack under cover of the guns of one of his own divisions; and that he relies upon successive attacks by superior force upon a single division of the enemy's fleet. The subsequent manœuvres are conceived in a similar spirit. We ought, however, to point out that in one respect Commander Noel strikes us as having missed a golden opportunity. In his 'charge' upon the enemy's column, already battered by the fire of his nearest division, he has, and his diagram facing p. 38 renders it still more clear, assaulted the enemy along the whole length of his

column ; he thus greatly weakens his attack by distributing it over too large a space, and—as his diagram distinctly shows—he exposes the leader of his sternmost *peloton* to almost certain destruction, there being two altogether unthreatened foes ready to rush upon him, whether he succeeded or not in his own attack. Now had the Commander concentrated his assault upon the rear of the hostile column he would have avoided this danger, and would, it is all but positively certain, have crushed one portion of the enemy's fleet. It is to be regretted that he does not work out the other possibilities of fleet-actions with the same detail as he has the case of a conflict between forces in the formations just described. He has, nevertheless, done immense service to the cause of tactical science, and we sincerely hope that the result of his studies will become widely known amongst his brother officers. Even to unprofessional readers he supplies a very vivid picture of what a naval action in the present age is likely to prove. The 'charge' of his outside column, urged on at high speed by the mighty power of steam, is a realisation of the ideal episodes of former combats imagined by poets. The somewhat stilted lines of Dryden—

' They charge, re-charge, and all along the sea
They drive and squander the huge Belgian fleet ;

are far more applicable to such a battle as Commander Noel describes, than they ever could have been to the action of June 1, 1664, of which they were written.

Before leaving his essay we have a question, of a somewhat personal nature, to discuss with the author. He has noticed at some length our previous article upon Naval Tactics, and in terms so complimentary that we have nothing to complain of. In reference to our assertion, that the study of the tactical systems of a somewhat remote age 'are of far more use and value to the naval officer of our own time than most of those which obtained only a generation or two back,' he asks, 'What do we learn from all this [our account of such systems] that in any way refers to a fight between steam-fleets armed with rams?' And he answers the question in the words of Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, 'When ancient maritime warfare is studied, it is not for the purpose of drawing from it lessons applicable to our own day ; it is not information on the subject of naval tactics that we must look for,' &c. Now, in the first place, we are glad of the opportunity of protesting against the practice, which we observe with regret is becoming rather common in our navy, of considering the distinguished French

officer, whom he quotes, as an authority upon naval tactics. He neither is, nor does he pretend to be. As far as we are aware he has, with the exception of a few pages of very general remarks, contributed nothing whatever to purely tactical literature. His style is so charming, his love of his profession so intense, his tenderness for its good name so marked, and his knowledge of nautical archæology and history so extensive, that we do not wonder at his being a favourite with naval readers. But we should be sorry if students of tactics limited their researches to what could be learned from his pages. However, as Commander Noel has appealed to Admiral Jurien, to Admiral Jurien he shall go. From one of the latest, perhaps the very latest, essays from his pen we extract the following passage, which we hope those who are disposed to undervalue a knowledge of naval history, however old, will carefully consider :—

‘Naval science, it must not be forgotten, has made a strange return upon itself within the last twenty years. Those two long avenues of poplars which, in the contemporary pictures of the reign of Louis XVI., profess to represent general actions, sufficiently explain to us how greatly the processes of war at that epoch differed from those of the fleets of the present, the employment of which the fleets of the future will peremptorily enjoin upon us. Quite the contrary; those great forces in order of battle behind which are sheltered flotillas of fire-ships, those ships advancing end-on, those vessels in flames which they escort, those lines which pass through and through one another, those combats unceasingly decided and renewed, all those sharp manœuvres, all that sanguinary confusion portrayed for us by the pencil of the artists of the seventeenth century; are they not the image of the *mêlées* to which, at the present day, we must look forward anew?’ (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1874.)

Mr. Laughton’s essay is a production which deserves a more lengthened examination than we have space left to give to it. Its arrangement is especially clear, and he leads us step by step from one important part of his subject to another in a manner at once easy and agreeable. He has devoted some portion of his second chapter to the statement of several formulæ from which may be deduced many important capabilities of a ship as a manœvrer and a ram. These formulæ are well worthy of being remembered. Though future writers on tactics need not feel obliged to re-state them, we are convinced that they must be thoroughly acquainted with them, before they can make any addition to our knowledge worth having. Mr. Laughton’s investigation of the effective power of a ram, by the aid of a well-known formula, strikes us as quite a new feature in tactical literature; no other author that

we know of having attempted anything of the sort. A favourite formation for attack of his is the *échelon* of squadrons or groups, a formation which Lieutenant Campbell concurs with him in thinking 'obviously a very strong formation.' He is strongly in favour, as we have indicated above, of the group formation, in whatever arrangement; 'All other formations,' he says, 'I put on one side as objectionable, as wanting in 'solidity, as liable to be broken and worried in detail;' an expression of opinion in which, probably, most naval officers will agree with him.

Half of Lieutenant Campbell's essay is taken up by a review of the methods of signalling in a fleet, and a criticism of some points connected with the present system of evolutionary signals as laid down by authority. Into matters so thoroughly technical it is, of course, impossible for us to follow him; but he certainly makes out an excellent case for the adoption of the improvements which he proposes. His essay contains a very valuable suggestion which must at once recommend itself to every officer who has seen a fleet of ships moving under steam. He recommends that a supply of smokeless fuel should be taken on board with a special view to its use in action, so that the ships may be delivered from the inevitable inconvenience caused by quantities of smoke when proceeding at a high speed. We rate the whole volume as a work of the very greatest value in the present state of tactical knowledge, and we hope that not naval officers only, but all who take an interest in the future of the navy, will make its acquaintance.

If its publication should result in extending the study of tactics in the service, it will unquestionably do a good work. That study is an occupation to which officers may apply themselves far more profitably than to some others which engross their attention at present. One of the essayists speaks of the singular custom of expending several valuable weeks of our short English summer in making the iron-clad fleet, presumably assembled for the express purpose of evolutionary exercise, perform a circumnavigation of the British Islands for 'the 'entertainment of our gaping countrymen in the several towns 'along our coasts.' This strange occupation is not the only one of our officers and sailors which excites surprise in the minds of those who regard the primary object of maintaining a fleet in peace-time as being to afford it opportunities of preparing itself to meet that of an enemy. Whilst questions of naval tactics and other branches of naval science are generally disregarded, the abilities of numbers of zealous officers and seamen are directed to mastering the details of those military

manœuvres which, in the opinion of the officials at the Adjutant-General's office, it is desirable should be taught to the infantry regiments of the British army. The labour expended in trying to attain proficiency in these exercises,* which seems an odd nautical accomplishment, might, if bestowed upon other subjects of absolutely pressing importance, result in considerably raising the efficiency of our fleets. It may be—though we doubt it—a harmless practice to employ many precious hours in making seamen learn how to execute that valuable performance, a 'march past in double companies;' but those who advocate such expenditure of time ought certainly to adduce irrefragable proof that there is nothing left to teach either our officers or our men about their ships, or the proper management of them. It may be desirable to work hard in acquiring a knowledge of manœuvres, in the performance of which those belonging to the Naval Service can, in the nature of things, never hope to attain any higher than the second place; yet those who remember what our fleets have done, and who think upon what they may be called upon to do hereafter, may be excused for believing that the study of the recent developments of ocean warfare is likely to add more to the dignity and the honour of the British Navy, and to prove a far better guarantee for that essential of our national security—the maintenance of our pre-eminence as a maritime power.

* The following is a specimen of the lengths to which this extraordinary mania for 'soldiering'—as it is still called by seamen—has gone: An admirable and much-wanted little book, 'The Sailor's 'Pocket-Book,' by Commander F. Bedford, has just been published; to no single subject is so much of its space devoted as to this very 'soldiering.' A 'Naval Review,' in the popular language of the sea-ports, has come to mean, not a review of ships, but of a battalion of sailors, headed by a more or less harmonious brass band and armed with the weapons of infantry-soldiers, on dry land.

ART. II.—*The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version (A.D. 1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church.* Edited by F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter. Vols. I.—IV. London: 1871—1873.

NO allusion is found in the preface to these volumes to the immediate circumstances to which they owe their origin. At the same time it is not hard to divine what were the considerations which exercised the greatest influence upon the mind of the late Speaker when he first suggested the design of this Commentary. On the one hand, views inconsistent with the truth of the historical books of the Old Testament had, for the first time, been openly avowed and defended by a bishop of the English Church. On the other hand, numerous discoveries had recently been made, the importance of which, as bearing upon the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, was generally admitted, whilst the results were claimed with equal confidence both by the advocates and by the impugners of the claims of Revelation. Such, we may fairly presume, were some of the considerations which had weight with the late Lord Ossington when he conceived the plan of the work, which, so far as it has already advanced, we now propose to examine. We will only add, by way of further introduction to our subject, that whatever may be our estimate of the merits of this Commentary, its appearance marks an epoch in the history of our Biblical literature; while the designation which it has commonly received, and by which it will be distinguished from other works of a similar character, will serve to associate the memory of that most excellent and amiable man the late Speaker of the House of Commons with an undertaking of more than ordinary importance.

The general character and design of this work, and the means adopted with a view to its execution, cannot be better described than in the preliminary notice to the first volume:—

‘The want of a plain explanatory commentary on the Bible, more complete and accurate than any now accessible to English readers, has been long felt by men of education. In 1863 the Speaker of the House of Commons consulted some of the bishops as to the best way of supplying the deficiency; and the Archbishop of York undertook to organise a plan for producing such a work, by the co-operation of scholars selected for their Biblical learning.

‘The great object of such a commentary must be to put the general reader in full possession of whatever information may be requisite to

enable him to understand the Holy Scriptures, to give him, as far as possible, the same advantages as the scholar, and to supply him with satisfactory answers to objections resting upon misrepresentation of the text.'

In the application to the field of Biblical interpretation of this plan for the subdivision of labour amongst writers owning allegiance to a central authority, but responsible only for their respective portions of the common work, the Speaker's Commentary had already been anticipated in Germany—in design, and partly in execution—by Lange's comprehensive and elaborate 'Bibelwerk.' In this commentary, the critical and exegetical portions are separated both from the doctrinal and also from the homiletical. The English translation, published in America under the general editorship of Dr. Schaff, has followed very closely upon the appearance of each volume of the original work in Germany; and although there is much in the contents of this commentary, as well as in the typography of the earlier volumes, which renders it unsuitable as a work of reference to the wants of the ordinary English reader, we hail its publication as a valuable addition to the stores of our Biblical literature; and we hold ourselves greatly indebted to the enterprise of the indefatigable firm of Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh for the arrangements which they have made for its circulation in this country. The same remarks which have been made with reference to Lange's 'Bibelwerk' apply, in some measure, to the Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament by Professors Keil and Delitzsch, the greater portion of which has also appeared in an English translation. This work, which is one of great importance to the Biblical scholar, is issued from the same firm to which we have already referred, and, as regards its general execution, it leaves little or nothing to be desired. It is designed, however, to meet the wants of the Biblical scholar rather than those of the ordinary English reader, to whom the frequent occurrence of Hebrew words and of Hebrew criticisms, throughout the whole of the work, must present an insuperable difficulty.

Nor are we altogether without precedents for Biblical commentaries of a composite authorship in our own country. Undeterred by the abortive efforts made by Crumwell to obtain the sanction of King Henry VIII. to the publication of certain explanatory notes made by learned men,* some of the exiles of

* It is not unworthy of notice that the 'pointing hands' which were designed to direct the reader to these explanatory notes, are to be found in the editions of the Great Bible published during Crumwell's life;

Queen Mary's reign, amongst whom Whittingham, who married Calvin's sister, held a distinguished place, devoted 'the space' of two years and more, day and night, not only to the careful revision of the text of the English Bible, but also to the preparation of a marginal commentary upon it. In this commentary it was proposed 'to omit nothing unexpounded whereby he' that is anything exercised in the Scriptures of God might 'justly complain of hardness.' The result of these labours was the publication in 1560 of the celebrated Genevan Bible. The cost of this undertaking was defrayed by the English congregation at Geneva; and Queen Elizabeth, to whom the work was dedicated, granted a patent in the following year to John Bodley, the father of the founder of the Bodleian Library, for the exclusive right of printing it in England for the space of seven years. The advantages of the Genevan Bible over its ponderous predecessors, in size, in type, in the division of the chapters into verses, and, more particularly, in the addition of explanatory notes—whatever their errors or defects—were so many and so great, that it is no matter of surprise that it should at once have secured, and even after the appearance of King James's Bible have continued to retain, a firm hold upon the bulk of the English nation.

The next attempt to elucidate the meaning of the Bible by the joint labours of duly qualified men, was made by Archbishop Parker in 1563-4, which issued in the publication in 1568 of the Bible generally known as the Bishops' Bible, comprising not only marginal notes explanatory of the text, but also a complete revision of the English text itself. Independently, however, of the facts that the best and oldest manuscripts were then undiscovered, and, as regards the Old Testament, that an undue amount of reliance was placed upon the Septuagint Version, the correspondence between Archbishop Parker and some of the bishops engaged in the work sufficiently proves how inadequately the responsibility which attaches both to the translation and to the exposition of the Bible was then appreciated. Thus, we find Bishop Guest proposing to change the tense of a verb in the first Psalm from the past to the present, because the former gives 'too harsh' a sense; whilst Bishop Cox, who seems to have considered a rigid uniformity the highest aim of the Biblical interpreter, proposes that the translation of the verbs throughout the Psalter should be 'uniformly

and that corresponding marks appear, even in those editions which were published subsequently to Crumwell's execution in 1540, i.e. up to May 1541.

'in one tense.' Although the Bishops' Bible appears to have entirely displaced the Great Bible, insomuch that no edition of the latter was published after the year 1569, there is no evidence that it ever came into general use, even amongst the clergy; and when in the year 1582 Martin assailed, and Fulke defended, the English versions of the Bible then in use, we find that the assaults of the one, and the defence of the other, refer alike to the Great Bible, the Bishops' Bible, and the Genevan Bible.

At the Hampton Court Conference, in 1604, King James expressed, in strong language, his dislike of the Genevan notes as 'seditious and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits,' and his desire that in the new revision then resolved upon, no marginal notes of any kind should be admitted,* but that special pains should be taken for a uniform translation, 'to be done by the best learned in both universities; after them to be reviewed by the bishops and the chief learned of the Church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and lastly, to be ratified by his royal authority, and so this whole Church to be bound unto it, and none other.'†

Great, however, as were the advantages of King James's Bible over all its predecessors, the loss of those 'spectacles of annotations' which had been provided for the unlearned reader in the Genevan Bible soon began to be generally deplored, and divers applications were made by the stationers and printers of London for permission to reprint the Genevan notes, or some other notes adapted to the new translation. Thus, in one of the editions of the Authorised Version, published in 1649 by the Company of Stationers, the Old Testament is printed with the Genevan notes, and the New Testament with those of Beza and Junius, 'which notes,' it is stated in the title-page, 'have never before been set forth with this new translation;' and so late, at least, as the year 1715

* The sixth of the rules subsequently drawn up under the direction of Bancroft for the guidance of the revisers is as follows: 'No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.'

† It is a somewhat singular fact that no law, civil or ecclesiastical, is known to exist, enforcing the use of the Authorised Version of 1611; whilst the retention of the Version of the Great Bible in the Psalter, and in some other parts of the Book of Common Prayer, renders the adoption of that Version binding upon the Clergy of the English Church to the same extent.

we find the Genevan notes reprinted in one of the editions of the Authorised Version of the English Bible.

It was in consequence of the want thus generally felt that letters were addressed, in 1644, by the 'Committee for Religion' of the House of Commons to certain divines, chiefly of the Episcopal Church, a small number of whom afterwards became members of the celebrated Westminster Assembly, desiring them to review and correct the Genevan notes, omitting those that there was 'cause to dislike, clearing 'those that were doubtful,' and adapting the whole to the Authorised Version of King James. We have not been able to ascertain whether the Speaker of the House of Commons for the time being took any prominent part either in the origination or in the superintendence of this work. Suffice it to say, that at the expiration of a period of about five years from the promulgation of the letters announcing the determination of the Committee of the House of Commons, a folio volume appeared which has been commonly known by the misnomer of 'the Assembly's Annotations.' These annotations, which were originally designed to be inserted in the margin of the new Bibles, as previously in the Genevan, and on that account to be of about the same bulk as the text, 'lest the border should be 'larger than the skirt of the coat,' subsequently extended to two folio volumes of a goodly size, and are described in the second edition of 1651 as 'an entire Commentary on the Sacred Scriptures: the like never before published in English.'

Excellent as was the design, and, in great measure, the execution, of this first and last attempt in England to provide, under official sanction, a work worthy of the name of 'an entire Commentary on the Sacred Scriptures,' a very superficial glance at the 'Assembly's Annotations' will suffice to disclose its utter inadequacy to meet the requirements of the present day. 'Whilst the Word of God,' says the writer of the preface to the Speaker's Commentary, 'is one and does 'not change, it must touch, at new points, the changing phases 'of physical, philological, and historical knowledge, and so 'the comments that suit one generation are felt by another to 'be obsolete.'

In view of an undertaking of so comprehensive and so important a character as the Speaker's Commentary, the difficulties attending the selection of a competent staff of writers must have been considerable. It needs but a very superficial acquaintance with the general character of the controversies which now distract the English Church to perceive, that in the choice of contributors to a work in which the consistency of the claims

of Revelation and of Science must, of necessity, be discussed, a line must be drawn on one at least, if not on both sides of the open area. When this preliminary point was determined, the chief difficulty of the Committee of Selection, as regards the New Testament staff of expositors, must have consisted in choosing, out of the many ripe and able scholars which the English Church can claim, those best qualified to draw out of their well-replenished treasuries things both 'new and old.' The names of many, we might say of most, of those who have become responsible for this portion of the new Bible Commentary are such as must have commended themselves at once to the consideration of the Executive Committee; whilst, on the other hand, we can well believe that, after due allowance has been made for the omission of the names of some who have been debarred from a share in the work by the pressure of other duties, there still remains a sufficiently wide margin to supply an efficient staff of contributors were a similar undertaking to be set on foot at the present time.

In regard to the exposition of the Old Testament, the case is altogether different; and the difficulties attending the selection of the writers must have been incomparably greater. In the first place, the ground to be occupied was of much wider extent, the books of the Old Testament being more than three times the size of those of the New. In the second place, the field of investigation, as regards the objects primarily contemplated in this Commentary, was, to a considerable extent, and more particularly in this country, untrodden by previous expositors. And, in the third place, although, as we have already intimated, no specific allusions are made, in the preface to the Speaker's Commentary, to the works of any particular writers, it is matter of notoriety that the most formidable assaults which have recently been made upon Holy Scripture have been directed against the historical books of the Old Testament.

But, whilst the task which devolved upon the contributors to the Old Testament portion of the Bible Commentary was, for the reasons which we have assigned, both more arduous and more laborious than that which devolved upon the expositors of the New Testament, it is impossible to disguise the fact, that the number of English clergymen duly qualified for the work, in respect to Hebrew scholarship, bears no just proportion to its magnitude or its importance. We are willing to concede to those who urge the claims of the Septuagint the high value of that version as one of great antiquity, and one from which a large proportion of the citations

which are found in the New Testament are precisely or substantially derived; but it must be borne in mind, on the other hand, that some of the first duties of the translator were, when that version was made, very inadequately apprehended, and that the Septuagint, like the Chaldee Targums, is in many places a paraphrase rather than a translation. Those of our readers who may desire to form an independent judgment, based on wider inductions, as to the amount of authority which belongs to the Septuagint, as an exponent of the true sense of the Old Testament Scriptures, will do well to consult the able article of Canon Selwyn on that subject, in Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible.' We venture to anticipate that their conclusions will, with few exceptions, coincide with those of the learned writer as set forth in the following words: 'It may be laid down as a principle never to build any argument on words or phrases of the Septuagint, without comparing them with the Hebrew. The Greek *may* be right; but very often its variations are wrong.'

But, whatever opinions may have been entertained in past days as to the sufficiency of Hellenistic scholarship for the elucidation of the meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures, indications are not wanting that the systematic neglect and practical discouragement of Hebrew, which have hitherto prevailed in the English Church and in the English Universities, are now generally acknowledged and deplored. In proof of the dawn of better days we need do no more than allude to the progress *pari passu* of two such undertakings as the complete revision of the Authorised Version of the Old and New Testament Scriptures by a Committee, consisting of two Companies, appointed by both Houses of Convocation, and to the projection of a work such as the Speaker's Commentary, not only under the auspices of the highest authorities in the English Church, but with the active co-operation of some of the most distinguished members of the Episcopal Bench.

No practical end can now be answered by the discussion of the question whether the former of these two undertakings should not, in order of time, have taken precedence of the latter. We have reason to believe that when the history of both is written, it will be found that there was a closer connexion between them, in the way of cause and effect, than has been hitherto disclosed. For the present we must content ourselves with observing that whether this impression be, or be not well founded, the priority belongs undoubtedly to the Speaker's Commentary.

With regard to the selection of a competent staff of men for

the execution of these important works, it is obvious that the restriction of that selection, in the case of the Speaker's Commentary, to the clergy of the English Church, and, as we have already seen, to a portion only of that body, operated to the exclusion of some who, in regard of Hebrew scholarship, are pre-eminently qualified for such an undertaking; whilst, in the case of the Old Testament Revision Company, the expediency, on other grounds than that of scholarship, of inviting the co-operation of learned men of all communions has concealed, in some degree, the paucity of Hebrew scholars amongst English clergymen.

Under these circumstances, it augurs well for the future of our national Church that it should have been possible, with the aid of one only of our Hebrew and Arabic Professors, to enlist for such a work as the Speaker's Commentary so many able scholars as those whose names appear on the Old Testament staff of contributors, of whom some had already achieved for themselves a reputation for Hebrew learning, whilst others may be content to rest their claims to that distinction on the ground of their respective contributions to the Volumes now under review.*

It is stated upon the title-page of this Commentary that the text is according to the Authorised Version of 1611, and in the later volumes the typography, as well as the version and marginal readings, appears to correspond more closely than in the earlier volumes with the *editio princeps*. An important question for consideration is here suggested. Should the Authorised Version of 1611 form the basis of a commentary, the avowed object of which is to enable its readers 'to understand what the *original* Scriptures really say and mean'? It will be obvious to Biblical students that two distinct considerations are involved in this inquiry, of which the one concerns the *original text*, and the other the *English translation*.

With regard to the former of these considerations, it is well known that the Old and New Testaments fall under two very

* It is but due to those on whom the grave responsibility of the selection of the Editor of so important a work devolved that we should here record our conviction that although Canon Cook's deservedly high reputation rested, up to the time of the origination of this Commentary, on other grounds, the first-fruits of his contributions to this work have established his claim to a place, not only amongst Hebrew scholars, but also amongst the most able linguists of the present time. We regret our inability to express the same commendation of the editorial supervision of some parts of the work, as of the remarkable ability displayed in the personal contributions of the Editor.

different categories. In the case of the New Testament we possess a critical apparatus for the formation of the text, as well as for the elucidation of its meaning, more complete than that which can be brought to bear upon any other book of equal, or of approximate antiquity; and the labour which has been bestowed upon the collation of manuscripts, versions, and quotations, and upon the determination of the true readings, as well by subjective as by objective criticism, has, in late years, been commensurate with the importance of the object contemplated.

Again, as regards the respective advantages and disadvantages of the adoption of the Authorised Version, or of a new translation, as the basis of a Bible Commentary, the materials on which to arrive at a definite conclusion, in the case of the New Testament, are, to a great extent, already in the hands of Biblical students. Translations of some of the books, by the 'Five Clergymen,' by the late Mr. Conybeare, by Bishop Ellicott, Dean Stanley, and Professors Jowett and Eadie, and of the whole New Testament by the late Dean Alford, are in general circulation; whilst able writers, among whom the names of Scholefield, Trench, and Lightfoot occupy a distinguished place, have, in many important respects, prepared the way for a complete and scholar-like revision of our Authorised Version. We think, however, that we shall not misrepresent the conclusion at which those have arrived who are most competent to decide so difficult a question, when we express our conviction that in the case of a work composed by different, and, to a great extent, independent writers, and more especially in the near prospect of the appearance of a systematic revision both of the text and version by a body of men pre-eminently qualified for the work, the Committee have exercised a wise discretion in retaining the Authorised Version as the basis of the Speaker's Commentary upon the New Testament.

Reasons of yet greater strength may be assigned why the same course should be adopted in the case of the Old Testament. As regards the Masoretic text, generally, it may be fairly urged that the results of the examination of manuscripts of greater antiquity than any which have been subsequently brought to light, have been accurately registered, and, if we may so say, stereotyped in the Masora; and, although the manuscripts from which our present Hebrew Bibles are printed—imperfectly collated by Kennicott and De Rossi, or by those whom they engaged for that purpose—are of a date not earlier than the eleventh century, and, for the most part, of one recession, the results of the collations made in more recent

times, with few exceptions, have not as yet been laid before the public. Again, notwithstanding the labours of Buxtorf, Capellus, and Walton in the seventeenth century, and the more accurate results subsequently obtained from more trustworthy sources by Doctours Baer, Frensdorf, Geiger, and Ginsburg, but little practical use has yet been made of the materials which the Masora itself affords for the systematic revision of the text; whilst, as regards the version, few English scholars, it is to be feared, possess the qualifications necessary for the discharge of so important an undertaking as the critical translation of the more difficult books of the Old Testament.

Before, however, we proceed to notice the manner in which the contributors to the Speaker's Commentary have dealt with the Hebrew text, we will endeavour to supply, as briefly as possible, such information on this subject as the general English reader may require in order to enable him to follow us in our observations.

Although the commonly received Hebrew text is often described as the Masoretic text, very little is known, not only by ordinary English readers, but by a large number of Biblical students, respecting the work from which that designation is derived. It may be well, then, to state *in limine* that *Masora*, which comes from a verb, chiefly of post-Biblical usage, the meaning of which is to *transmit*, or *deliver over*, is the name given by the Jews to a large collection of notes, both critical and exegetical, on the text of the Hebrew Bible. Of these notes an extremely small portion, arbitrarily selected by the several editors, is found in the margin, or at the foot of the page, of most editions of the Hebrew Bible; a larger portion of them is found in the rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, and in the Masoretic treatise designated *Ochla Veochla*; whilst a large mass still exists only in manuscript.* One of the most important parts of this work is that which relates to the various readings commonly known as *Keri* and *Kethiv*.† In the ordinary editions of the Hebrew Bible we frequently find a word marked with a circle, or asterisk, and at the foot of the page we find the Hebrew letter *Koph*, or the word *Keri*, i. e. *read*, by the side of which we find a various

* We are happy to be able to state that the whole of this invaluable *Corpus*, collected from various manuscripts in the libraries of Europe, will shortly be published by Dr. Ginsburg, who has been fifteen years at work upon this *Thesaurus* of Biblical Criticism.

† An exhaustive article on this part of the *Masora*, by Dr. Ginsburg, is to be found in Kitto's *Cyclopædia* of Biblical Literature, under the head of '*Keri* and *Kethiv*.'

reading, or correction. Sometimes these corrections extend only to the orthography, more frequently to variations in number, gender, and tense; whilst, in other instances, they consist in the substitution of entirely different words. These marginal readings are accepted by the Jews in preference to the textual readings; and, although not found in the scrolls used in the synagogues, they are invariably adopted in their public services.

The course pursued by King James's revisers with regard to these various readings was extremely arbitrary; and we are compelled to add that that adopted by some of the contributors to the Speaker's Commentary is scarcely more satisfactory. We will elucidate our meaning by a few illustrations. In fifteen instances enumerated in the Masora, to which the Talmud adds three more, the negative particle לֹא , *lo*, *not*, is said to stand for the similarly-sounding pronoun לוֹ , *lo*, *to him*, or *to it*. It is obvious that the difference of meaning in these passages will be very great, according as the one or other of the various readings is adopted. Thus, in the first place in which this various reading occurs, viz. Ex. xxi. 8; the rendering according to the Hebrew text is as follows: 'If she please not her master who has *not* betrothed her;' whereas, according to the Masora, the personal pronoun is to be substituted here for the negative particle, in which case the rendering will be, 'If she please not her master who has betrothed her *to himself*.' In this case the marginal reading is adopted by the revisers of 1611, and no notice is taken of the textual reading. The same course is adopted, in this instance, in the case of the Speaker's Commentary, although the same reasons cannot be urged for the omission of any notice of the reading found in the text.

We will adduce a second illustration of the importance of these corrections from a later Book of Scripture which has not yet been reached in this work. In Isaiah ix. 3 (in the Hebrew Bible ix. 2), the Hebrew text, as it now stands, is rightly rendered in the Authorised Version, 'Thou hast multiplied the nation, and *not* increased the joy;' a statement which stands in somewhat striking contrast to that which immediately follows, 'They joy before Thee according to the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil.' Here, as in the preceding instance, the Masora corrects the text, and the marginal reading, which, in this case, occupies a similar position in our own English Bibles, gives the consistent sense, which we can scarcely doubt will be adopted as well by the Revision Committee, as by the learned Hebraist who is responsible for this portion of the Speaker's Commentary: 'Thou hast

'multiplied the nation, and increased its joy; they joy before Thee as the joy in harvest, as men rejoice when they divide the spoil.'

One more illustration of the manner in which this class of marginal corrections affects the text must suffice. In Joshua iii. 16, the Authorised Version of 1611, which here adopts the marginal correction and takes no notice of the textual reading, is as follows: 'The waters which came down from above, stood and rose up upon a heap very far, from the city Adam, that is beside Zaretan.*' Mr. Espin, on the contrary, and, as we think, rightly, rejects, in this place, the marginal correction, and adheres to the textual reading, in accordance with which the rendering is as follows: 'The waters . . . rose up upon (or in) an heap far away (i.e. from the place where the Jordan was crossed), by (or in) Adam, the city which is beside Zarthan.†'

There is another class of emendations recorded in the Masora, consisting of entire words omitted in the text, but supplied in the margin, or foot-notes. These are uniformly accepted by the revisers of King James, and, with one or two exceptions, the fact of the omission of the words from the text is not indicated by the use of italics. We have observed only two instances in the Speaker's Commentary, viz. 2 Sam. xvi. 23, and 2 Kings xix. 37, in which these omissions have failed to be noticed by the respective contributors.

There is a third class of emendations contained in the

* The punctuation of the edition of 1611 is as above. In the modern editions, and also in the Speaker's Commentary, the comma after the word 'far' is omitted.

† It is to be regretted that Mr. Espin has, in his observations on this passage, confounded the marginal with the textual reading. His words are these: 'Here the other reading, supported by many MSS. and versions, is decidedly to be preferred.' The fact is precisely the reverse. It is the *marginal* reading which Mr. Espin rejects, which is 'supported by many MSS. and versions,' not the *textual* reading which he adopts. Moreover, 'the other reading,' which would be a correct description of the *Keri*, or *marginal* correction, is, obviously, a most incorrect description of the *textual*, i.e. the received reading. So little attention, indeed, does Mr. Espin appear to have bestowed both here and elsewhere on the critical examination of the Hebrew text, that he does not so much as notice the fact that the 36th and 37th verses of Joshua xxi., though found, as we had occasion to notice in an Article on Biblical Criticism, in October 1840, in 163 out of 237 MSS. examined by Kennicott and De Rossi, have been commonly omitted, on the authority of the Masora, from the text of the printed Hebrew Bibles since the year 1515.

Masora, of a character similar to that last noticed, consisting of words erroneously inserted in the text, which the reader is directed in the margin, or foot-notes, to omit. These are, for the most part, particles, the insertion or omission of which would not materially affect the meaning of the passage, and, in the majority of instances, could not be detected in a version. There are two passages, however, viz. Jeremiah li. 3, and Ezekiel xlviii. 16, in which the sense, and consequently the version, is affected by the insertion or rejection of the particles. It is somewhat remarkable that in the former of these cases the Authorised Version follows the textual, and rejects the marginal reading; whilst, in the latter case, it follows the reading of the margin, and rejects, or rather leaves unnoticed, that of the text. The Speaker's Commentary has not yet reached either of these places.

There are other peculiarities in the Masoretic text which claim the attention of the Biblical student, although they appear either to have escaped the observation of the revisers of 1611, or to have been deemed unworthy of their notice. Of this character are the marks which are found over certain letters or words in the Hebrew text, and which are known by the name of *puncta extraordinaria*. A careful examination of the fifteen places in which these dots or *puncta extraordinaria* occur, will suffice, we think, to establish that explanation of their import which was given by Rabbi Nathan in the tract *Aboth*, viz. that they were designed to indicate letters or words of spurious, or doubtful authority. These marks have not wholly escaped the notice of the contributors to the Speaker's Commentary, but they do not appear to have received at their hands that attention which they deserve; nor do we find any consistent explanation given of their design. Thus, in a note on Numbers xxi. 30, we are told that the final letter in the Hebrew word אֲשֶׁר, *asher*, is marked by the Masoretes 'as 'suspicious'; and, this suspicious letter being rejected, another Hebrew word אֵשׁ (*ēsh*), denoting *fire*, is obtained as that which was originally written, and the passage explained accordingly. On turning, however, to Deuteronomy xxix. 28, where these same dots again occur over the words 'to us and to our children,' instead of finding any intimation that the genuineness of these words was suspected by the Masoretes, we are told that they are distinguished by the *puncta extraordinaria* 'in order no 'doubt to draw attention to them.' We will only add with reference to these hieroglyphics—and the remark will apply also to the passages in which inverted *nuns* (i. e. the Hebrew letter N) occur, denoting, as it is thought, a transposition of certain

words—that on referring to several of the places in which they are inserted in the Masoretic text we find that they have been passed over by the contributors to the Speaker's Commentary without any notice whatsoever.

A similar omission occurs in those places in which the Masora records the *Tikkun Sopherim*, or 'Correction of the Scribes.' We do not assume that the rejected readings, in these passages, must, of necessity, have been the original readings, and the substituted readings the spurious insertion of the Scribes. At the same time, the undoubted antiquity of the rejected readings, anterior, at least, to the Jerusalem Talmud which discusses them, seems to demand that they should not be unnoticed in a critical commentary. We will adduce, by way of illustration, one or two instances of these corrections, of which there are eighteen in all. In Genesis xviii. 22, which is one of those places in which Bleek is of opinion that the original reading was rejected by the Scribes, Abraham is represented, in the Masoretic text, and in the Authorised Version, as standing before Jehovah, whereas, according to the reading rejected by the Scribes, Jehovah is represented as standing before Abraham. Again, in Numbers xii. 12, where Aaron is represented as addressing Moses, we find that the readings 'his mother' and 'his flesh,' have been adopted by the Masoretes in preference to the readings 'our mother' and 'our flesh,' in which case, as in the former, it is not difficult to perceive the grounds on which the textual readings have been preferred.

Although in both the cases to which we have referred the rejected readings have been unnoticed by the writers in the Speaker's Commentary, we have little doubt that when the contributions of the Commentators on the Minor Prophets are in the hands of the public, their readers will not be left in ignorance of the fact, that in Habakkuk i. 12, where the reading of the Authorised Version, in accordance with the present Hebrew text, is 'we shall not die,' there is evidence also of the existence of an alternative reading in accordance with which the passage would run thus: 'Art Thou not from 'everlasting, O Jehovah my God, my Holy One? Thou diest 'not.'

We pass on to another subject which does not seem to have received at the hands of Biblical students, generally, nor at those of the contributors to the Speaker's Commentary, in particular, that consideration to which it is entitled. We refer to the ancient divisions of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. We are by no means prepared to assert that the order and continuity of the narrative are never interrupted by these

ancient divisions, as they undoubtedly are by that modern division into chapters which is now of universal adoption. We think, however, that but scant justice is meted out by the learned Bishop Harold Browne to the Jewish conservators of the sacred text, when he expresses his opinion, that the organic structure of the Book of Genesis is somewhat obscured 'by the modern division into chapters and verses, as it was of old by the Jewish division of the Pentateuch into *perashim* or sections.'* It might be inferred from these words that the sectional division of the Book of Genesis was the only division known, of old, to the Jews; and further, however remote such an idea may have been from the mind of the writer, that the division of the text into verses as well as into chapters was one of modern origin. We will endeavour, then, to describe in few words, what were the ancient divisions of the Pentateuch. They were as follows:—

1. The division into verses, marked by two dots like the English colon, to which division allusion is made in the Mishna, and which the Talmud ascribes to Moses himself, observing that 'a verse which Moses has not divided we too must not divide.† This division, with few exceptions, coincides with that of our present Authorised Version. It was first numerically indicated in the Hebrew Bible of Bomberg, printed in 1546–8, and as we have already observed, it appeared in our English Bibles for the first time in 1560.

2. The division into *parshioth*, or sections, varying in length from one verse (see Is. lii. 3–5), to two or even three chapters.

3. The division into 175 pericopes or lessons, the design of which was that the whole of the Pentateuch should be read over twice in every seven years. This division, however, in consequence of the general neglect of the Sabbatical year, gave place to the Triennial division into 154 sections.

4. The division into annual pericopes or lessons, fifty-four in number, corresponding with the *maximum* number of Sabbaths in the Jewish year.

The triennial and the annual pericopes were subdivided into chapters. The former of these divisions has been lost, but the latter is still preserved. This division, however, which ought to have been marked in the printed Hebrew Bibles, as well as the annual lessons, must not be confounded with the modern division into chapters, which, for the most part, corresponds with that of our English Bibles. The division into chapters which now prevails owes its origin to Stephen Lang-

* Vol. i. p. 22.

† Megilla, 22 a.

ton, or, as others think, to Cardinal Hugo, in the thirteenth century. It was adopted by Rabbi Nathan in the composition of his Hebrew Concordance, printed in Venice in 1523, and was introduced, by necessity rather than by choice, into the Rabbinic Bible of Bomberg in 1516-17. These four divisions, as has been already observed, extend only to the Pentateuch. The Historical and Prophetical Books and the Hagiographa are Masoretically divided into verses and sections, to which divisions that into chapters has been added in the printed editions.

The Pentateuchal division into sections is marked either by the letter *Pe* (P), the first letter of a word meaning *open*, or by the letter *Samech* (S), the first letter of a word meaning *closed*; the sections thus distinguished being, respectively, denominated *open* and *closed* sections. The division into the weekly lessons of the annual cycle is marked by the threefold repetition of the one or other of the same letters, according as the first section of the lesson begins with an open or a closed section, and by a corresponding heading at the top of the page taken from one of the words which occur in the first verse of the opening section. Thus e. g. the first hebdomadal lesson is known as *B'reshith* (*In the beginning*), which is the first word of Gen. i. 1, and the second as *Noach*, because the first verse of the second lesson is Gen. vi. 9, 'These are the generations of *Noah*.'

It will appear, as the result of careful examination, that whatever may have been the origin of the sectional division of the Pentateuch, it was made upon a definite and carefully considered system. Whether the open sections were, or were not written on separate papyri, or pieces of parchment, the intention of the division seems to have been that each open section which, like a new paragraph in an English book, begins with a new line, should contain a distinct record, whether it be in the form of history, or of enactment; and that each closed section should contain some additional, and, not unfrequently, supplementary matter. It is much to be regretted that in the modern division into chapters this sectional division, which is, in most cases, observed, should, in any cases, have been disregarded for other than reasons of the most conclusive nature.

One or two illustrations of the results of such deviations must suffice:—

In Exodus xxxv. 30, Moses relates to the Israelites the fact recorded in chap. xxxi. 2, of the call of Bezaleel to execute the work of the sanctuary, but it is not until after his address

to the Israelites, that the charge of Moses to Bezaleel himself appears to have been given, and the materials for the work of the Tabernacle delivered over into his hands. (Chap. xxxvi. 2, 3.) And yet, according to the Authorised Version, which is here adopted in the Speaker's Commentary without note or comment (except a reference to xxxi. 3), Bezaleel and Aholiab are represented in the *preceding* verse of the same chapter, i.e. xxxvi. 1, as already engaged in the work of the sanctuary. 'Then wrought Bezaleel and Aholiab, &c.' Now had not chapter xxxv. been broken off at verse 35, in violation of the natural and obvious division, it could scarcely have escaped the revisers of King James, or any subsequent critics, that the first verse of chapter xxxvi. is the continuation of the address of Moses to the Israelites, and that instead of recording the historical fact that Bezaleel and Aholiab, and others, actually executed the commission, it conveys the assurance to the Israelites that they would do the work to which their call is recorded in v. 30, and for which their qualifications are described in v. 35. The whole paragraph will then run as follows: 'And Moses said unto the children of Israel, see the Lord hath called by name Bezaleel. . . . These hath He filled with wisdom of heart to work. . . . And Bezaleel and Aholiab . . . shall work, according to all that the Lord hath commanded.'

We proceed to notice another point of more than ordinary importance in Biblical exegesis.

It is well known that much light has been thrown upon the use of the definite article, both in Hebrew and Greek, since 1611, and that some better account of its insertion or omission is now thought needful than that which satisfied a scholar of the sixteenth century,* viz. that it is 'at one time inserted by a pleonasm, and at others omitted by an ellipsis.'

The volumes before us show that the attention of the writers has been directed to this subject, and, in some cases, with great advantage to their readers. There are, however, other cases in which their criticisms appear to us to be characterised by some degree of inaccuracy. It is well known that in the Hebrew language, nouns in a state of construction, i.e. nouns

* Budæus. On the other hand, an attempt was made in Tomson's New Testament of 1576, to give emphatic force to the article by the rendering 'that,' or 'this.' One illustration of the effect will suffice. The following is the translation given of S. John v. 12:—'He that hath *that* Son hath *that* life; and he that hath not *that* Son of God hath not *that* life.' See Westcott's 'History of the English Bible,' p. 288, note.

preceding those which, in Western languages, are described as in the genitive case, do not admit of the insertion of the definite article. The exceptions to this rule are few, and are found, on examination, to confirm rather than to subvert the rule itself. It follows from what we have now said that in the case of expressions such as '*the* angel of Jehovah,' or '*an* 'angel of Jehovah' (in which the second noun also, being a proper name, does not admit of the insertion of the article), the Hebrew original must, of necessity, be the same; and that in most cases it is the context which can alone determine the propriety of the rendering. Bishop Harold Browne, in his notes on Gen. xii. 7, and xxxii. 24, gives, in clear and concise terms, a historical outline of the various views which have been maintained on this subject; and he records his own conviction of the identity of the Man or Angel who appeared to Abraham and to Jacob with Jehovah Himself. It is to be regretted, however, that this learned prelate, when giving the literal rendering of the designation 'angel of the Lord,' did not point out more precisely the ambiguity which we have already noticed, and that in his quotation from Hosea xii. 4, he adopts, in a manner which might mislead the English reader, the Authorised Version, viz., 'the angel,' where the Hebrew is equally capable of the rendering 'an angel.' It is also to be regretted that Lord Arthur Hervey, whose Hebrew criticisms frequently throw much light upon the text,* without any intimation that the Authorised Version of Judges vi. 11 is as admissible, grammatically, as his own, substitutes, in the black type which is adopted in this work to mark 'amended translations of passages proved to be incorrect,' the words 'the angel of the Lord' in the place of 'an angel of the Lord,' † whilst in his note on Judges xiii. 6 he

* We have observed some slight inaccuracies in the notes on the Books of Samuel, of a similar character to that here noticed. Thus, in the note on 1 Sam. xvi. 15, where the Hebrew words literally translated are 'the (or, a) spirit of God, an evil one,' = 'an evil spirit of God, we read 'the Hebrew has "*The evil spirit of God,*" the words which we have italicised being printed in the distinctive black type already noticed. Again in his note on 1 Sam. xxiii. 1, where Lord Arthur Hervey says that the Hebrew word *ne'um* 'almost always follows 'the words to which it is applied;' we think that he must have drawn a general inference from insufficient data. Sometimes this word precedes the quotation, sometimes it follows it, and more frequently, as far as we have observed, it occurs in the middle of the quotation.

† It should be observed here that Jehovah, i.e. the LORD (as printed in the Authorised Version), being a proper name, does not admit of

omits to notice that the words there rendered 'an angel of God' would more correctly be rendered 'the angel of God,' the Hebrew article being in that case prefixed to the second noun.* In his note on 2 Sam. xiv. 17, however, the Bishop rightly directs the attention of his readers to the same mis-translation in the Authorised Version. Again, in the notes on 2 Kings i. 3; and 1 Chron. xxi. 18, in which places precisely the same expression occurs, Canon Rawlinson informs his readers that 'the words denote *literally* "an angel of the "Lord."' The result of such criticisms upon the mind of the ordinary English reader must be to perplex rather than to instruct.

The earlier portion of the Speaker's Commentary, as might be anticipated from the deservedly high reputation of Bishop Harold Browne and Canon Cook, is, for the most part, remarkably free from errors such as those to which we have now referred; and we observe with much satisfaction that one or two of the slight oversights which we had marked for observation in the first edition, such as that which occurs in the definition of the Hebrew word *minchah* in the note on Gen. iv. 3, and the substitution of 1 Sam. ii. 22 for 1 Sam. iii. 15 in p. 6 of the Introduction to the Pentateuch, have been carefully corrected in the later impressions of the first volume of this Commentary.† We observe with regret that, in regard to Hebrew scholarship, the later volumes of this work are more open to hostile criticism than the earlier.

We will quote, by way of illustration, Mr. Clark's note upon Leviticus x. 18. It is as follows: "'The holy *place*," as it is 'called in our version, within the Tabernacle (see Exod. xxvi. 33, xxviii. 29, &c.) into which the blood was carried, is 'regularly called in Hebrew, simply, *the Holy* (as the inner-most chamber is called *the Holy of Holies*), the adjective being 'used substantively; while the precinct in which the flesh of 'the sin-offering was eaten is generally called in full *the Holy place*, the substantive being expressed. But in this verse, in

the insertion of the article; whereas *Elohim*, God, being an appellative, does admit of it. Hence, in accordance with the mode adopted in Hebrew of giving definiteness to a compound idea, 'the angel of God' is distinguished from 'an angel of God;' whilst the same expression necessarily serves for 'the angel of Jehovah' and 'an angel of Jehovah.'

* The same form is found in Gen. xxxi. 11; Ex. xiv. 19; Judges vi. 20, xiii. 6, 9; 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20, xix. 25, &c.

† A few errors yet remain to be corrected. E.g. the word *yeor*, which is said in the note on Gen. xii. 1, to be used in Scripture for the Nile, is also used in Dan. xii. 5, 6, to denote the Tigris.

'the second sentence, the usual Hebrew name of the former is given to the latter, to give point to the sense. In a translation the ambiguity, which is awkward in many places, would be avoided by uniformly calling one *the Holy precinct*, and the other *the Holy place*.'

It appears to us that there are several inaccuracies in this note:

1. Whereas Mr. Clark asserts that the holy place within the Tabernacle is regularly called in Hebrew *the Holy*, the adjective being used substantively, the fact is that it is *never* so called. 'The Holy,' i.e. the Hebrew adjective with the definite article, only occurs four times in the whole of the Old Testament, nor does it in any one of those four places signify either *the Holy place*, or *the Holy precinct*.

2. Whereas Mr. Clark asserts that 'the precinct in which the flesh of the sin-offering was eaten is generally called in full *the holy place*, the substantive being expressed,' we believe that it is *never* so called. It is commonly described as *a holy place*, not *the holy place*, and if, in any cases, it is described as *the holy place*, the original does not consist of the substantive and adjective as Mr. Clark implies, but of *two* substantives, which may literally be rendered *the place of holiness*.

3. In the passage in question, as in both of the other passages cited by Mr. Clark, the Hebrew word employed is not an adjective, as Mr. Clark represents it, but a substantive, i.e. not קדוש *Kadosh* but כֹּדֶשׁ *Kodesh*; and

4. Although in Leviticus x. 18, the same substantive is employed in both clauses of the verse, the distinction between the holy place and the holy precinct, though ambiguously noticed in the Authorised English Version, and apparently unnoticed by Mr. Clark, is very clearly marked in the Hebrew. The verse may be literally rendered thus: 'Behold the blood of it was not brought into the holy place (or sanctuary) *within* (i.e. within the Tabernacle itself); ye should indeed have eaten it in the holy place, as I commanded' i.e. in some portion of the sanctuary (*Kodesh*—*ιερόν* as distinguished from *ναός*), outside the Tabernacle properly so called, but either within the tent, or in the court in which the altar of sacrifice stood. (Cf. Ex. xxix. 32.)

Our grounds of complaint against Mr. Clark's contribution to the Speaker's Commentary, however well executed in some respects, are not restricted to points of Hebrew criticism. Mr. Clark's views as to the institution of the Sabbath are either very vague, or are very vaguely expressed. He refers, indeed, as if with assent, to the Bishop of Winchester's

note on Gen. ii. 3, in which the arguments in support of the primeval institution of the day of rest are ably urged; and yet, in the very same note, Mr. Clark expresses his opinion that it is probable that some form of worship at the *Jewish sanctuary* was observed 'from the first institution of 'the Sabbath' (p. 340). It is possible, indeed, that Mr. Clark may not have intended these words to be understood in their obvious signification; otherwise we are unable to reconcile them with the supposition of the institution of the day of rest in Eden, and of its observance 'from the beginning of the 'creation.'

We take exception, again, to Mr. Clark's attempt to reconcile the discrepancies between the two versions of the Ten Commandments contained, respectively, in Ex. xx. and Deut. v. Mr. Clark asserts, but, as we think, on insufficient grounds, that each statement 'is said, with reiterated emphasis, to contain the words that were actually spoken by the Lord, and 'written by Him upon the stones' (p. 335); and, inasmuch as the two statements differ in many places, he adopts Ewald's suggestion that each commandment was originally expressed in the briefest possible form, and that the words which follow the simple injunction or prohibition are a late addition, the exact origin of which it is needless, in Mr. Clark's judgment, to discuss. This theory appears to us absolutely inconsistent with the express statement that the words written both upon the tables which Moses broke, and upon those which he was commanded to prepare, were the words recorded in Exodus xx.,* and also with St. Paul's allusion to the promise contained in the fifth commandment (Eph. vi. 2), for which promise there is no place in 'the condensed form' which Ewald's theory demands. The question, then, is, Is there any declaration, express or implied, that the words written upon the two tables of stone were identical with those contained in Deut. v.? To this inquiry it appears to us that the reply must be in the negative. Our reasons are these. In Deut. iv. 13, Moses, shortly before his death, reminds the Israelites of the ten commandments (or 'words') which the Lord spake out of the midst of the fire and which He wrote upon two tables of stone. He then informs them that 'at the same time' he received a command from the Lord to teach them 'statutes and judgments.' In the beginning of the fifth chapter he summons all Israel to hear these '*statutes and judgments,*' which, as the context implies, were something different from, or supplementary to, 'the ten words.' He

* Cf. Ex. xx. 1; xxiv. 12; xxxi. 18; xxxiv. 1, 28; Deut. x. 4.

then proceeds, in terms which could not have been identical with the actual words spoken on Mount Sinai, inasmuch as they distinctly refer to those words, to rehearse the substance of the Ten Commandments, and to enforce their observance. In the version here given of the fourth commandment the people are first reminded, in words which could have formed no part of the law as written on the two tables, of the injunction which they had already received to keep the Sabbath day, '*as the Lord their God had commanded them.*' They are then reminded, further, of their bondage in Egypt, and of their deliverance out of it; and, upon this additional ground, it is declared in the fifteenth verse (in words which could not have formed any part of the original enactment), '*Therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day.*' A similar reference is found in the fifth commandment to the injunction, *as previously given*, 'Honour thy father and thy mother, *as the Lord thy God commanded thee.*'

The only apparent ground for Mr. Clark's positive assertion that each of the two versions of the Ten Commandments 'is said, with reiterated emphasis, to contain the words that were actually spoken by the Lord,' appears to us to be contained in Deut. v. 22, where it is declared that 'these words the Lord spake . . . in the mount . . . and he added no more.' If, however, our previous remarks are just, and the phraseology employed in this chapter could, by no possibility, be designed by Moses, or understood by the people, as a repetition of the *ipsissima verba* engraven upon the two tables, there will be little or no difficulty in attaching a fair and consistent meaning to the above words, as denoting that the commandments which Moses, under Divine guidance, had just expounded to the Israelites, and enforced on their observance, were those which had already been spoken to them 'in the mount, out of the midst of the fire,' and which were written, as the concluding words of the verse affirm, 'in two tables of stone,' which tables of stone were at that time deposited in the Ark, and of the exact contents of which we may fairly presume that no Israelite could have been ignorant.

Canon Espin's portion of this work, though in many respects executed with great care and ability, and distinguished by a skilful use of telling arguments, is characterised by a yet greater lack of attention to the grammatical structure of the Hebrew. Thus, in his proposed amendment of the Authorised Version of Numbers xvi. 1, 'And Korah took counsel, &c.,' Mr. Espin, in the first edition of this work, observes that it 'seems necessary to refer the verb, being first in the sentence and in

' the singular number,' to Korah, rather than, as in the Authorised Version, to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram conjointly. In the later impressions of the Commentary Mr. Espin has somewhat modified this criticism, and, omitting his previous mention of ' the singular number,' has substituted for the words we have just quoted the following—' as its position suggests.' Now, unfortunately for the value of this amended criticism, it is the position of the verb at the beginning of the sentence, i.e. before, not after its subject, which, so far from suggesting its restriction to Korah, constitutes the more than sufficient justification of King James's revisers in the translation which they have adopted; the rule, as is well known to Hebrew students, being that when the predicate stands at the beginning of the sentence it very commonly assumes its simplest form; so that whether the subject be masculine or feminine, singular or plural, the verb is frequently found in the singular number and in the masculine gender.

We have alluded, in an earlier part of this article, to the soundness of the discretion exercised by the promoters of the Speaker's Commentary in accepting the received Hebrew text as its basis, and the Authorised English Version as being, upon the whole, a faithful, and, for the purposes of this Commentary, the best exponent of its meaning. Mr. Espin's mode of dealing with the text of Joshua x. 12-15 is an illustration of the hazardous results of a deviation from this rule on the part of one whose attention does not seem to have been specially directed to this important department of Biblical criticism.

It is entirely beside our present purpose to express any opinion upon the various explanations which have been suggested by men of equal piety and equal learning as to the nature of the agency employed in the production of that supernatural prolongation of light which is alleged, in the 10th chapter of Joshua, to have followed upon the battle of Beth-horon. And, further, in consideration of the comparative paucity, the recent date, and the limited area of those Hebrew MSS. which have been hitherto collated, we freely admit the necessity, here as elsewhere, of allowing a larger latitude to subjective criticism in dealing with the text of the Old Testament than we should be prepared to concede to it in dealing with that of the New. At the same time, in reviewing the criticisms of Canon Espin on the passage in question, we are constrained to record our emphatic protest against a mode of dealing with the text of the Old Testament, which, in the judgment of every scholar, would be deemed simply intoler-

able if applied, we will not say to that of the New Testament, but to any work of classical antiquity—however remote its date, and however corrupt the existing condition of the text. In dealing with this passage, Canon Espin, in a note, or rather disquisition, of more than ordinary length, presents his readers with an outline of the principal theories which have been propounded by different writers with a view to overcome the difficulties which the miracle of Joshua x. presents. The majority of the writers who reject the miracle *in toto* rest their conclusions mainly (1) on the fact that a portion at least of the account is confessedly a quotation from the Book of Jashar; (2) on the allegation that this book was chiefly, if not exclusively, a collection of national poems; and (3) on the assumption that 'no inferences of a historical kind can be drawn from a passage conceived in a highly poetical and completely figurative strain.'

The fallacy of conclusions resting on such grounds is obvious. In the first place, the arguments against the whole of the passage being a citation from the Book of Jashar, amongst which may be mentioned the position of the formula of citation, are at least as strong as those which can be alleged in favour of the theory that the whole passage is taken from that book. In the second place, whilst it is perfectly legitimate to interpret a poetical expression with greater latitude than one in prose, it is contrary to every sound canon of interpretation to treat a quotation inserted in a plain and unvarnished statement of facts as a mere rhetorical embellishment, devoid of all historical foundation, and of all essential connexion with the narrative into which it is introduced. And, thirdly, it is more than sufficiently clear that, whatever the source from which the alleged facts were derived, the writer to whom we are indebted for verses 12–15 was himself firmly persuaded of the truth of the incidents therein recorded. These, or similar considerations have, we presume, been deemed by Canon Espin of too great weight to justify him in casting in his lot with those critics, whether rationalistic or orthodox, who have rejected the miracle of Joshua x. on the grounds to which we have alluded. On what more weighty grounds, it will naturally be asked, has he arrived at the same practical conclusion? We should fear to do Canon Espin injustice were we to reply to this inquiry in any other language than his own.

'The whole passage,' he writes, 'may, and even ought on critical grounds, to be taken as a fragment, of unknown date and uncertain authorship, interpolated into the text of the

' narrative, the continuity of which is broken by the insertion. ' It may fairly be suspected to be a gloss upon the words of ' the Book of Jasher, written originally, perhaps, along with ' the text in this place by way of parallel and illustration.'

In the absence of all external evidence in favour of so bold a stroke of criticism as the elimination of four entire verses from the text, and of all internal evidence beyond a suspicion, on the part of Canon Espin, that they are a gloss upon the words of the Book of Jasher—a supposition which, as regards ' the whole passage,' is excluded, in our judgment, by the very terms of the alleged citation—we are reduced to the necessity of inquiring into Canon Espin's qualifications for determining, upon subjective grounds, the genuineness or spuriousness of the passage in question. In order to arrive at a definite conclusion on this point, we need go no further than the disquisition now before us. Two of the arguments which, in Canon Espin's judgment, are ' decisive' of the ' rhythmical character ' and cadence of the passage' are the following: (1) the use of ' the primitive word דָּוָם *dom*; the fact being that so far from being *primitive*, the word *dom* occurs almost as frequently in the writings of the time of the Captivity as in the whole of the preceding Books of the Old Testament; and so far from being, as Canon Espin seems to imagine, exclusively poetical, it occurs in the second place in which it is used in the unmistakeably prose narrative of Leviticus x. 3; and (2) ' the use of בְּנֵי (b'nè) without the article for the children of ' Israel; ' the fact being that amongst the almost innumerable instances in which the words ' Children of Israel ' occur in the historical books of the Old Testament,* the article not only is never inserted, but is grammatically inadmissible.

We are by no means surprised that in the assignment of the respective portions of this great work, the commentary upon those books of the Old Testament which contain the records of the two Jewish kingdoms should have been entrusted to one who, whatever judgment may be pronounced upon his work, as a whole, has displayed so much learning and research in his history of the other great monarchies of the ancient world. We think, however, that if at the time of his acceptance of the task assigned to him, Canon Rawlinson had not directed his attention to the critical study of the language in which the history of the Jewish monarchy is written, he should, at least,

* These words occur upwards of fifty times in the Book of Joshua alone.

have secured the aid of some competent Hebrew scholar in the correction of notes involving points of Hebrew criticism. We are reluctantly constrained to express our conviction that such has not been the case; and inasmuch as it matters little, as regards the grounds on which our conclusion has been formed, what portion of Canon Rawlinson's contributions to the Speaker's Commentary we select, we will confine our strictures to the notes on that part of the Second Book of Kings to which we shall have occasion to refer in connexion with the inscription on the Moabite Stone.

In his note on 2 Kings iii. 21, the proposed rendering, 'to wear a girdle,' to which the word 'literally' is prefixed, is not a literal rendering, nor does it convey the sense of the Hebrew, which denotes the preparation for war, as in 1 Kings xx. 11, where the word is used in the sense of buckling on the armour for the battle in contrast to the unloosening it after the battle. The Authorised Version, 'able to put on 'armour,' conveys the true meaning. Moreover, whilst correcting the English version in a place which does not need correction, Canon Rawlinson fails to observe that the word rendered in the same verse 'they gathered,' is, in the Hebrew, in the passive voice, and should rather be rendered, 'and there 'were gathered (or summoned) all that were able to put on 'armour.'

In the 26th verse of the same chapter, Canon Rawlinson, making use of the black type which is employed to correct undoubted mistranslations, amends the Authorised Version, 'seven hundred men that drew swords,' thus, 'Rather, *with drawn swords.*' We presume that this correction must have been borrowed from some paraphrase of the passage, which Canon Rawlinson has mistaken for a translation. In any case, whilst freely admitting that the swords of the seven hundred men were drawn on the occasion in question, we contend that as regards the translation of the Hebrew words, the Authorised Version is right, and that Canon Rawlinson is wrong. In his note on the 8th verse of the following chapter, Canon Rawlinson observes, 'The expression here used (*it fell on a day*) which occurs three times in the present narrative, 'is not found elsewhere in the whole of Scripture.' Now it so happens that the very same expression occurs the very same number of times in the first two chapters of Job, viz. i. 6, 13, and ii. 1. In his note on v. 31 of that chapter, Canon Rawlinson substitutes the marginal reading 'attention,' as a more literal rendering than 'hearing.' It is obvious that in this place the rendering of the Authorised Version is equally

literal with Canon Rawlinson's; but when we turn to the parallel passage to which reference is made, viz. 1 Kings xviii. 29, we find that no notice is taken of the rendering 'any that regarded,' which is obviously incorrect according to the Masoretic punctuation, or of the marginal reading, which is the same as in the passage under consideration.

A few more examples of Canon Rawlinson's Hebrew criticisms must suffice, and we must again remind our readers that we have purposely restricted our investigation to a portion of the notes on two consecutive chapters. In one of his notes on 2 Kings iv. 42, he observes, 'the word translated "full ears of corn," occurs only here, and twice in Leviticus.' Now amongst other places in which the same word *Karmel*, though not precisely in the same signification, occurs, are 2 Kings xix. 23, and 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, both passages falling within Canon Rawlinson's portion of the Speaker's Commentary, and the word in question being the subject of a note in each case.

Again, in his 'additional note on v. 7,' at the end of the chapter, Canon Rawlinson observes very properly that it is possible that the copula before the Hebrew word rendered 'thy children' has accidentally slipped out. He omits, however, to observe that this is one of the passages in which the marginal reading of the Hebrew, i.e. the *Keri*, corrects the *Kethiv*, or text, and consequently that the reading with the copula is that actually adopted by the Jews, as it is in the Authorised Version.

Once more, in the note on the 16th verse of the chapter last referred to (2 Kings iv.), Canon Rawlinson corrects the Authorised Version, 'about this season, according to the time of life,' thus: 'Rather, *about this season in the coming year,*' the words which we have italicised being printed in the distinctive black type reserved for the correction of undoubted mistranslations. The perplexity which we experienced in our attempt to trace the origin of this extraordinary correction of the Authorised Version, by what we must presume to be regarded by Canon Rawlinson as a more correct translation, was in no small measure increased by his reference to the Bishop of Winchester's note on the same expression in Genesis xviii. 10. Improbable as it might seem that Canon Rawlinson should have laboured under the influence of some optical illusion, it was yet more improbable that a Hebrew scholar such as Bishop Harold Browne should have given the weight of his authority to so manifest a gloss, in lieu of a translation, as that which Canon Rawlinson appears to ascribe to him in this place. On

turning, however, to the note on Genesis xviii. 10, the apparent mystery was solved. Instead of the translation adopted by Canon Rawlinson, Bishop Harold Browne expresses his approval of a rendering, accepted by many critics, 'when the season revives;' and he adds, that 'it is now generally thought that the *sense* is the same as in chapter xvii. 21, "at this set time in the next year."' Could we determine whether, in a case such as this, negligence, or imperfect scholarship, is the less serious charge to prefer against Canon Rawlinson, we would gladly arraign him on the lighter of the two accusations.

With regard to the bearing of the Moabite Stone Inscription upon the events of Jewish history recorded in 2 Kings i. 1, and iii., Canon Rawlinson, whilst inclining apparently to the opinion that it commemorates the results of the war of independence recorded in 2 Kings i. 1, rather than of that recorded in 2 Kings iii., abstains from committing himself definitely to either of the two views which have been espoused upon this subject. It would carry us far beyond our prescribed limits were we to enter into any lengthened discussion of the probable cause of the abrupt termination of the expedition of the three allied kings, as recorded in the latter of these chapters, and of their evacuation of the land of Moab at a time and under circumstances when we should have anticipated that the victory already achieved would have been promptly and resolutely followed up. The explanation of so unexampled a procedure suggested by Josephus, viz., the commiseration of Israel for the sufferings and despair of the Moabites, is manifestly an evasion, rather than a solution, of the difficulty. The suggestion of Dr. Ginsburg that the indignation of the Moabites against the allies was so effectually roused by the sacrifice offered by the king that they were incited to a more strenuous and ultimately successful resistance, is at least in harmony both with the recorded result of the expedition and also with the presumable strength and resources of a nation against which so formidable a combination of invading armies was deemed necessary. The two explanations proposed by some modern critics (of which Canon Rawlinson thinks the latter preferable), appear to us to have little or nothing to recommend them, either in the use of the word rendered 'indignation' in the Authorised Version, or in the natural and ordinary course of events. They are thus enunciated by Canon Rawlinson: 'either that the Israelites were indignant with themselves, or that the Jews and Edomites were indignant at the Israelites for having caused the pollution of this

'sacrifice, and so that the siege was relinquished.' These explanations appear to be equally untenable. The former, as it seems to us, needs no other refutation than its simple enunciation. The latter is nothing more than an arbitrary and improbable supposition, alike unsupported by the phraseology and by the context. On the other hand, there is nothing inconsistent either with the language employed, or with the ordinary course of events, in the supposition of a signal reverse following upon a signal victory. The sin of Jehoram is not ambiguously referred to in the chapter which records the expedition (2 Kings iii. 13). The word rendered 'indignation,' as Canon Rawlinson justly observes, is elsewhere used to denote 'the wrath of God.' That the chastisement of the idolatry of Israel should have been visited also upon Judah is in entire harmony with the results of similar intercourse with idolaters, whether in war, in commerce, or in intermarriages, as recorded in the historical books of the Old Testament, and more particularly with the experience of Jehoshaphat himself in his combinations with Ahab and with Ahaziah. The hasty return of the allied armies to their respective countries can only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition of the defeat of their forces; and the deliverance of the King of Moab, not only from the oppression of the King of Israel, but also 'from all his enemies,' as commemorated in the recently discovered monolith of Dibon, whether it can or cannot be alleged in proof of the disastrous termination of the expedition of the three kings, is at least in entire accordance with the narrative of the sacred historian when thus interpreted.

One of the results almost unavoidable in joint productions, such as the work now under review, is a certain amount of contrariety of views in those places in which different writers have occasion to treat upon the same subject. In some cases such diversity of opinion, whilst it places the reader more fully in possession of the arguments which may be urged in favour of the conflicting views, detracts but little, if at all, from the practical value of the Commentary as a book of reference for ordinary readers. Thus in his note on Gen. x. 6, Bishop Harold Browne, assuming the identity of Zipporah the Midianite (Ex. ii. 16, 21) with the Ethiopian wife of Moses mentioned in Numbers xii. 1, adduces that identity as an argument in favour of the theory that the original settlement of the Cushites was in Asia, and that from thence they emigrated into Africa. Canon Espin, on the contrary, whilst referring, without any intimation of dissent, to the notes on Gen. x. 6, alleges, not unreasonably, the improbability that

Moses should have been reproached for a marriage which must have been contracted at least half a century previously to the events recorded in Numbers xii., and espouses the theory that Zipporah was now dead, and that Moses had contracted a second marriage with an Ethiopian, and thus excited the indignation of Miriam, who was disappointed of that amount of influence which she had expected to exercise after the death of Zipporah.

A more remarkable instance of such discrepancies will appear upon a comparison of Lord Arthur Hervey's note on 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 with that of Canon Rawlinson on 1 Chron. xxi. 1. In the former of these notes, in place of the Authorised Version which ascribes to a Divine instigation the act of David in numbering the people, Lord Arthur Hervey proposes to read, 'For one moved David against them,' i. e. according to this writer 'one who proved himself an enemy to 'the best interests of David and Israel.' The Bishop compares with the account given in the Second Book of Samuel that contained in 2 Chron. xxi. 1, where, he observes, 'the statement is "and an adversary (not Satan) stood up against "Israel and moved David."' On turning, however, to Canon Rawlinson's note on the passage in question, we are informed that it was Satan himself, 'here for the first time by name 'introduced to us,' who provoked David to number Israel; and the difficulty experienced by some commentators in reconciling the two accounts is explained on the well-known principle that 'what God allows He may be said to do.' Thus far, as in the case last cited, the discrepancy of interpretation may be regarded as not exceeding the limits which must, of necessity, be allowed to independent writers. Unfortunately, however, it does not end here; inasmuch as Canon Rawlinson assigns as the reason why the Hebrew word, which may be rendered either *Satan* or *an adversary*, is used, in this place, in the former signification, the very same reason, viz. the absence of the article, which Lord Arthur Hervey assigns as an argument in favour of the latter of these significations. For our own part we have no hesitation in expressing our agreement here with the Bishop of Bath and Wells. The word *Satan* is, we believe, invariably used as an appellative in the Old Testament, never as a proper name; and when, as in the Books of Job and Zechariah (Job i. and ii.; Zech. iii.), the great Adversary or Accuser, *ὁ κατήγορος* (Rev. xii. 10), is denoted, the article is uniformly prefixed.*

* It deserves notice that the word *Σατανᾶς*, in the New Testament, rarely occurs without the article.

The conclusions of the different contributors to this Commentary who have had occasion to treat upon the chronology of the early history of the Israelites are so entirely discordant that, notwithstanding the great value of some of the materials collected, the practical results, so far as they concern the ordinary reader, are far from satisfactory. Reckoning backwards from the capture of Babylon, we are enabled, by means of the chronological data afforded in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, to ascertain with tolerable certainty the approximate date of the building of the first Temple in the fourth year of the reign of King Solomon, and, consequently, that of the accession of King David, whose reign extended over a period of forty years, and also of that of Saul, whose reign or dynasty (Acts xxii. 21) appears to have been of about the same duration. But here we seem to lose all distinctive landmarks, and, when we have recourse for guidance to the Speaker's Commentary, we find ourselves in the hands of critics who are hopelessly at variance amongst themselves. Canon Rawlinson, whose studies must have led him to devote special attention to this subject, is disposed to regard the period of 480 years, which is said in 1 Kings vi. 1, to have intervened between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's Temple, and on which passage he observes, 'all the earlier portion of what is called the received 'chronology depends,' as an interpolation into the text. In his judgment the actual period between those two events was one of much longer duration, and one which is estimated by him at about 580-600 years, a calculation which coincides very nearly with that of Josephus.*

Lord Arthur Hervey, on the other hand, whilst objecting,

* This calculation is supported by the commonly received reading of Acts xiii. 20 : 'And after that He gave unto them judges about the 'space of four hundred and fifty years.' According, however, to the best MSS. the words *ὡς ἔρει τετρακοσίαις καὶ πενήκοντα* should precede, instead of following the words *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα*. The Latin version explains the meaning thus, *quasi post quadringentos et quinquaginta annos*. The meaning would then be that the inheritance of the Promised Land took place 450 years after the Abrahamic covenant, and no period would be assigned for the duration of the rule of the Judges. Those of our readers who desire to examine this question more fully will find an able and comprehensive summary of the arguments which may be urged in favour of the longer interval between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's Temple in a work of considerable research recently published by Mr. Ernest von Bunsen, entitled 'The Chronology of the Bible connected with Contemporaneous Events in the History of Babylonians, Assyrians, and Egyptians. Longmans: 1874.'

and not, as it would seem, without cause, to the shortness of the periods assigned by the received chronology to the interval between the conquest of Canaan and the invasion of Chushan-Rishathaim, to the judgeship of Samuel, and to the reign of Saul, nevertheless, instead of arriving, as might have been anticipated, at the conclusion that the period named in 1 Kings vi. 1 is shorter than that which must be deduced from the Book of Judges, reduces it by the space of about 150 years.

Canon Cook, in opposition both to Canon Rawlinson and also to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, regards the statements contained in 1 Kings vi. 1 as authentic, not only as being supported by all the ancient versions, and accepted by able critics, but also as according best, in his judgment, with the indications of time given in the historical books.

It would far exceed our limits to enter upon the discussion of this question. It is but due, however, to the Editor of this Commentary that we should state that in his very able Essay on the bearings of Egyptian history upon the Pentateuch, he has adduced a singular corroboration of the correctness of the date which he has been led to assign to the departure of the Children of Israel from Egypt. From a comparison of the contents of the sacred narrative with the recently-discovered records of Egyptian history, Canon Cook has arrived at the conclusion that the Exodus may be assigned, with the greatest amount of probability, to the last year of the reign of Tothmosis II. Now, it appears from an inscription recently discovered at Elephantine, that the successor of that sovereign, Tothmosis III., built a temple in that place in the year, according to M. Biot, 1445 B.C. The reign of this king lasted about forty-eight years, of which period about forty-one years appear to have been occupied in foreign warfare. It is reasonable, therefore, to presume that the temple at Elephantine was not built until its close. If then, in accordance with this reasonable presumption, we add a period ranging from forty to forty-seven years to the date assigned by M. Biot as that of the erection of the temple at Elephantine, viz. 1445, we obtain a date ranging from 1485 to 1492 B.C., as that of the last year of Tothmosis II. The latter of these dates is, as is well known, according to the received chronology, that which has been assigned, upon the data furnished by the Hebrew Scriptures, to the Exodus of the Israelites from the land of Egypt.

In endeavouring to arrive at a correct conclusion respecting the general value of the Speaker's Commentary, it is important that we should uniformly bear in mind the objects

specifically proposed, and the class of readers primarily contemplated. These considerations will serve, on the one hand, to dispel the prejudice which, in some quarters, has been excited against this work; whilst, on the other hand, they will suggest the inquiry whether such a standard has been attained as, in a work set on foot under the highest auspices, and entrusted, for the most part, to writers of established reputation, might reasonably have been expected. We have seen the charge more than once preferred against the *Speaker's Commentary* that the devotional element is signally deficient throughout a large portion of it. Now, whilst we do not care to inquire whether, in this or in that particular instance, some moral or spiritual observations might, or might not, have been introduced with advantage into the *Speaker's Commentary*, it is, in our judgment, unfair to condemn any work for not being what it does not profess to be, or for not doing that which it did not undertake to accomplish. Moreover, it is well known that whilst devotional commentaries, both on the Old and New Testament abound, there was more than sufficient room for a commentary which should meet the daily requirements of educated and intelligent readers who desire to ascertain the literal, grammatical, and historical meaning of Holy Scripture. It was this need which it was the original design of the *Speaker's Commentary* to supply, and it is by the measure in which it has accomplished, or has failed to accomplish, this object that its merits must be tried, and its success or its failure determined.

A more reasonable ground of complaint against this *Commentary* may be found in the fact—for as such we think we are fairly entitled to regard it—that there seems to have been no general agreement amongst the contributors as to the precise class of readers for whose requirements provision was to be made. We are informed, indeed, in the Preface, that the work is designed for 'men of ordinary culture;' but the standard thus defined appears to have been very differently understood by the respective contributors. The Bishop of Winchester, to whom we are indebted both for the general Introduction to the Pentateuch, and also for the Introduction to, and the Notes upon, the Book of Genesis, seems to have had uniformly before his mind the requirements of readers of fully average ability and education—of men accustomed to read and to think—and possessed of at least a moderate acquaintance with those controversies which, in recent times, have excited a more than ordinary amount of interest amongst all classes—arising out of the alleged conflict between the discoveries of history

and of science, and the statements of Scripture, as commonly received and interpreted. Canon Cook, again, not only in his learned introduction to the Book of Exodus, and in the foot-notes on the first nineteen chapters of that book—notes which demand, and which will abundantly repay a careful and repeated perusal—but throughout the whole of his valuable contributions to this Commentary, presupposes, on the part of his readers, a fully average—we might say a somewhat more than average—amount both of general knowledge and of acquaintance with Biblical subjects; whilst in some portions of the work, more especially in the elaborate Essays appended to the first volume, he taxes somewhat severely the undivided attention of the professed Biblical student. As we proceed, however, in our examination of the contents of the later volumes, we find that some of the writers appear to have had before their view the requirements of readers of a different class. The introductions to the historical books are, in some cases, of a meagre character, and some of the notes appear to us to be superfluous as addressed to readers of average understanding and education, however unskilled in Biblical phraseology. Thus, in a note on 2 Sam. v. 1, where all the tribes of Israel address David in the words, ‘we are thy bone and thy flesh,’ we are told that this is ‘an expression of near and close affinity.’ Again, in a note on 2 Kings iii. 21, the words, ‘all that were able to put on armour, and upward,’ are explained as meaning, ‘and all above this age;’ whilst, as if to make the general drift of the passage yet more intelligible to the meanest capacities, we are informed further that ‘the very aged and ‘the infirm were of course excepted.’

We regret, moreover, to find that, in some places, the information conveyed in the foot-notes, if not actually inaccurate, is calculated to mislead those readers for whose benefit it is primarily designed. Thus, in a note on Judges xi. 11, we are told that the phrase, ‘before the Lord’ (literally, ‘before ‘Jehovah’) designates the presence of the Tabernacle, or the Ark, or of the High Priest with Urim and Thummim. We admit, of course, that such is the sense in which this phrase is commonly used; but we think that it should have been stated that the phrase itself occurs in the Book of Genesis, and in the early chapters of Exodus, before the construction of the Tabernacle or the consecration of the first High Priest, and that it occurs also in the Book of Daniel, in reference to the presentation of that prophet’s supplication ‘before the Lord’ in the land of Babylon. Again, in a note on 1 Kings xviii. 12, we find enumerated amongst the cases of ‘sudden transportations

' of a human being from place to place,' not only Ezekiel iii. 12, 14, where it is at least doubtful whether the local change was objective or subjective, but also Ezekiel viii. 3, where the prophet expressly declares that he was 'lifted up, and brought *'in the visions of God to Jerusalem.'* Again, in a note on the 33rd verse of the same chapter, where Elijah, who is nowhere represented as a *priest*, cuts the bullock in pieces and offers it upon one of the ancient altars erected on one of the *high places*, the writer observes that 'Elijah thus publicly taught that *all* the ordinances of the Law were binding upon the kingdom of Israel.'*

The moral difficulties of the historical books of the Old Testament, which are too commonly either glossed over, or explained on a very inadequate estimate of the standard of Old Testament morality, are dealt with in this Commentary fairly and candidly, if not always satisfactorily. The distinction, too frequently overlooked elsewhere, is here clearly drawn between what Scripture merely records, and what it approves; and, again, between commendation of the deeds related and commendation of the faith which prompted them. Thus, in regard to Abraham's statement concerning Sarah that she was his sister, the Bishop of Winchester repudiates *in toto* the proffered defence of Augustine, based upon the abstract truth of the statement itself, and he sees in this conduct 'an instance of one under the influence of deep religious feeling and true faith in God, but yet with a conscience imperfectly enlightened as to many moral duties, and, when leaning to his own understanding, suffered to fall into great error and sin.' In a similar manner the same writer observes with regard to the conduct of Rebekah and Jacob, that 'seeing the promises afar off,' they desired to obtain them, but, 'instead of waiting till He who promised should show Himself faithful,' they practised deceit and fraud in order to obtain them.

The value of this Commentary in relation to those questions of the day which, undoubtedly, suggested the expediency of its

* It is a singular illustration of the different aspects in which the same facts present themselves to different minds, that whilst Bishop Colenso infers from the fact that sacrifices were offered, with acceptance, on high places, that the provisions of the Levitical law must have been introduced at a later period, Canon Rawlinson appeals to one of these sacrificial offerings in proof of the binding character of *'all'* of the same ordinances. Our criticism applies, of course, to the word *'all,'* which we have printed in italics. We entirely concur with Canon Rawlinson that the course of procedure recorded in ver. 33 may be fairly regarded as implying an acquaintance with the Levitical law.

composition to the mind of the late Lord Ossington, is very great. Whilst avoiding direct controversy, and whilst uniformly abstaining from acrimonious language with regard to opponents, the Divine authority of Holy Scripture is vindicated by recourse to arguments, both old and new; and we feel no hesitation in recording our conviction that, with regard to many of those theories which have found favour with the modern impugnors of Revelation, the ground has been fairly cut from under their feet. We refer, more particularly, to the contributions of the Bishop of Winchester and to those of Canon Cook. The argument in support of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, as derived alike from external and from internal evidence, is ably urged by the former of these writers in his general Introduction. We scarcely know whether to admire more the force of the arguments by which this learned prelate maintains all that he deems essential to his main position, or the candour with which he concedes some of those points which advocates of equal zeal, but of less discrimination, have regarded as incompatible with it. Whilst urging, very forcibly, the reasons which have satisfied his own mind (1) that Moses could have written the Pentateuch, and that, if he could, there is every ground for believing that he would have written such a work; (2) that the external evidence in favour of the Mosaic authorship is clear and decisive; and (3) that the internal evidence points with equal force to the same conclusion, Bishop Harold Browne finds no difficulty in admitting the truth of many of those allegations which have been commonly urged in support of the later date and the composite authorship of this portion of Scripture.

Thus, e.g., he freely allows that Moses, though, in every rightful acceptance of the term, the author of the Pentateuch, may not have been the actual writer of the whole, or even of any part, of the books which bear his name. 'He may have dictated much, or all of it, to Joshua, or to some other secretary or scribe. He may have merely superintended its writing, and stamped it with his own authority, as perhaps St. Peter did the Gospel according to St. Mark.' He allows, further, that these books may, and probably have undergone later revisions; and, more especially in regard to the last chapter of Deuteronomy, that they undoubtedly have received some subsequent addition or additions. Again, he finds no difficulty—rather an indirect corroboration of the genuineness of the work—in admitting that Moses incorporated into his history certain pre-existing documents and traditions, which, it is but reasonable

to suppose, had been transmitted through Shem and Abraham to Joseph and the Israelites in Egypt.

But whilst admitting the probability that records of greater antiquity than the time of Moses should find their place in the Pentateuch, the Bishop of Winchester successfully demolishes, as it appears to us, the theory which has found favour with certain critics, in modern times, that the Book of Genesis is an ill-digested collection of fragmentary documents, 'a thing of shreds and patches;' and he establishes, by a careful analysis of its contents, the unity of plan and purpose which pervades the whole of it. He urges, moreover, the extreme improbability that a work so compact and homogeneous, when viewed as a whole, a work, 'every portion of which has the same archaic character, the same familiarity with the Egypt of early dynasties, the same air of the desert, the same apparent impress of the great Master's hand,' should, nevertheless, owe its origin—not to some one ingenious forger of later days, incredible as such an origin must be deemed—but to an 'indefinite and widely-separated succession of many men.'

The same argument is urged with at least equal cogency by the Editor in his able and suggestive introduction to the Book of Exodus. We should be at a loss to point to any production of modern date in which, within the compass of a dozen pages of moderate size, the same amount of valuable and, to a considerable extent, original matter has been collected and arranged with equal skill, and in which the results of diligent investigation combined with accurate scholarship have been presented in so clear, so candid, and so convincing a light to the eye of the reader. We should be guilty of equal injustice to the writer and to our readers were we to attempt to convey, by any isolated extracts, a just impression of the nature and contents of this valuable contribution to the Speaker's Commentary. We only pause to notice, in addition to the able argument in favour of the Mosaic origin of the Book of Exodus derived from the use of Egyptian words, the subsidiary argument in refutation of the so-called Elohist and Jehovistic theory, as adopted by certain modern writers, by which the Editor has corroborated the conclusions at which the Bishop of Winchester has arrived respecting the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch.

Canon Cook, having already established, as we think, the two facts (1) that there is an intimate connexion between all the miracles involved in the Egyptian plagues, and (2) that 'each and all are shown to be nearly allied to analogous phenomena recorded in ancient and modern accounts of Egypt,'

inters from these premises that no place is left in the Mosaic record of the circumstances which preceded the Exodus for interpolations of any considerable extent; in other words, that 'no one plague could be omitted without dislocating the whole narrative, and breaking the order distinctly intimated, though nowhere formally stated, by the writer.' But it has been inferred by some modern critics, whose learning and ability Canon Cook fully recognises, from the fact of the preponderating or exclusive use of the one or the other of the sacred names in the accounts of the several Egyptian plagues, that these accounts must be attributed in some cases to Elohist, in other cases to Jehovistic writers.* It is obvious that if Canon Cook's premises be correct, the conclusions of these critics as to this portion of the Pentateuch rest on no solid foundation.†

The alleged inconsistencies between the statements of Scripture and the discoveries of science, which have given occasion to so much controversy in recent times, are found for the most part, as is well known, in the Book of Genesis; and they are treated by the Bishop of Winchester in the foot-notes on the several passages and also in occasional notes of a more elaborate nature. Whatever may be the judgment pronounced upon the Bishop's proposed solutions of difficulties in each particular instance, we think that it is impossible to call in question either the learning or the candour which are displayed in this portion of the work. Neither, we think, can just exception be taken to the general principles on which such investigations should be conducted as laid down by Bishop Harold Browne in the following words:—

'It may be well here only to say, that in the present state of our knowledge, both critical and scientific, a patient suspension of judgment on many points seems our wisest attitude. It is plain that a miraculous revelation of scientific truths was never designed by God for man. The account of the creation is given in popular language; yet it is believed that it will be found not inconsistent with, though not anticipatory of, modern discovery. And, after all, modern discovery is yet in a most imperfect condition; the testimony of the rocks

* Thus, e.g., in 'the original story in Exodus,' as given by Bishop Colenso, we find the plague of lice, as recorded in Exodus viii. 15-20, omitted.

† It is not unworthy of observation that the so-called Elohist and Jehovistic theory, as commonly expounded, is altogether inconsistent with the explanation already given of the Jewish division into sections, inasmuch as many of those sections contain both Elohist and Jehovistic passages.

and of the stars but imperfectly read, whilst there is room for no small diversity of sentiment on the meaning of many of the expressions in Genesis.'

These words appear to us to describe the true standpoint of all sound Biblical exegesis, and more particularly so in its present stage. The works and the word of God proceed from the same source. There can, therefore, be no real contrariety between them. Both may be—both have been—misunderstood and misstated; and incalculable mischief has been done both to the cause of Revelation and to the cause of Science by those who, on insufficient grounds, have committed the one or the other to their own rash conclusions. Patience and humility are two of the distinctive characteristics of all true philosophy. It has not unfrequently been found that the stumbling-blocks of one generation have proved the aids to the faith of another; and so long as it may be fairly alleged that no discrepancy has as yet been established between the *undoubted* meaning of Scripture and the *undisputed* discoveries of Science, the advocates of the claims of both may well be encouraged to prosecute independently their respective studies, undeterred by the groundless alarms of some, or by the contradictory conclusions of others.

But the alleged discrepancies between Scripture and Science occupy only a small portion of those valuable notes at the end of chapters, with which the volumes under review are copiously enriched. We are well aware that a difference of opinion exists as to the expediency of introducing into a Bible Commentary a succession of notes or essays, which in some cases might, from their elaborate and exhaustive character, not incorrectly be designated as *monographs*, on the various subjects of historical, geographical, archæological, and general interest with which they deal. For our own part, we think the convenience of reference outweighs the inconveniences of additional bulk and cost. But, be this as it may, there can be but one opinion, in our judgment, as to the great merit of these notes, as presenting to the English reader of ordinary ability and education the results, not only of the diligent and laborious researches of accomplished scholars, but also of the most recent discoveries of modern science and enterprise. It would be an invidious task to make selections for special commendation out of so extensive and so well-replenished a treasure-house.

We have already exceeded our prescribed limits; and we can only notice in the most cursory manner the last volume which has appeared of the Speaker's Commentary, a volume

which comprises the Poetical Books of Scripture, and which, to a large number of readers, will present stronger attractions than any of those which have preceded it. Suffice it, then, to say that the able and interesting introductions to the Book of Job and to the Psalms serve to enhance the high estimate which we had formed of the learning and judgment of Canon Cook; that much light is thrown upon the historical interpretation of the Psalms, as well as upon their critical and exegetical meaning, both in his own notes and also in those of the learned and accomplished Dean of Wells; and that the thoughtful and suggestive introduction to, as well as the notes upon, the Book of Proverbs are not unworthy of the high reputation of Professor Plumptre.

The typography and the general execution of these volumes are highly creditable to the distinguished publisher who has taken upon himself the entire responsibility of this great work, as well as to those who have actually carried it through the press. We observe, with satisfaction, that numerous alterations and corrections have been made in the later impressions of the first volume. We trust that the work of correction will be extended to the later volumes; that some of the introductions and notes will be thoroughly revised, if not rewritten; and that the whole of the critical notes of Canons Espin and Rawlinson, involving points of Hebrew scholarship, will undergo a careful revision at the hands of some competent Hebrew scholar. Should these emendations be made—so far as it is possible to form any estimate of the forthcoming portion of this work from the names of those scholars to whom the remaining Books of the Old Testament, and those of the New Testament, have been assigned—we confidently anticipate that the Speaker's Bible will take its place upon the shelves of our theological students, not only as the best and most exhaustive critical and exegetical Commentary which England has yet produced, but also as affording one of the most favourable specimens of the advanced Biblical scholarship of the nineteenth century.

- ART. III.—1. *The Moon: considered as a Planet, a World, and a Satellite.* By JAMES NASMYTH, C.E., and JAMES CARPENTER, F.R.A.S. 4to. London: 1874.
2. *The Moon, her Motions, Aspect, Scenery, and Physical Condition.* By RICHARD A. PROCTOR, B.A., F.R.A.S. London: 1873.
3. *Théorie du Mouvement de la Lune.* Par M. DELAUNAY, 'Mémoires de l'Académie de Paris.' 2 vols. 1860–67.
4. *Fundamenta Nova Investigationis Orbitæ veræ quam Luna perlustrat.* By Professor P. A. HANSEN. Gotha: 1838.

THE earth's bright satellite has always been an object of affectionate reverence among the sons of men. In the early days of human history magnificent temples were reared in expression of this feeling. In the present age no less costly buildings are erected and maintained at the public charge, where large bands of carefully-trained and well-appointed ministrants keep watch and celebrate their solemn rites, night after night, in the same service. But perhaps no more noteworthy illustration of the charm which this particular devotion has, even for unimaginative and unimpressionable philosophers, could be found in the annals of human history than is expressed in the beautifully illustrated volume which has just been published under the conjoint authorship of James Nasmyth and James Carpenter, and which really represents more than thirty years' almost unintermittent study and application on the part of a mechanical engineer, who is distinguished amongst his contemporaries and compeers alike for the hard practicality of his head, the adroit readiness of his hands, and the finished cultivation of his taste. The James Nasmyth alluded to in this remark, it will scarcely be necessary to say, is the civil engineer so well known as the inventor of the steam-hammer and of the steam machinery for driving piles. In his schoolboy days, while still attending the classes of the High School at Edinburgh, James Nasmyth was led, by an accidental acquaintance with the son of an ironfounder, to study closely the various processes of casting and forging iron. He had also inherited a strong taste for drawing, being himself the son and grandson of two eminent Scottish artists, and he fostered this taste under the facilities and training which were at his command in the courses of the then recently formed school of arts of the Scotch metropolis. Not very long after the completion of his univer-

sity career he began to give some attention to the investigations of astronomy, and was very soon deep in the construction of reflecting telescopes of large size and considerable power. On June 14, 1844, just thirty years ago, he communicated, as one of the firstfruits of his labours in this direction, a paper to the Royal Astronomical Society, describing 'Certain Telescopic Appearances of the Moon,' and exhibited, in illustration of this memoir, a drawing and model representing the aspect of a part of the lunar surface as it appeared in his telescopes under high magnifying power. The tract of the lunar surface which was dealt with in these illustrations is a broken region immediately surrounding the large crater known as Maurolicus, and both drawing and model were made by a telescope of twelve inches' aperture magnifying in linear dimensions 360 times, and were upon the scale of one-eighth of an inch to the mile. About a couple of years after this time, we ourselves had in our possession a copy of a very large drawing of some lunar craters, that had been used by Captain Owen Stanley in one of his lectures, and which was also made by Mr. Nasmyth. This sketch was the prime original of the remarkable group of craters associated with Theophilus, Cyrillus, and Catharina, which appears among the illustrations of the book now under notice. When the memoir on 'the Telescopic Appearances in the Moon' was communicated to the Royal Astronomical Society, its author had been already in close observation and study of the lunar disc for some years, in the conviction that it furnished a very admirable and instructive means of illustrating certain grand features of volcanic operations. In one part of the memoir he drew pointed attention to the 'brimful' crater, which is now presented in the illustrations of the book as Wargentia. The memoir of 1844, which occupied two pages of the sixth volume of the Monthly Notices of the Astronomical Society, was indeed essentially the protogerm of the noble quarto volume now before us. In the brief early memoir there are traces of the leading thoughts that have been developed in the finished book.

Two distinguishing characters mark Mr. Nasmyth's monograph from the hundred and one treatises that have touched upon the same theme. These are, in the first place, the marvellous beauty and accuracy of the pictorial illustrations, which are altogether without parallel in this branch of art; and in the second place, the lucidity and completeness with which the author's views of the moon's physical condition, and probable formative history, have been put into words. The treatment of the subject in this monograph is that of a mind which has

been trained in the methods and discipline of mechanical and engineering, rather than of astronomical and mathematical, science, and which has acquired a very firm grasp of the matter on what may be termed its practical side. It is not too much to say that, under the impress of these characteristics, the book is the most complete and intelligible description of the physical condition of the moon that has yet been published.

In alluding to the exquisite delineations of the typical features of the lunar physiognomy with which his volume is illustrated, Mr. Nasmyth explains that these are the results of more than thirty years of continued study and work. Drawings of the various objects here represented were, in the first instance, made at favourable opportunities when high powers of the telescope could be satisfactorily and advantageously used, and these drawings were then subsequently re-examined in comparison with their originals, and retouched, corrected, and amplified, time after time, until they at last seemed to the practised eye of the artist as perfect as the equally practised hand could render them. In this completed form they were next turned into models in bold relief; these models were afterwards photographed in appropriate positions in strong sunshine, and from these photographs the prints that appear in the book were for the most part finally made by the heliotype process, in permanent pigments which are as fixed and enduring as the ink of ordinary copper-plate engravings. The finest of these pictures actually reproduce to the eye the appearances that are seen in the moon by the aid of high powers of the telescope, applied under the most favourable conditions of lighting and atmosphere. They nearly all of them deal with bold characteristics of lunar scenery, and in many of them the reproduction is so perfect that it seems to an experienced eye as if the old familiar reality were before it when it rests intently upon the pictorial rendering. Even the peculiar frosted-silver texture, and the indescribably delicate frettings and frecklings that start out from the lunar surface in passing instants of the nicest telescopic definition, are there, as mint marks of the coin. Ready proofs of this statement may be especially found in the delineations which represent the terraced landslips, and circumambient mottling of froth-craters, that surround Copernicus—the lunar Etna of Hevelius—and the walled hollows of Aristotle and Eudoxus; the long yawning void chasms that shatter the ground near Triesnecker; the bulwarked floors of Shickard and Wargentin;

the serrated shadows of the sombre abyss of Plato, with its sentinel peak Pico, and its clustered outwork of Alpine summits ploughed through by a broad flat-bottomed valley; and, perhaps, before all, the clustered peaks and shadow-fringed chain of the mighty Apennines, with the fissured crackings of the surrounding plain. These particular drawings are certainly as successful an attempt to present, in a pictorial form, what the highest powers of the telescope reveal in this weird field of investigation, as it is possible for the most sanguine enthusiasm to conceive. The result is in these instances beyond all praise. The long, patient, painstaking labour, and the consummate skill of the artist, alone can explain how such marvels of pictorial verisimilitude have been produced by photographing artificial modellings.

Before entering definitely upon the consideration of Mr. Nasmyth's views of the physical condition and history of the moon, it may be well to ask the reader to place compactly before his mind, in a broad, general form, an idea of what the body is that is concerned in the explanation. The moon, it will be remembered, is a solid sphere of material substance having nearly the intrinsic density of flint glass, and of such size that it reaches to about the forty-ninth part of the volume of the earth, and has therefore a surface-area something less in extent than a fourteenth part of the surface of the earth, comprising in exact numbers 14,567,000 square miles. The size and density of this sphere, thus apportioned, are of such amount that the force of gravity upon its outer surface must be not more than a sixth part of the same force upon the earth, so that a heavy body shot off from the outer surface of the moon by any given projectile effort would go six times as far under the impulse as it would if started from the earth's surface in the same way. But the spherical mass thus circumstanced in the matter of size and density, is a bare round ball of solid substance, destitute of all trace of atmospheric investment, whether of vapour or air. The absence of gaseous atmosphere, of whatever kind, in the moon is definitely proved by the simple fact that whenever its opaque body passes along in the sky in front of a fixed star, the shining point is concealed by the passage of the intervening dark body within an immaterial trifle of the time that it ought to be upon the assumption that the occulting body is bare of all gaseous or vaporous investment, which, if present, would have kept the star for some time in sight when actually behind the moon, as the sun is brought into sight by atmospheric refraction when

below the earth's horizon. With a view to the final settlement of this question, among other examinations which have been made, the Astronomer Royal some little time ago put together the results of 296 carefully observed occultations of fixed stars by the moon, and demonstrated that in every case the star was out of sight behind the moon within two seconds of the time that it ought to have been under the circumstance of the moon being without any external investment of a gaseous or vaporous kind which could have bent the rays of star-light as they shot through the transparent space in the immediate neighbourhood of the solid limb of the moon. If these two seconds of difference, the utmost allowance that can possibly be made in the face of this test, were entirely due to a thin film of atmosphere enveloping the moon, that film must be, under the circumstance, two thousand times less substantial and dense than the atmosphere of the earth, and that would be as rare again as the most perfect so-called vacuum that has ever been artificially produced by the air-pump. Upon this showing, therefore, the moon is held to be a virtually airless sphere. The absence of water is also proved by similar unmistakable evidence. If it were present upon the surface of the moon, even in the most limited amount, there would of necessity be an envelope of vapour about the sphere that would manifest its presence by the influence it would exert upon such rays of light as passed through its substance.

The naked moon, with these conditions of volume and mass, is carried in an even sweep around the earth at a distance of about thirty earths' diameters. At this distance any tract of the moon's surface twenty-six miles across, or about as large again as the county of Middlesex, would be visible to the eye as an immeasurably small speck or sizeless point. With the aid of a telescope such a visible speck would be more or less spread into perceptible dimensions. If the magnifying power of the telescope were enough to enlarge six thousand diameters—an extreme conception of the case which is now sometimes spoken of as being within the possible achievements of optical skill—the moon would be looked at as if it were not more than forty miles away, and even small natural objects upon its face, not more than twenty or thirty yards wide, would be visible as having dimensions and form. Such powers of the telescope are, however, not really available for practical purposes, because they increase the disturbing effects of the air's imperfect and irregular transparency to such an extent that distinct vision ceases to be possible. The highest telescopic power that can be effec-

tually brought to bear upon the moon, even under the most favourable condition of the atmosphere, is one that magnifies not more than 400 times across, and with that power an object on the moon two hundred yards, or something less than an eighth of a mile, broad would become visible as a speck, and a square mile of surface would be of a measurable size. It is with such optical aid as this that the pictorial work of Mr. Nasmyth has been accomplished.

With these telescopic appliances, bringing the moon in effect 400 times nearer to the earth, and so placing it for purposes of examination as if it were only 600, instead of 240,000, miles away, the moon is at once seen to be not a smooth ball, but a rough sphere, covered all over with rugosities and carved projections that are of sufficient dimensions to cast long black shadows beyond them when the sunshine falls obliquely upon their sides, and are thus thrown into very bold relief. These lunar projections are of different kinds, but there is one predominant type which is so abundantly and so continually reproduced that it may be taken to be the most important and characteristic of the series. This wears the form of a circular cup, raised, broken, and often terraced and serrated at the rim, but hollowed more or less down into the moon's substance, and is what is familiarly and technically known as the annular 'crater' of the moon. Of these circular ridge-brimmed 'craters' the number upon the moon is so vast that it is literally impossible for them to be counted. They exist in untold thousands, and in some parts are so crowded together that the moon's surface for large stretches of distance is entirely made up of them. But they vary materially in size, from something less than a mile, the smallest circular speck that is discernible, to something more than eighty, or even one hundred, miles across. The most casual glance at these ring-shaped and bulwark-surrounded hollows upon the moon is sufficient to establish their claim to be properly called 'craters.' They are clearly the visible manifestations of some form of eruptive force which has pitted and blistered the lunar surface. In many of them there still remains the central peak which has been piled up on the middle of the floor by the expiring effort of the outburst. Volcanic action of some kind has, at some time, ruled rampant upon the moon. It is the one pervading power that has left its stamp there in every feature and lineament.

But volcanic action upon the moon has not been the same thing as volcanic action upon the earth. The leading energy or motive power in the volcanic eruptions of the earth is

the expansive force of steam. On the moon there is no water, and therefore steam can have nothing to do with the matter. What then can have been the potential agency that has been operative in sculpturing the volcanic frettings of the moon? This is the primary question upon which Mr. Nasmyth brings his mechanical training and experience to bear in dealing with the moon's physical history. As a first step in his demonstration and argument, Mr. Nasmyth assumes that in its early infancy, in common with the other solid spheres of space, the moon was in the state of a huge drop-like ball of molten liquid, that this drop-like condition was due to great heat, and that at a later period of its history a solid surface, or shell, was formed round the spherical liquid mass, in consequence of the more rapid cooling and consequent solidification of this outer layer. In building his argument upon this ground he takes up what must at least be admitted to be a reasonable and justifiable position. The red-hot molten nucleus and cooled-crust-theory of the formation of the planetary spheres has, at least, more probability and is more satisfying to the reason than any other view that has yet been presented in its place. It perfectly and easily accounts for the globular, or quasi-globular, form of these mighty spheres, and in recent years it has acquired increased consistency and strength, as a theory, from the researches that have been happily made into the correlative physical conditions of the sun and stars.

In this theory of the primitive formation of the world-spheres of space, it is understood that the solid crust first deposited as the outer shell of the molten mass must of necessity contract continuously, more and more, upon the imprisoned molten nucleus as it scatters its own elevated temperature more and more into space, because all material substance occupies a larger volume at high temperatures than at low ones. But, simultaneously with this contraction of the outer cooling shell, another influence is brought into play, which Mr. Nasmyth, with some claim to originality, boldly seizes upon, and enlists into his service as the great prime mover in the subsequent changes that have been effected in the moon. The liquid mass which lies immediately within the consolidated shell undergoes, in a less, but still very important, degree, a similar process of cooling, as it passes successive portions of its inherent heat out through the external crust. But as it does this, and before it finally assumes the actually solid state, *it expands*, as water increases in volume as it cools even before it is frozen into ice. Mr. Nasmyth shows, by a reference to various processes with which iron-founders are familiar, that in

this particular molten metals and molten slags behave exactly as water behaves, and he lays it down as a fundamental natural law not only that all molten bodies are specifically denser and heavier than solids of the same substance, and therefore expand in passing from the liquid to the solid state, but that the expansion invariably begins *as the molten liquid approaches the condition of change*. One very neat and instructive experiment is referred to in illustration of the great energy that is brought into play when this expansion of cooling bodies occurs. If a strong iron bottle is filled with molten bismuth, and the neck of the bottle is firmly and tightly closed with a screw-plug, the iron bottle is soon afterwards torn asunder by the solidification of the bismuth. In cases of spheres that have been circumstanced like the moon, the contraction of the outer shell, and the expansion of the imprisoned material, lying immediately within, must have gone on simultaneously, and on that account the force which has been finally brought into play to effect the rending of the outer case must have been a very violent one. Mr. Nasmyth alludes to another pretty experiment in speaking of the nature of this shattering power. He fills a thin glass globe with cold water, hermetically seals, and then drops the globe into a warm bath, and in a very brief interval the brittle globe is starred by the internal expansion into radiating cracks, through which the water oozes. A glass globe fissured in this way has been photographed in this book to show how strikingly the starred and fissured condition of the globe imitates the appearance of certain bright streaks in the moon that are seen radiating round some of the principal craters when they are illuminated by direct sunshine.

Mr. Nasmyth refers the cup-shaped and wall-surrounded hollows that are so abundant upon the surface of the moon immediately to the effect of this particular operation. He considers that as soon as the brittle shell of the cooling sphere cracked, under the impulse of this inner expansion, and opened into fissures, portions of the internal expanded molten substance welled up through the cracks, and in places jetted out in fountain-like streams, scattering a plentiful liquid shower around. In a communication to the Royal Astronomical Society, some little time since, Mr. Mattieu Williams described an experiment with the cooling of the tap cinder from a puddling-furnace, in which he has seen spirts of the molten cinder ejected through holes broken in the consolidating crust, to a height of four or five diameters of the mass, in this very way, and by the instrumentality of these very forces. In the

case of the moon the spirted-out liquid was piled up where it fell, into heaps of pasty lava and consolidating scoræ. In many instances the piled-up bulwarks were as far as fifty or sixty miles away from the orifice of eruption, on account of the distance to which the lava was shot under the relatively slight restraining power of gravitation in the moon, and they were universally of a regular circular form because the erupted jet was scattered to the same distance in all directions around the jet, as water is scattered from the vents of a dome-shaped fountain, and because there was no wind, under any circumstances, to divert or distort the regularity of the shower. Whenever there were successive eruptions of this character, of progressively diminishing violence, successive bulwarks were formed in concentric and narrowing rings, as in the instance of Tycho and Copernicus, so beautifully delineated in these illustrations. When the last failing throes of the volcanic outburst died gently away, the last failing streams of the ejected matter were piled into small cones of eruption choking and closing the vents. In some instances the piled-up accumulations of the erupted matter were so abundant, and rose so high, that lower terraces were formed by the slipping down of the top-heavy deposits, but such landslip-formations are readily distinguished in every case from the true ring-shaped barriers of primary eruption, by their being short, broken segments of ridges, instead of continuous rings. The outer circular ridges of the larger craters are commonly seen to be strengthened by external buttresses, which are streams of consolidated lava that have been poured from distinctly visible secondary craters upon their sides. The hollowed-out cavities of the most boldly pronounced craters seem to have been caused by the eroding action of the erupted lava, and such craters as are devoid of the characteristic central cones of residual force are held to have had molten lava quietly welled up towards the termination of the eruption from the primary central vents until the lakes of liquid rock have risen within the limiting bulwark higher and higher, and have finally covered and masked all vestiges of the inner eruptive peaks. Wargentín is shown in one of the drawings as the notable instance of a bulwarked crater which has been left, in this way, brimful. Mr. Nasmyth adopts it as an aphorism that the size of the crater is simply the visible expression of the strength of the eruption which has been concerned in its formation, and that the larger craters are essentially the first-fruits of the young-born eruptive power, and therefore older formations in point of time than the smaller craters; and he

conceives that whenever a violent eruption stopped suddenly, it left as the memorial monument of the effort a large ring-shaped and high-walled crater, and that whenever a gentle eruption died gradually away, it either piled up its monumental record higher and higher into a pyramid or sharp-pointed cone, or spread its smooth pavement of lava. He holds that the best developed forms of the lunar craters in reality represent volcanic force in its purest state and its highest perfection, and that the moon is thus virtually a model of the radical operations of volcanic processes, devoid of the disturbing and masking effects brought about by such secondary agencies as water and air, and presenting to the contemplation of telescopic observers very much what the solid foundations of the earth would show if it were cleared of its water-worn groovings and furrowings, its water-formed sedimentary beds, and its oceans and rivers. The larger extent and freedom of the primary eruptions, due to the more rapid cooling of the smaller sphere, and to the inferior power of gravity as a restraining check—and, in addition to this, the more brittle, and intrinsically less dense, substance of the lunar crust that has been moulded and sculptured by the volcanic energy—appear to be the chief modifying conditions that establish a distinction between the primary volcanic, or Plutonic, disturbances of the earth and the final and ultimate volcanic disturbances of the moon.

In the not unfrequent instances of walled-in, crater-like depressions of the moon's surface, in which volcanic modelling is less obviously marked, first on account of the absence of all trace of peaks of eruption on the inner floors, and often on account also of the less prominent character of the surrounding piled-up rims, Mr. Nasmyth nevertheless holds that the same instrumentality may be accepted. He thinks that even in the broad smooth-floored craters, with low and slight walls, such as Grimaldi, and perhaps Shickard immediately below Wargentin, the external limiting bulwarks have been formed by the outflow of molten lava from inner vents, in connexion with which concentric waves of liquefied substance have been propagated outwards, as on the surface of a pool, until circular banks of consolidating and cooling scoriæ have been pressed up at the outer margin, and left there as permanent ramparts. When these ramparts have once been made, subsequent flooding of liquid lava would easily efface all vestige of the central source of the eruption; but the surface of the subsequently consolidated pool would still commonly show the mouths of the small outlets through which the last streams of the supply had

been poured, as is the case with Shickard and all pits of a similar character. In many the flat floors of the inner plateaux are literally freckled with small secondary craters. The grandest specimen of the smooth-floored craters is, perhaps, the magnificent object which is known as Plato, and which is the subject of one of Mr. Nasmyth's most remarkable drawings. In this crater, which has a clear diameter of seventy miles, the limiting bulwark towers up to a varying height of from 4,000 to 8,000 feet, and jagged peaks at the top cast long serrated shadows half way across the inner plain, where innumerable craters spangle the floor. In this splendid specimen, however, there has obviously been piling-up influence at work in the construction of the outer wall. In one part there is a very remarkable and characteristic instance of the segmentary terrace attributable to a landslip.

In many of the finest craters the centre of the floor is occupied by a perfect cluster of peaks, instead of by a solitary one. Aristotle, Eudoxus, Theophilus, Tycho, and supereminently Copernicus, are instances of this peculiarity. Mr. Nasmyth has been at considerable pains to show that in these cases the multiplication of the central eruptive cone has been due to the sudden arrest and subsequent diversion of the primary outburst. A casual choking of the original vent has thrown the rising stream out in a new direction, where the obstruction and resistance were less; and in this way, by repeated arrests and fresh diversions of the eruptive force, cone has successively grown upon cone, until a cluster of peaks has been reared before the subsiding effort has finally been exhausted. The small secondary craters studding smooth and level floors of consolidated lava have probably a similar formative history. Mr. Nasmyth thinks that the whole of these secondary mouths are diverticula of older central channels of eruption, and that each of them has been opened out as the eruptive force was opposed by gathering impediments in the older course of the outflow.

Large clusters and continuous ranges of mountain elevation are by no means common upon the moon, but they do occur. The finest examples of them are seen in the two groups of prominences which have been called the Apennines and the Alps. The Apennines are a grand range rising from a comparatively smooth and unbroken plain, and extending to a distance of 450 miles. Some of the peaks on this mighty chain rise with almost precipitous faces to a height of 18,000 and 20,000 feet, and cast black sharp-pointed shadows sometimes to the extent of ninety miles from their bases. The Alps

consist of a broad cluster of peaks, a little to the west of Plato, mounting from 8,000 to 10,000 feet high, and cut through in one part by a remarkable flat-bottomed valley, six miles wide and seventy-five miles long. The terminal summits in this group are in some parts so densely clustered as to render it an impracticable task to count them. Mr. Nasmyth, however, believes that all peaked and clustered mountains on the moon of this character are still essentially volcanic exudations, and not veritable mountain ridges in the terrestrial acceptation. In the moon even these mountain systems appear to have been produced by the gentle oozing of molten lava from narrow orifices, and the piling up of heaps of its consolidating substance around; in the case of the loftiest and boldest protrusions the vent remaining open, and the discharging orifice rising with the growth of the mountain until great altitude has been attained. Telescopic powers, magnifying 300 diameters, show that the ridges and flanks of these clustered peaks are in reality studded with minute but perfectly formed volcanic craters. The small size of these vents plainly indicates that they belong to a comparatively gentle phase of volcanic action, in which the exuding forces were destitute of the higher explosive energies. Mountain chains in the moon have resulted, not from the shattering, uptilting, folding, and puckering of hard rocky beds, but from the comparatively slow and long-sustained escape of lava through multitudinous openings burst in weak parts of the surface crust. This view of the matter is remarkably confirmed by these ranges of the moon being found in the least disturbed portions of the lunar surface, and not where the volcanic power has had most energetic play. There are no continuous clusters and ranges about Tycho and Walter, where crater is crowded upon crater in endless and almost inextricable confusion, as is shown in a notable delineation contained in the twentieth plate of Mr. Nasmyth's book, where more than 200 large craters had to be sketched. They lie almost exclusively, on the other hand, in the quiet northern region where the so-called Sea of Serenity and Sea of Showers extend their smooth, almost ocean-like, surfaces over hundreds of square miles. They in reality form the circumscribing boundaries of the plain districts that can be seen in the moon, even by the unaided eye, as broad dark patches. The sharp, serrated, and spire-like shadows cast by the boldest peaks, however, by no means of necessity indicate that the extruded masses are of similar needle-like forms; for Mr. Nasmyth demonstrates, by the actual photograph of a long shadow thrown by a pea, that even a round eminence has a

long, pointed, index-like shadow when the light falls upon it at a very oblique angle of incidence. Many of the sharply shadowed eminences in the moon may really be as dome-shaped and rounded as ordinary volcanic protrusions upon the earth. Pico, the finest isolated peak upon the moon, which rises from the level surface, just to the south of Plato, to a towering height of 8,000 feet, and which casts a long-pointed shadow more than thirty miles upon the surrounding plain, is sketched by Mr. Nasmyth as a rugged, ridged, and buttressed pyramid as broad again at its base as it is high.

Mr. Nasmyth develops with considerable force and clearness the connexion that there seems to be between fissures and continuous lines of craters upon the moon. He considers that when a long fissure had been opened out in the thickening and consolidating crust, a mountain chain was formed if the exuding was gentle and continuous; but that successive craters, ranged in a linear progress, one after the other, were opened out if the exuding force was sudden, intermittent, and violent.

That the eruptive force which has been brought into operation in shattering the solidified shell of the moon has been very deep-seated, and very large, is unmistakably evident. Towards the southern part of the moon's face there is a pole of eruption which has starred the hard shell around it very much as the cracks are starred over the shell of the glass globe in Mr. Nasmyth's experiment. This pole of eruption is the well-known crater of Tycho, which is apparent to the unaided eye as a centre of brilliancy in the full moon. The radiating streaks which have been traced issuing out around this crater are more than one hundred in number, and some of them can be followed for at least six hundred miles in length, that is for about a tenth part of the moon's circumference. They are only visible in the full moon because the original fissures, which have been opened out in the hard brittle shell, have been since filled up with a bright shining material that has subsequently welled up from within, and that can be seen under direct light glistening like polished silver, although it is lost to view when the brilliant glare is thrown off sideways in oblique illumination. This subsequent infiltration appears to have scarcely risen above the outer surface of the sphere, as no shadows are cast from its edges in oblique light, although it has spread out to a certain extent over the edges of the crack, and has been bevelled down to the level beneath. There are streaks of this class that are estimated to measure in width more than twenty-five miles! Copernicus is the centre of a similar system of bright rays that come into sight

in the directly incident sunshine of the full moon. These extend over the plain around Copernicus to the distance of one hundred miles, and are of closer and finer form, and of a more reticulated character, than the rays of Tycho. The crater which stands on the focal centre of this system of radiant fissures is forty-sixty miles across, and has a limiting bulwark 12,000 feet high, divided into concentric terraced ridges which are in many parts obviously enormous landslips that have been crushed down by the overloaded summits, and that have scattered their débris in vast segmental heaps below. Gaps can, in many places, be traced in the higher ramparts from which these landslips have fallen. On the central plateau of the crater there is a fine cluster of eruptive cones, in three instances rising to a height of 2,400 feet above the floor.

Besides these systems of bright radiant streaks, there are innumerable other indications of shatterings and fissures which seem to have taken place at a later period of the moon's formative history, when the outer shell had not yet finally settled down into its condition of permanent repose, but when the epoch of the formation of volcanic vents and of the outpouring of molten rock had entirely passed away. The cracks of this later age have remained open and gaping, so that at periods of oblique illumination they are seen as black, shadow-filled lines. They extend to varying distances up to 150 miles, are from one to two miles wide in the broadest part of their span, taper away to their extremities, and are of unfathomable depths. They occur in very many parts of the lunar surface, but very fine examples of them are seen around Triesnecker, Mercator, Aristarchus, Copernicus, and along the base of the Apennines. Drawings of these have been made, and appear in the particular sketches of these objects. There are also, it may be remarked, continuous ridges of less bold relief and of lower elevation scattered about on the moon, which Mr. Nasmyth believes to be true specimens of wrinkling, rather than of volcanic eruption, essentially caused by the shrinking and shrivelling of the outer shell as it sank down to its temperature of final repose. The ridges of this character are most abundantly seen over the plain surface of the Ocean of Storms between Copernicus and Gassendi, and about the otherwise smooth spaces of the Sea of Tranquillity. They are, for the most part, distinguished from the true volcanic ridges and chains by the entire absence of bold serrations upon their summits.

Mr. Nasmyth has been led by his long course of patient observation and reflective study to the conviction that the

moon had arrived, even long ages preceding the periods of the earth's pre-human history, at the stage of unbroken and unchangeable rest. The only forces which appear to be now at work in the great lunar wilderness effecting movement and change are the monthly vicissitudes of temperature, and the consequent expansion and contraction to which the surface solids are subjected as they pass alternately from the fourteen terrestrial days of unintermitting and never-clouded sunshine to the fourteen days of equally uninterrupted deprivation of the sun's rays. It has been estimated that towards the termination of its long scorching day of 300 hours the surface of the moon must have been heated to something more than twice the temperature of boiling water, probably about to the fusing heat of tin, and that towards the end of its equally long 300 hours' night it must have been cooled pretty well to the temperature of inter-stellar space, which is 250 degrees lower than the zero of Fahrenheit's heat-scale. Recurrent changes of this violent character in all probability may still exert some mechanical influence among the brittle rocky projections of the ridged craters and peaked mountains, and even at times produce a renewal of the terrace-forming landslips. In two particulars only have any suspicions arisen of the presentation of active phenomena in the moon since it has been watched under the advantage that powerful telescopes confer. A bright flame was at one time believed to be visible in the middle of the crater of Aristarchus when the moon's face was dark. This appearance has now been pretty well demonstrated to be due to the concentration of secondary earth-shine into a kind of bright focus by the concave mirror-like arrangement of the polished hollow of this crater. Also in more recent times a small crater known as Linné, which is placed upon the level surface of the Sea of Serenity, not far from the extremity of the Apennines, disappeared, and a large white spot presented itself in its place, as if a broad white cloud had risen out of the mouth of the crater, and spread over it in the form of an impenetrable canopy or screen. This too, however, is now, with all the appearance of strong probability, ascribed to the difference of illumination at different times. At one time oblique light fills the hollow of the crater with black shade, and communicates to it a tenfold distinctness, and then at another time direct sunshine so illumines the spot that the crater itself, robbed of its shadows, is only discernible to very excellent telescopes, while a broad patch of highly luminous and brightly reflecting substance (like that of the radiant streaks of Tycho and of Copernicus), which surrounds the

erater, comes into prominent and conspicuous visibility. This change of illumination is sometimes more intensely and effectively produced than it is at other corresponding periods of the lunation, on account of the libratory swaying to and fro of the moon, and so, at such times, becomes more obvious. Professor Schmidt, the distinguished astronomer of Athens, who has given close study to this interesting spot since the year 1866, is of opinion that there certainly must have been substantial change in the form of the object since he began to watch it with narrow scrutiny. Mr. Nasmith, on the other hand, doubts whether any absolute visible change has really occurred.

Mr. Nasmith, however, is led to his view of the unchangeable fixedness of the moon's present state by a process of reasoning that is altogether independent of mere observation and watching of the lunar face by the telescope, and that is so pre-eminently characteristic of the entire method and spirit of the work which has enabled him to make this notable contribution to the scientific study of the earth's satellite, that it is obviously well his conclusion should be told in his own graphic and forcible language. He says:—

'The theoretical view of the question, which we have now to consider, has led us, however, to the strong belief that no vestige of its former volcanic activity lingers in the moon—that it assumed its final condition an inconceivable number of ages ago, and that the high interest which would attach to the close scrutiny of our satellite, if it were still the theatre of volcanic reactions, cannot be hoped for. If it be just and allowable to assume that the earth and the moon were condensed into planetary form at nearly the same epoch (and the only rational scheme of cosmogony justifies the assumption), then we may institute a comparison between the condition of the two bodies as respects their volcanic age, using the one as a basis for inference concerning the state of the other. We have reason to believe that the earth's crust has nearly assumed its final state so far as volcanic reactions of its interior upon its exterior are concerned: we may affirm that within the historical period no igneous convulsions of any considerable magnitude have occurred, and we may consider that the volcanoes now active over the surface of the globe represent the last expiring efforts of its eruptive force. Now in the earth we perceive several conditions wherefrom we may infer that it parted with its cosmical heat (and therefore with its prime source of volcanic agency) at a rate which will appear relatively very slow when we come to compare the like conditions in the moon. We may, we think, take for granted that the surface of a planetary body generally determines its *heat-dispersing* power, while its volume determines its *heat-retaining* power. Given two spherical bodies of similar material but unequal magnitude and originally possessing the same degree of heat, the

smaller body will cool more rapidly than the larger, by reason of the greater proportion which the surface of the smaller sphere bears to its volume than that of the larger sphere to its volume—this proportion depending upon the geometrical ratio which the surfaces of spheres bear to their volumes, the contents of spheres being as the *cubes*, and the surfaces as the *squares*, of their diameters. The volume of the earth is 49 times as great as that of the moon, but its surface is only 13 times as great; there is consequently in the earth a power of retaining its cosmical heat nearly four times as great as in the case of the moon; in other words, the moon and earth being supposed at one time to have had an equally high temperature, the moon would cool down to a given low temperature in about one-fourth the time that the earth would require to cool to the same temperature. But the earth's cosmical heat has without doubt been considerably conserved by its vaporous atmosphere, and still more by the ocean in its antecedent vaporous form. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the earth's surface has nearly assumed its final condition, so far as volcanic agencies are concerned; it has so far cooled as to be subject to no considerable distortions, or disruptions, of its surface. What, then, must be the state of the moon, which, from its small volume and large proportionate area, parted with its heat at the above comparatively rapid rate? The matter of the moon is, too, less dense than that of the earth, and hence, doubtless, from this cause disposed to more rapid cooling; and it has no atmosphere or vaporous envelope to retard its radiating heat. We are driven thus to the conclusion that the moon's loss of cosmical heat must have been so rapid as to have allowed its surface to assume its final conformation ages on ages ago, and hence that it is unreasonable and hopeless to look for evidence of change of any volcanic character still going on.' . . . 'Speaking by our own lights, from our own experience and reasoning, we are disposed to conclude that in all visible aspects the lunar surface is unchangeable, that in fact it arrived at its terminal condition *eons* of ages ago, and that in the survey of its wonderful features, even in the smallest details, we are presented with the sight of objects of such transcendent antiquity as to render the oldest geological features of the earth modern by comparison.'

In regard to the possibility of the existence of any form of living organisation at all comparable to the vital structures which teem so abundantly, and in such infinite diversity, upon the earth, there is no room for speculation or question. No vegetable organisation could exist in the entire absence of moisture, and where at brief intervals of fourteen days the heat is of sufficient intensity to melt the least stubborn of metals, and then the cold immeasurably below that which is ever experienced in the arctic regions of the earth—where the usual monthly range of temperature is more than seven hundred degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometric scale, or nearly four times the difference between freezing ice and boiling water. Neither could any form of living animal, which the most lively physio-

logical imagination could conceive, maintain the conditions of even the lowest kind of vitality in an atmosphere so rare that it could not sustain the column of the barometer the smallest fractional part of an inch.

Mr. Nasmyth is not only an earnest expositor of the orthodox views of the old Plutonian cosmogony, which teaches the molten condition of the orbs of space as antecedent to their consolidation into rocky, hard-coated spheres, he is also a thorough believer in the yet broader and more comprehensive assumptions of the elder Herschel and of Laplace, which trace back the formation of liquid spheres to the condensation of nebulous vapour. Mr. Nasmyth holds that no more satisfactory, or more philosophical, explanation of the origin of comical heat can be given than the one which attributes it to the influx, and consequent impact, of material particles, drawn simultaneously together by gravitating force, and to the conversion of the arrested motion of the concentrating mass into the rotatory movement of the constituent molecules; and he refers, in terms of strong admiration, to the labours, in this department of research, of Julius Robert Mayer, of Heilbronn, and of Dr. Joule, of Manchester, as establishing the now generally accepted principle of the conservation and indestructibility of the physical forces of nature, and of the convertibility of motion into heat. He quotes, in illustration of this part of his argument, the estimate of Professor Helmholtz, as to the amount of heat that would be generated by the condensation of the entire mass of the solar system—sun, planets, and worlds—from the nebulous into the liquid state; and which assumes a quantity that would be enough to raise a mass of water of the same weight twenty-eight million degrees of centigrade. There is, of course, a wide range for speculation in this part of the subject, but it will not be forgotten how much more coherence and meaning such speculative considerations have acquired since the spectroscope has been brought to bear in investigating the physical conditions of the luminaries of space. In connexion with these pages of Mr. Nasmyth's book, referring to the earliest periods of the history of the moon, there will come to the mind of the reader the discoveries recently made concerning the existing state of the great solar orb, which tell of columns of luminous gas thousands of miles high, and streams of white-hot meteoric hailstones millions of miles long, shot out from volcanic vents in the sun's incandescent, and certainly fluid, surface; of clouds of dark, heavy fumes, seemingly of condensing metallic vapours, rolled back into the whirling rents; of the engraven hiero-

glyphics—the dark lines of Fraunhofer—traced upon the prismatic spectrum of the sunbeam, to record that the rays sent forth from the incandescent sphere have to penetrate through a dense investment of heavy sublimations and vapours before they can emerge into transparent space. The most recent conclusions of this powerful method of research, it will be remembered, point to those brightest luminaries of the celestial hierarchy—the white stars—as isolated spheres in which heavy fumes of magnesium, sodium, and iron are kept scintillating in oceans of glowing gas, very much after the manner in which molecules of unsublimed carbon are kept scintillating in jets of glowing hydrogen in the flames of artificial illumination;—and to the lower grade of yellow stars and red stars as kindred spheres more surface chilled, in which yet thicker vapours and agglomerating scoriæ are gathering around the inner bright nucleus and dulling its lustre very much as the white-hot brightness of molten iron, in the founder's hands, is dimmed through the various tints of yellow and red while the fiery heat subsides. Yet other steps in the same line of argument suggest that the larger and outer members of the planetary system are spheres in which small solid nuclei are enveloped in deep liquid oceans, or atmospheres, that have lost, in the further process of cooling, all shining power, although they still scatter radiant heat into space, and so perform the subordinate function of 'heat-suns.' In the views of Mr. Nasmyth our own pleasant world is but a more finished production in which the still molten, and yet radiant, central nucleus has been shut up in a thick, cold shell of consolidated substance; and the moon is the ultimate and final issue of the same process, in which the cold, solid crust has extended to the very core, and all has become a chilled cindery mass, in which the outer pittings and frettings are the only vestiges that remain to tell of the fiery ordeal which has been passed through.

Mr. Proctor, in his recently printed description of 'The Moon,' has, in that portion of the work which is especially devoted to 'aspect, scenery, and physical condition,' travelled essentially over the same ground as Mr. Nasmyth, and in doing so he has strongly marked the distinction that there is between making a book in years and writing a book in days. Mr. Proctor has brought together, and he has done this with a considerable manifestation of ability and industry, a copious collection of references to the labours and views of inquirers who have worked in this field. In this gathering there appear the pittings of the moon's surface with meteoric rain, the

groovings and scorings of its rocks with glacial action, the manufacture of annular craters by the bursting of surface bubbles, the fracturing of the hardened crust, and the fusion of subjacent rock by the impact of the concussion; and the swallowing up of primæval seas by the opening out of internal cavities and caverns. Perhaps upon the whole, the part of these manifold references which takes the strongest hold upon the reader's attention is Mr. Proctor's comments upon the views of Mallet, first fully developed in an article contributed to the 'Philosophical Magazine' of December 1872, which ascribe the development of volcanic energy, and the fusion of rock, to the crushing in of large broken masses of the crust of the earth, and to the production of lakes and pockets of red-hot lava of comparatively limited extent, where the mechanical impulse of the shattering and dislocation is transformed into heat. Over and above his favourable regard for this theory, Mr. Proctor seems to incline, in dealing with the moon's formative history, to the notion that 'processes of contraction and 'of gathering in of matter from without,' have sufficed 'to produce all the effects of disturbance which have brought the 'moon to its present condition.' As an exponent of this particular part of the theme, namely, the description of the physical state and history of the moon, Mr. Nasmyth's book is very much like the Wargentín of his illustrations—a cup full to the rounded brim with outwelling substance furnished from within, while Mr. Proctor's book has the aspect rather of an agglomeration of matter 'pitted with meteoric rain,' and fashioned from the gathering in of extraneous contributions. This remark, however, is to be understood as limited to that portion of the subject which of necessity comes most immediately into comparison with the work of Mr. Nasmyth. Mr. Proctor is very much more original and very much more at home when he deals with the more congenial theme of 'the 'motions' of the moon, which will presently be spoken of.

Attempts were made, even as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, to construct maps of the moon, in which all the objects that had been discovered by the telescope were sketched in their relative positions. In 1837 the Germans Beer and Maedler published a really splendid map of the moon, 37 inches across, in which all the leading objects, amounting to several hundreds in number, are laid down, the names of the older observers being for the most part attached to them. Mr. Proctor has included in his book a very good copy of Beer and Maedler's map on a reduced scale. Mr. Nasmyth, on his part, has given in his volume what he aptly

terms 'a Picture Map of the Moon;' a chart which is constructed upon an altogether novel and very admirable plan. In it the objects are all represented in the bold relief of light and shadow which they acquire under the most favourable circumstances of illumination. The several objects are, therefore, shown as they never can be seen altogether at one time; but each one has the aspect and individuality by which it is best known, when viewed in its most pronounced form in the telescope, fringed by the shadows of oblique light. On account of the readiness with which each familiar object is caught by the eye, this is a very excellent and welcome expedient.

When, some two centuries ago, Sir Isaac Newton was engaged in knotting the first meshes of the marvellous net of intellectual apprehension that has since enveloped a firmament of worlds and suns, it was fortunately a correlative fact that there was one bright luminary, moving so swiftly and punctually round in the heavens, among the stars, and so ostentatiously and demonstratively marking its course over those illuminated gradations of the nocturnal sky, that it at once suggested itself as a ready and obvious test of the accuracy of the great mathematician's novel conception. Newton was indeed, for a passing instant, so staggered by the very aptness and sufficiency of this rough-and-ready proof that he was, for the time, thrown off the scent of his wonderful discovery. In common with other mathematicians of the day he had adopted an erroneous estimate of the size of the earth, and valued each degree of the meridian as having a span of sixty miles. When he attempted to square the movements of the moon, and the necessities of his theory, with this old estimate, as the medium of the comparison, it was manifest that the movements and the theory could not be made to agree. But by one of the lucky coincidences that sometimes occur in mundane affairs, it happened that, just at the critical moment of the investigation, the French astronomer, Picard, detected the error in the earth's measure, and extended the length of a degree of the meridian to sixty-nine miles and an eighth. When this correction was taken into account in the calculations of Newton it immediately appeared that his assumption of the identity of the force that made a stone fall to the ground, and that made the moon curve, in its remote orbit, towards the earth, was substantially correct, and from that time the Newtonian theory of gravitation became an assured possession of human science, to be thenceforth wielded by astronomers and mathematicians to interminable and momentous issues.

The proof which the moon furnished of the truth of Newton's conception of the universality of gravitation was simply and essentially this. The moon circles about the earth at a distance of sixty of the earth's half-diameters from the terrestrial surface, and therefore in a position where, if the assumption of the theory that gravitating force diminishes in proportion to the distance from which it is exerted be correct, the attraction of the earth should be sixty times less than it is at the earth's surface. The moon should therefore be drawn, by the earth's attraction, as far in one minute (which is sixty seconds) as a stone at the earth's surface is drawn in one second. Now the moon at its distance of sixty half-diameters of the earth, or 240,000 miles, moves through a circular path which is 1,646,015 miles long; and it performs this journey in 27 days, 7 hours, 43 minutes, or in 39,343 minutes; and in order that it may complete such a journey in such a time it has to move round in a curve which falls out, towards the earth, from a straight course, $16\frac{2}{3}$ feet every 419 miles. Now 419 miles is the distance through which the moon moves in a minute; therefore the moon does fall towards the earth, under its attraction, $16\frac{2}{3}$ feet in a minute; just as a stone falls towards the surface of the earth $16\frac{2}{3}$ feet in a second. Consequently the force which draws the moon and the force which draws the stone is one and the same, its power being only diminished sixty times in the case of the moon, because it is exerted from a distance sixty times as great.

In reality, however, the moon does not move in an exactly circular path, and with unchanging velocity. It is sometimes a little nearer to, and sometimes a little farther from, the earth; and it sweeps along with a pace that is sometimes a little more rapid, and sometimes a little less rapid, than 419 miles in the minute; and these irregularities are due, not to any one influence, but to the combination of a very large number of separate influences that vary in direction and force from instant to instant, and that can nevertheless be hunted down by the relentless scent of mathematical analysis, and that must be hunted down, and fixed, each in its exact integrity, if the moon's movements are to be calculated beforehand, and tabulated in such a form that they can be turned to account by sailors in navigating their ships upon the wide, trackless sea. This regulated irregularity, indeed, is the great charm which the moon's movements have for practical astronomers; for it has been found through a long experience that each fresh discovery of an irregularity of movement infallibly leads also to the discovery of a previously missing link in the

chain of the Newtonian theory. Each particular irregularity is due to some special interference that invariably hangs upon the action of gravity somewhere. Therefore having seized the irregularity, the cause of the disturbance can be tracked to its hidden lair. The searching out of these minor perturbations of the moon has been carried on, since Newton's time, with unceasing attention, and, indeed, is still persevered in with ever-increasing rigour and exactness. The perfecting, as it is called, of the tables of the moon is the staple work of all the most important national observatories, amongst which, in this point of view, the Royal Observatory at Greenwich stands certainly pre-eminent. This progressive correction of the tables of the moon is entirely a process of continued comparison of exact instrumental observation of the satellite's place amongst the stars with calculations that have been made beforehand, so that any failure of the moon to take some special place that has been assigned to it for that particular instant, may furnish the clue to fresh causes of disturbance and perturbation, which may be used for insuring better forecasts in the future when they have been tracked and ascertained.

The Royal Observatory at Greenwich was built in the reign of Charles II. 'for the rectifying the tables of the motions of the heavens, and the places of the fixed stars, so as to find out the longitudes of places for the perfecting the art of navigation.' Flamsteed, a contemporary of Newton, was appointed the first 'Astronomical Observer' of the king, or 'Astronomer Royal,' in 1674, and the work of the Observatory was commenced in 1676. The earliest mural circle, or large circle attached to the face of a wall, with a graduated scale, for exact observations in the meridian, was constructed by Flamsteed at his own expense in 1689, and with this exact instrument the systematic study of the moon's movements was initiated, two years after the publication of the 'Principia,' which contained the final development of Newton's great theory. In 1694 Flamsteed supplied Newton with a series of observed places of the moon for use in his calculations. A notable illustration is afforded of the appreciation which was given to astronomical science at this time in the fact that the first mural circle in the Observatory was constructed at Flamsteed's own expense; that Flamsteed's salary for his public service was 100*l.* per annum, with a deduction of 10*l.* per annum for a tax, and was coupled with the condition that he should instruct two of the Christchurch school-boys in nautical astronomy; and that the salary of an indispensable assistant

was also paid by him. Flamsteed died on the last day of the year 1719, being at that time sixty-four years of age. His observations were printed five years after his death under the title 'Historia Cœlestis Britannica;' and the second volume of this work contained places of the moon computed from observation.

Flamsteed was succeeded in the Royal Observatory by Edmund Halley, who was also a contemporary of Newton, and who began his work at the Observatory when he was sixty-four years old. It is probable that he was induced to enter upon so laborious an office at such an advanced period of his life on account of the great advantage the position afforded him for prosecuting certain researches into the moon's movements upon which he was already engaged. He constructed a new transit instrument and a mural quadrant, and pursued his investigations with these. About ten years after his accession at Greenwich the reflecting quadrant—the mechanical contrivance which rendered lunar observations at sea, for the determination of the longitude, possible—was discovered independently by Hadley in England and by Godfrey in America. Tables of the comparison of observed and computed places of the moon from 1722 to 1739 were constructed by Halley, and these were subsequently printed. Edmund Halley died in 1742.

The third Astronomer Royal was James Bradley, whose name is inscribed in the annals of science in imperishable characters, on account of his being the inventor of the zenith sector and the discoverer of the aberration of light and of the nutation of the earth's axis. He administered the affairs of the Royal Observatory from 1742 to 1761, and the era of what is termed the 'exact observations' of Greenwich is generally considered to date from about this time; or more exactly from 1750. His observations were printed after his death by the University of Oxford.

During the rule of Bradley at the Royal Observatory, the French astronomer, Lacaille, determined the horizontal parallax of the moon, or, in other words, its distance from the earth, with much greater precision than had been found possible previously; and Mayer, of Gottingen, also completed a series of lunar tables, based on observations of eclipses and of occultations of fixed stars by the moon, which were found to give the proper places of the moon within a minute and a half of celestial longitude. These tables took into account fifteen distinct forms of irregularity. Bradley compared the actual corresponding places of the moon with the forecasts of these

tables, and reported in regard to them that they unquestionably rendered it possible for sailors to find their position in the open sea, by observing the distance of the moon from certain standard fixed stars, within one degree of longitude; and that they therefore virtually fulfilled the object for which a public reward had been offered. Mayer's widow, in consequence, after his death received the sum of 3,000*l.* from the British Government in recognition of the important service thus rendered to the science of navigation. Mayer's tables were extended and otherwise improved twelve years afterwards by Mason, and the possible errors in observing and calculating longitude at sea were pronounced to be then further diminished very nearly one-third.

In the last year of Bradley's life, John Harrison, a Yorkshire carpenter and mechanic, rendered the construction of the chronometer so perfect that it became possible for the sailor to carry Greenwich time with him through long voyages, so that thenceforth he could make the chronometer serve the same purpose as observing the distance between the moon and a star. In 1761 Harrison sent a chronometer to Jamaica, which only went wrong five seconds and a tenth during the voyage, and this it was found would not have involved an error in longitude for the ship's place of more than two miles. The sum of 20,000*l.* was awarded to Harrison by an Act of Parliament for this improvement of the marine chronometer. The observation of lunar distances at sea became of only secondary importance after this. But it was still held of great consequence, on account of its supplying the means of checking and verifying the performance of the chronometers, and of replacing them altogether in case of accident.

On the year in which Harrison perfected the construction of the marine chronometer, Dr. Bliss succeeded Bradley as Astronomer Royal. But he died within four years, and so left no material contribution to the efficiency of the Observatory. Neville Maskelyne followed him in 1765, and continued his distinguished services as Astronomer Royal for the long term of forty-six years. He had been so fortunate as to have been previously engaged in observing the transit of Venus at St. Helena in 1761, and co-operated in the subsequent observation of this phenomenon, eight years afterwards, on the historical occasion when Cooke was sent to Otaheite. Maskelyne introduced at the Royal Observatory the method of noting the transits of celestial bodies over a system of five vertical wires placed in the field of the telescope, and first ventured upon the refinement of reckoning the meridian passage of a star within tenths of seconds. The distinguished honour also belongs to

him of having commenced the publication of the Nautical Almanac, which first appeared two years after his appointment as Astronomer Royal. He was engaged with the preparation of a fine mural circle for the Observatory when his useful life was brought to a close at the advanced age of seventy-nine years.

During the reign of Maskelyne at the Royal Observatory, the French mathematicians Laplace and Lagrange had been making important progress in investigating theoretically the moon's movements. A slight continued acceleration of the moon's rate of travelling, and a gradual shifting of the points where the planes of the orbits of the moon and of the earth cross each other, and of the situation of the moon's farthest departure from the earth in each turn of its revolution, were traced to a gradual diminution in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit. The disturbing influence of the equatorial bulging of the earth, and of the varying distance of the sun, had also been detected. In consequence of these rapid and important advances in theoretical knowledge the French Academy of Sciences thought it well to offer a prize for new tables of the moon in which all these discoveries should be taken into account. Tables were published in answer to this appeal in 1802, by Tobias Burg, of Vienna, and these were still further developed, as it was then thought, in 1811 by the astronomer Burckhardt, who discussed no less than 400 observations of the moon for this purpose. The extended tables of Burckhardt were thenceforth adopted in the preparation of the Nautical Almanac, under the impression that they were the best then available; but it unfortunately happened that a complicated and involved form of expression had been used in them, which served to conceal for a long time certain inherent imperfections. It was only in subsequent years that it was discovered these tables allowed errors in the moon's calculated place as large as half a minute of longitude.

John Pond succeeded Maskelyne at the Royal Observatory, and he had the satisfaction of adding a large transit instrument to the equipment of the place. He gave great attention to establishing the positions of standard fixed stars that could be used as the graduations of the heavens from which the moon's movements had to be measured. The great improvement, however, which he introduced into observational astronomy, and which enabled him to accomplish his object of getting more exact observations of the fixed stars, was the very beautiful method of observing the image of the star reflected from the still surface of mercury at the same instant that the star

was seen through the telescope. The half of the angular measure that was included between the lines of sight in which the two observations were made of necessity gave the height of the star above the horizon. In this way all levels and plumb-lines for getting the bearing of the horizon were summarily dispensed with. The observation found its own horizon by the simple expedient of establishing reflexion from an absolutely horizontal surface. This method of getting elevations above the horizon is of the most exquisite perfection of delicacy and exactness, and is so entirely satisfactory that it is still in use in observing altitudes and polar distances with the great meridian instruments at Greenwich.

The seventh individual in the series of distinguished men, which completes the list of the Astronomers Royal of Great Britain, is Sir George Biddell Airy, who succeeded Pond in 1835, and still happily fills the place of 'astronomical observer' at the great national observatory. It would not be an easy task to enumerate all the good services that this energetic veteran has rendered in his long term of thirty-nine years' service. But some of these must be named on account of the direct bearing they have upon the perturbational history of the moon and the perfection of the tables of the moon's movements. While Mr. Airy was yet directing the operations of the observatory of the University of Cambridge he introduced the admirable and most important practice of having all current observations at once reduced, with the necessary refinements of correction, and printed side by side with the corresponding terms of the tables that presumably represent them, so that each particular failure in the table might be apparent at a glance. Before this period all the moon observations had been taken by meridian instruments; that is to say, the place of the moon was noted on the instant that it crossed the meridian, by measuring its height in declination above some standard fixed star, and its distance in right ascension from the same star counted in seconds of time that elapsed between the consecutive meridian passages of the moon and star. This method of observing is very exact, but it of necessity limits very materially the number of moon observations that can be made. As soon, therefore, as the present Astronomer Royal had fairly entered upon his career of public service, he set himself to add to the equipment of the Observatory an instrument by which good observations of the moon could be taken *out of the meridian*. The instrument which he constructed for this purpose was the fine altazimuth, that is still in use, and that answers the end for which it was contrived admirably. With

it the position of the moon is compared with that of standard fixed stars when it is still far from the meridian on either side, and, what is of still greater importance, the moon is also observed in a part of its orbit in which no observation at all can be taken upon the meridian, and in which part, therefore, there was previously no means of checking off its irregularities of pace. By this expedient of extra-meridional observation the number of satisfactory observations of the moon has been trebled. In the year 1848 Mr. Airy printed the reduced and corrected observations of 8,000 places of the moon that had been made at the Royal Observatory between 1750 and 1830, and which had, up to that time, been of no practical avail, on account of not having had these essential reductions and corrections applied. Other notable improvements in instrumental work that have been effected by the present Astronomer Royal are the adoption of a plan, which he himself devised, of taking the observation of both the direct and reflected images of a star upon the meridian by the same instrument, instead of employing two instruments for the purpose, as was previously done; and the fusion of the two great meridian instruments, namely the transit and the mural circle, into one, so that both declinations and right ascensions can be read off at one observation, instead of requiring two instruments and two observers. The transit circle which has thus been introduced at Greenwich has now superseded the double-instrument system at all the best observatories.

The near approach to perfection which the lunar theory and the tables of the moon have made has mainly resulted from two centuries of unintermittent work at the national observatory, which commenced with Flamsteed, and which, happily, has not yet ended with Airy. It is, at the present time, just two full centuries since the warrant was issued by the second Charles for the appointment of an 'astronomical observer' to look after the scientific interests of navigation, and it is certainly a notable circumstance that through this long stretch of two hundred years there have been only seven Astronomers Royal. If the one exceptionally short-lived Astronomer Royal be withdrawn from the list, the official lives of the remaining six make up the term of 196 years, and this gives very nearly thirty-three years for the official life of each individual of the series; a very fair allowance indeed, considering the work that is accomplished in the time.

It has been already intimated what the subtle power is that renders all this elaborate watching, calculating, and tabulating of the moon's movements necessary before they can be turned

to account and trusted as guides on the pathless ocean. It is the perturbing influence which different bodies exert upon each other's movements when they lie continually at different distances, and in different relative positions in regard to each other, and which is an unavoidable consequence of the universality of gravitation. Under the operation of this all-comprehending power, not only does the earth pull the moon to make it circle round itself in a curving orbit, but the sun pulls the moon, and the moon pulls the earth, and the earth pulls the sun, and each of the three bodies does this in a direction which is varying at each successive instant, and from a distance and with a force that is also varying at each instant in consequence of changing distance. The result is that intricate swayings to and fro, instead of a regular circling, are performed; and these swayings to and fro have to be taken into account by observational astronomy, in order that the *Nautical Almanac*, which has to give the prognosticated places of the moon three years beforehand, may be printed in proper time.

The first great irregularity in the movement of the moon that was discovered was known to the Alexandrian astronomer Ptolemy, nearly eighteen centuries ago. This largest of the moon's irregularities, which is technically distinguished as 'evection,' places the moon sometimes one degree and fifteen minutes, or twice and a half the breadth of its own face, in advance of, or behind, the position it would occupy if it moved round the earth in a regular circle at an unvarying pace. Two other large irregularities were discovered by Tycho Brahe, ninety-five years before Sir Isaac Newton perfected his great theory. These were termed the variation and parallactic inequality, and the annual equation of the moon. Other, also comparatively large, irregularities are designated the progression of the moon's perigee, and the elliptical irregularity. In order that the reader may get a general apprehension of what these coarser and longest-known irregularities mean, he must simply think of the moon as moving in an elliptical orbit about the earth, and of the earth as moving in a larger elliptical orbit about the sun; and he must then endeavour also to picture to himself the moon's movement as lying in a plane that is tilted in regard to the plane in which the earth moves about the sun, and which has the direction of this tilt slowly but continually shifted round. Then he will readily conceive that at every succeeding instant the rate and direction of the moon's progress are altered by the incessantly changing distance that separates it from the earth and sun, and the continually varying direction from which both the earth and

sun exert their attractive power. The chief of these disturbances take effect in alternately quickening and retarding the moon's pace, and therefore in accelerating or diminishing its right ascension among the stars. But the tilting of the planes of the two orbits in regard to each other besides contributing to this result also takes effect in raising or depressing the moon's position in latitude.

As many as forty distinct irregularities of the moon's movement have now been detected, tracked to their source by the sagacity of the astronomer and mathematician, and so exhaustively examined and discussed that they can henceforth be taken into account in astronomical forecasts. Some of the most recently discovered of these minor irregularities are invested with surpassing interest on account of the light they shed upon the magnificent impartiality and universality of the great gravitation-law. An error of eight seconds of position—that is, of only the 225th part of the breadth of the moon's face—which recurs every nine years and three quarters, has, for instance, been traced to the influence of the pull of the protuberant mass of the earth's equator upon the moon, varying in potential amount as the plane of the moon's orbit is inclined more or less to the plane of the earth's motion, between the extremes of 19 and 28 degrees. Another small irregularity of long period—namely, an alternate acceleration and retardation of the moon's movement to the extent of 23 seconds every 239 years, which was first detected by the present Astronomer Royal in 1846—was demonstrated by Professor P. A. Hansen, now of the Ducal Observatory of Gotha, to be due to an influence *exerted by the planet Venus upon the earth*. Venus retards the pace of the earth for 120 years, and then increases it for 120 years. So long as the slower rate prevails the earth is drawn in nearer to the sun. When the quicker speed prevails the earth moves off from the sun. But in both cases the moon goes with the earth, and consequently is first more energetically, and then less energetically, drawn by the sun. When most drawn by the sun its own pace is quickened, and when least drawn it is retarded. Professor Hansen believes that he has also referred another small irregularity of the long period of 273 years to the *direct* influence of the planet Venus upon the moon; but this has been since questioned, as will presently be seen.

So early as the year 1829 occasional letters from Professor Hansen, in the 'Astronomische Nachrichten,' indicated that he was at work upon the still untracked irregularities of the moon. In 1838, he published in Gotha a work entitled

'Fundamenta Nova Investigationis Orbitæ veræ quam Luna perlustrat.' The last fruits of his investigations were the examinations of the influence of Venus in producing the two irregularities of long period which have been alluded to. These were completed shortly before the Schleswig-Holstein war. It then became known that a series of lunar tables which the Professor had been working upon very anxiously would have to be laid aside for some time, on account of the embarrassments brought upon the Danish Government, to which Hansen was then attached, by the war. Our own Astronomer Royal, however, very gallantly came to the rescue, and induced the British Government to undertake the charge of completing the calculations, and printing the tables. The calculations were finished at a cost of 300*l.* The tables were printed by the Board of Admiralty, and Professor Hansen paid a pleasant visit to Greenwich to pass his work through the press. It is upon record, as a characteristic trait of this distinguished astronomer, that when this welcome assistance was extended to his work he was calmly preparing to continue his elaborate and intricate computations single-handed, and was only filled with concern at the contemplation of the long time that would have to elapse before his labour could be finished. By these tables errors of right ascension, which had notoriously been found to be as large as five-and-a-half seconds when the tables of Burckhardt were employed by the computers, were at once reduced to two-and-a-half seconds. The gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society was awarded to Professor Hansen in 1860 for this great service. In presenting the medal the President of the Astronomical Society spoke of the residual errors of the lunar theory as having been at last reduced to altogether insignificant limits, and of the great nautical problem of finding the longitude at sea as having been solved.

As Mr. Nasmyth, however, has pertinently remarked, 'the truths of Nature are for ever playing hide and seek with those who follow them.' At the very time when this eulogium was in process of delivery in the small crowded room in Somerset House, another astronomer was actually dealing with the 'remaining questions' with a still subtler refinement. Charles Eugène Delaunay had already made considerable progress with a work which was destined to throw even Hansen's admirable labours into the shade; and almost immediately after, the first volume of a large treatise on the 'Theory of the Moon's Motion,' by Mons. Delaunay, appeared as a portion of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences of Paris*, and the

second volume followed in 1867. In these treatises an entire re-examination of all the perturbing influences that affect the moon's motions is effected, and the discussion of some of the most recondite of these influences is carried further than it ever had been before. The disturbing power is traced through 57 distinct operations, and the results are formulated into 461 distinct periodical terms. The mere details of the processes that are employed in this calculation are printed in 138 pages of the memoir. The gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society was awarded to Mons. Delaunay, in 1870, for his 'Théorie de la Lune;' and in presenting the medal, Professor Adams, one of the greatest of living authorities on this branch of human knowledge, spoke of this great work as having been planned with admirable skill, and carried out with matchless perseverance, and as constituting an enduring scientific monument of which the age may well be proud.

The author of the elaborate and masterly calculations which were thus spoken of by Professor Adams was appointed Director of the Paris Observatory just about the period when he received the medal. Shortly after this his time was entirely occupied in his efforts to preserve the delicate and costly instruments of the Observatory from injury during the siege of Paris by the Germans. He had scarcely resumed the routine of his official duties after the close of the Franco-German war, when he was snatched from the sphere of his distinguished labours by the upsetting of a pleasure-boat in the Bay of Cherbourg. His death from this lamentable accident occurred on the 5th of August, 1872. The third volume of his 'Theory of the Moon,' which would have contained his tables of the moon's movements, perfected by his own especial method of handling, has not been published. Sir George Airy speaks of the 'Lunar Theory of Delaunay, as a glorious work, almost superhuman in its labour, and perfect beyond others in the detailed exhibition of its results;' and adds that every term in the book is more complete than it has been made by any preceding writer; but that some terms to which great interest would have attached have been lost for the present by the untimely death of the author.

Yet again, however, there is light upon the horizon, and promise that the gap which has been left by the premature death of Mons. Delaunay will be filled in by no incompetent hand. On January 9 a paper was read at a meeting of the Royal Astronomical Society by the Astronomer Royal, in which he announced that he had himself taken up the garment which had fallen from the shoulders of Mons. Delaunay, and

that he had commenced a lunar theory, in which he intended to avail himself of certain of Delaunay's fundamental expressions, and then to proceed by a new method of his own which would have the great advantage that every co-efficient throughout the process would be expressed by simple numbers, and so allow much of the labour to be carried through by mere computers of average training and skill. Sir George Airy has printed the details of this method with sufficient fulness and completeness to enable the work to be carried through by other hands, if, unfortunately, he should not be able to finish it himself. Both Mons. Delaunay and the Astronomer Royal reject one of the corrections based upon Professor Hansen's view of the action of Venus upon the moon; and after this rejection it appears that there is still a discrepancy between theory and observation, which oscillates through a long period between a retardation of 6.79 seconds and an acceleration of 4.93 seconds, which has not been traced, but which Sir George believes his method will eliminate.

Before concluding the narrative of this marvellous episode of sustained intellectual effort, it may be as well to remark that the successful observation of the transit of Venus at the close of the current year may be expected to furnish a last touch to the perfection of the lunar theory. It is anticipated that after this observation the uncertain quantity of 300,000 miles which stands at this time as a possible error in the estimate of the sun's distance, will be reduced to about 50,000 miles. If this anticipation is fulfilled, the more exact and reliable measure of the sun's distance, so secured, will have a material effect in perfecting the method of determining terrestrial longitudes, and of so giving a finer and firmer grasp upon the last residual irregularities of the moon.

Mr. Proctor's book deals largely with the question of these irregularities of the moon's movement, and it does so with a method that he has made very much his own by the ready and copious facility with which he conceives pictorial illustrations of geometrical subjects. In recent years Mr. Proctor has been almost as fertile in the production of popular works on astronomical subjects as Mr. Anthony Trollope has been in the matter of popular novels. 'The Sun'; 'Other Worlds than Ours'; 'The Moon'; 'Saturn and its Systems'; 'The Orbs around us'; 'Essays on Astronomy'; 'A New Star Atlas,' and 'The Universe and the Coming Transits,' are some of the instances of this fecundity, which have been all produced within something like an eighth of the time that has been occupied by Mr. Nasmyth in preparing his monograph on the moon. The geometrical part of Mr. Proctor's book comprises about 160

pages, and these pages are illustrated by a series of sixty-five clever geometrical designs, which look, many of them, like the elaborate and beautiful figures produced by amateur turners who delight in eccentric chucks. In reference to this part of his book, and in explanation of his own purpose in regard to it, Mr. Proctor says:—

‘I propose to endeavour in this place to present the subject in a merely popular, yet exact manner. I wish the reader to see, not merely how the law of gravity accounts for the more obvious features of the moon’s motion, but also how her peculiarities of motion—her perturbations—are explained by the law of attraction. On the one hand the Scylla of too great simplicity is to be avoided, lest the reader should be left with the impression that the evidence for the law of gravity is not so complete as it actually is; on the other hand the Charybdis of complexity must be escaped from, lest the general reader be deterred altogether from the investigation of a subject which is not only extremely important, but in reality full of interest. I invite the general student to notice in the first instance that the whole of the following line of argument must be attentively followed. If a single paragraph be omitted, or slurred over, what follows will forthwith become perplexing. But I believe I can promise him that with this sole *proviso* he will meet with no difficulties of an important nature.’

The reader of these pages of geometrical demonstration is certainly safe from *the rock* that Mr. Proctor speaks of. After the clever ingenuity in the construction of such illustrations which has been alluded to, the next characteristic of Mr. Proctor’s work is unquestionably sufficiency and accuracy in matters of scientific detail. In this particular he stands almost without a rival among copious writers on popular science. Whether the reader is also as safe from the whirlpool of the mid-passage it is not equally easy to say; but if he does find himself ultimately sucked into the Charybdis of complexity, the untoward result will at least be more due to the unalterable and unavoidable intricacy of the channel than to inefficiency in the sailing directions. The plain and unreserved truth of the matter is that any reader who can follow to the end this neat and clever piece of consecutive geometrical reasoning, must possess a certain amount of mathematical aptitude, and must have had some measure of technical training. The accomplished geometrician’s idea of the ‘purely popular’ unfortunately varies considerably in some particulars from the idea of the same attribute that is entertained by the general run of fairly educated men. If the reader succeed in mastering this explanation of a very complicated subject, without foundering in the midway whirlpool, he will have good reason to be satisfied with the result of his adventurous voyage.

The most original, and perhaps most successful part of Mr.

Proctor's handling of this complex subject is that which refers to what are termed the librations of the moon; that is, the nodding to and fro, to a small extent, of the portion of the lunar sphere which is directed towards the earth. The moon goes round the earth much as if it were placed on the end of a long rigid arm, which turned upon a pivot fixed nearly at the earth's centre; that is to say, it turns once upon itself as it revolves once round the earth, and keeps itself nearly upright as it does so, and in this way always presents the same face towards the earth. But because it does not move round the earth *quite upright*, and because, in its eccentric course, it shoots along sometimes a little more quickly, and sometimes a little more slowly, than it shifts round upon itself, a little more, of sometimes one part and sometimes another part, of the further half is brought forward into view. In this way about four-sevenths, instead of one-half, of the entire surface of the moon become visible to human eyes. These librations or balancings of the moon are an interesting part of the consequences of perturbation, but there is one of them—that, namely, which takes place in longitude—which is of surpassing importance, on account of the evidence which it affords of the actual shape of the moon. The investigations of Newton into these balancings, and the subsequent extension of the inquiry by Lagrange, have made it obvious that the moon not only is slightly protuberant at its equatorial belt, but that it also is bulged out a little at the part which is most directly opposite to the earth. The moon is 186 feet thicker through in this particular direction than in its other next largest diameters, and Lagrange had no doubt that this bulging out towards the earth at one point is the potential cause of the moon always turning one face towards the terrestrial observer. He believed that the rotation of the moon upon itself was at some remote period of its history performed in a period that differed very materially from the term of the moon's revolution about the earth, and that the attraction of the earth, acting most powerfully upon this protuberant point, gradually dragged the rotation period down into conformity with the time of the orbital revolution.

But of all the perturbation-manifestations of gravitating force, the one that has the most vital interest for man is unquestionably that which comes out as the 'tides of the ocean;' and it is matter of some regret, on account of the telling illustration which these periodical swellings of the waters afford of the ruling fact that is at the bottom of all such balancings, noddings, and swayings, that this subject may not be further pursued at the end of a Review article which has already made a very large demand upon the reader's attention.

ART. IV.—*The Life and Death of John of Barneveldt, Advocate of Holland, with a View of the Primary Causes and Movements of the Thirty Years' War.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L., LL.D. Two vols. 8vo. London: 1874.

WE gladly welcome Mr. Motley's reappearance in the arena of history; these two volumes are a fitting sequel to those which have already been so favourably received by the reading public in either hemisphere; and without any suspicion of ingratitude we trust we may look upon this publication with a lively hope of similar favours yet to come. They contain in fact the history of Europe during the fitful twelve years' armistice which intervened between the war of forty years' duration which established the independence of the Netherlands and the war of thirty years' duration which settled the religious peace of Europe. For the history of that period is indeed the history of one man—that of John of Barneveldt.* The pages before us are the result of long and arduous study in the archives of several countries, and especially in those of the Hague and of Brussels; and we can hardly give too much appreciation to that subtle alchemy of the brain which has enabled him to produce out of dull, crabbed, and often illegible state papers the vivid, graphic, and sparkling narrative which he has given to the world.

This history, which styles itself 'The Life and Death of John of Barneveldt,' does occupy itself in reality only with the story of the great statesman during the last ten years of his existence. In his former historical works Mr. Motley had given a narrative of the revolution in the Netherlands, in which the great Advocate played so leading a part, and followed them down to the time at which, after forty years of hard fighting, Spain virtually acknowledged the independence of the Republic and concluded with her a truce of twelve years, by which she consented to treat with her former dependency as with an independent power. But singularly enough this truce of twelve years had hardly been concluded when the death of the Duke of Cleves without an heir created a fresh crisis in European politics, which not only imperilled the existence of the truce, so painfully patched up after nearly half a century

* Mr. Motley has thought fit to drop the final *t* in spelling the name of his hero; but we know not for what reason. He himself states that the Advocate was of the 'knightly house of Oldenbarneveldt,' and by most of the best English writers the true spelling of the name has been retained. We therefore adhere to it.

of war, but seemed likely to involve all Europe in a new conflict.

Few events in history have created so much interest among men as the vacancy of this inheritance of the Duke of Cleves.

'It was an apple of discord thrown directly between the two rival camps into which Christendom was divided. The duchies of Cleves, Berg, and Jülich and the counties and lordships of Mark, Ravensberg, and Ravenstein, formed a triangle political and geographical, closely wedged between Catholicism and Protestantism, and between France, the United Provinces, Belgium, and Germany. Should it fall into Catholic hands, the Netherlands were lost, trampled upon in every corner, hedged in on all sides, with the House of Austria governing the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt. It was vital to them to exclude the Empire from the great historic river which seemed destined to form the perpetual frontier of jealous powers and rival creeds. Should it fall into heretic hands, the States were vastly strengthened, the Archduke Albert isolated and cut off from the protection of Spain and of the Empire. France, although Catholic, was the ally of Holland, and the secret but well-known enemy of the House of Austria. It was inevitable that the king of that country, the only living statesman that wore a crown, should be appealed to by all parties, and should find himself in the proud but dangerous position of arbiter of Europe. In this emergency he relied upon himself, and on two men besides, Maximilian de Béthune (Sully), and John of Barneveldt.' (Vol. i. pp. 60, 61.)

Among the many aspirants to the vacant duchies the real competitors were the Emperor on the one side, and the Elector of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Neuburg, on the other. These two princes, under the advice of Barneveldt and of a council of the Protestant princes of Germany, came to an arrangement that a *Condominium* should be provisionally established, by which the duchies should be held in common until the affair could be amicably settled. But meanwhile the Bishop Archduke Leopold, cousin of the Emperor, managed to instal himself in Jülich, and aimed at obtaining the sovereignty with the help of the Catholic League. The States, under the lead of Barneveldt and Henry IV., determined to support the rights of the possessory princes, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Neuburg.

The great hero of the first volume of this work is Henry IV., on whose figure Mr. Motley—with perhaps some violation of the principle of unity—has in the opening chapters bestowed as much labour as on Barneveldt himself later on in the story. Few characters indeed in all history excite more interest and sympathy than the great king who was cut down in the plenitude of his strength and his power, on the very eve of

entering actively upon the conduct of his great design for curbing the power of the House of Austria and establishing on a firm basis the peace of Europe. And we can imagine no better antidote to the doctrines of that modern school of history which would make the story of the world a mere resultant of the combined action of general social forces, uninfluenced by the workings of individual will and energy, than the study of this period. If Henry IV. and Barneveldt had not both of them been suddenly snatched away from the theatre of the world just as one of its most terrible dramas was about to commence, it may with certainty be predicated that its subsequent history would have been greatly altered.

Henry IV. at once saw that the question of the duchies of Cleves afforded him the long-desired opportunity for carrying out his 'grand design,' and entered at once into the execution of his project with all the eager impetuosity of an indefatigably youthful nature.

'Scarcely an afternoon passed that the King did not make his appearance at the Arsenal, the residence of Sully, and walk up and down the garden with him for hours, discussing the great project of which his brain was full. The great project was to crush for ever the power of the Austrian House; to drive Spain back into her own limits, putting an end to her projects for universal monarchy, and taking the imperial crown from the House of Hapsburg. By thus breaking up the mighty cousinship which, with the aid of Rome, overshadowed Germany and the two peninsulas, besides governing the greater part of both the Indies, he meant to bring France into the preponderant position over Christendom which he believed to be her due. It was necessary, he thought, for the continued existence of the Dutch commonwealth that the opportunity should be taken once for all, now that a glorious captain commanded its armies, and a statesman unrivalled for experience, insight, and patriotism controlled its politics and its diplomacy, to drive the Spaniard out of the Netherlands.' (Vol. i. p. 98.)

No statesman of the present day, in the event of a general European war, would place much store by the alliance of Holland: far otherwise was it in the days of Henry IV. and Barneveldt. The Seven Provinces of the Netherlands had then come out of a forty years' struggle with one of the great powers of Europe, a struggle which was one long combat with foreign tyranny such as no people in history had ever waged before; and they had come out of it with need of repose indeed to recruit their strength, but with a mighty prestige attached to their name. They stood in the rank of the foremost nations of the world. It is, indeed, not easy, as Mr. Motley says, in imagination, to thrust back the present leading

empires of the earth into the contracted spheres of their not remote past. And it is only by recalling to mind what Germany, Russia, Italy, and even Great Britain were at that time, that we can comprehend how these small provinces, held together only by a loose and ill-defined treaty, contrived to play so leading a part among the powers of Europe. In point of wealth, indeed, alone, the Seven Provinces of the Netherlands could claim equality with the two great rival powers of Spain and France—each of which contained something like treble their population. As contrasted with England their revenue was even larger—the yearly income of Queen Elizabeth having barely amounted to 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.*, while the Netherlands had shown themselves capable of raising year by year a revenue amounting to one million sterling.

Unfortunately, however, the league which bound these provinces together was of so loose a character as not to deserve the name of a constitution. The ill-defined articles of the Union of Utrecht, established in 1579, still formed the foundation of the Commonwealth. This Union was a league between seven ostensibly sovereign states, in each of which states the sovereignty was disseminated through multitudinous boards of magistracy: close corporations—each self-elected—by which every city was governed. These boards sent deputies to each of the seven provincial assemblies, and it was of deputies elected by these assemblies that their 'High Mightinesses the Lord States General' were composed. The province of Holland, by reason of its being richer and more powerful than its fellow provinces, took the lead in this confederacy, and its lead was practically allowed by the rest.

'The Advocate and Keeper of the Great Seal of that province was therefore virtually prime minister, president, attorney-general, finance minister, and minister of foreign affairs of the whole republic. This was Barneveldt's position. He took the lead in the deliberations of both of the states of Holland and the States General, passed resolutions, advocated great measures of state, gave heed to their execution, collected the votes, summed up the proceedings, corresponded with and instructed ambassadors, received and negotiated with foreign ministers, besides directing and holding in his hands the various threads of the home policy, and the rapidly growing colonial system of the republic. All this work Barneveldt had been doing for thirty years.' (Vol. i. p. 10.)

But there was yet another great figure in the state of the Netherlands, Prince Maurice of Nassau, the son of William the Silent, whose energetic life to the time of the conclusion of the truce, had been absorbed in the conduct of war in which he had gained imperishable renown, and between whom and

the Advocate it was impossible but that occasions for jealousy and antagonism should arise as soon as both confronted each other as the two great leaders of their country in time of peace. This antagonism did result finally in a settled enmity on the part of the Prince, which had no small share in bringing the statesman to his tragic end. In the portrait of Prince Maurice we recognise Mr. Motley's wonted gift of graphic style for such sketches.

'Maurice was now in the full flower of his strength and fame, in his forty-second year, and of a noble, martial presence. The face, although unquestionably handsome, offered a sharp contrast with itself—the upper half all intellect, the lower quite sensual. Fair hair growing thin, but hardly tinged with grey; a bright, cheerful, and thoughtful forehead, large hazel eyes within a singularly large orbit of brow; a straight, thin, slightly aquiline, well-cut nose. Such features were at open variance with the broad, thick-lipped sensual mouth, the heavy, pendant jowl, the sparse beard on the glistening cheek, and the mole-skin-like moustachio and chin tuft. Still, upon the whole, it was a face and figure which gave the world assurance of a man, and a commander of men. Power and intelligence were stamped upon him from his birth. He had small love for the pleasures of the table, but was promiscuous and unlicensed in his amours. He was methodical in his household arrangements, and rather stingy than liberal in money matters. He personally read all his letters, accounts, despatches, and other documents, trivial or important, but wrote few letters with his own hand; so that, unlike his illustrious father's correspondence, there is little that is characteristic to be found in his own. He was plain, but not shabby, in attire, and was always dressed in exactly the same style, wearing doublet and hose of brown woollen, a silk under vest, a short cloak lined with velvet, a little plaited ruff, and very low boots. The only ornaments he indulged in, except of course on state occasions, were a gold hilt to his famous sword, and a rope of diamonds around his felt hat.' (Vol. i. pp. 28, 29.)

Such was Maurice, who had, with the exception of Henry IV., been during the war the most considerable personage in Europe—who had surpassed all generals before him in his encampments, in his military discipline, and in his scientific campaigning, and to whose camp the young aristocracy of Europe flocked as to a university of war. Of Imperial descent, connected with the most illustrious reigning houses of Europe, he had only been prevented from mounting the throne of Holland by the death of his father, and he believed that later the sovereignty of his country had been again within his reach, but that he had been prevented from attaining it by the advice and by the envy of Barneveldt. When to this primary source of enmity to Barneveldt is added the consideration that at the peace Maurice found himself reduced

from something like royal state, in which two hundred officers lived at his table, to one of little state at all, and in which he was constrained to play a passive part, while Barneveldt actively moulded the politics of the country—it will be understood that his primary grudge against the Advocate would find abundant nourishment from his altered position; his only public function in time of peace being that of the limited stadtholder of five out of seven provinces, and a servant of the States General.

The portrait of Maurice's great rival Mr. Motley draws in the following lines:—

'Barneveldt was tall and majestic of presence, with large quadrangular face, austere blue eyes looking authority and command, a vast forehead, and a grizzled beard. Of fluent and convincing eloquence with tongue and pen, having the power of saying much in few words, he cared much more for the substance than the graces of speech or composition. This tendency was not ill exemplified in a note of his written on a sheet of questions addressed to him by a States' ambassador about to start on an important mission.

'“Item and principally (wrote the envoy) to request of M. de Barneveldt a formulary or copy of the soundest, wisest, and best couched despatches done by several preceding ambassadors, in order to regulate myself accordingly for the greater service of the Provinces, and for my uttermost reputation.”

'The Advocate's answer, scrawled in his nearly illegible hand, was—
'“Unnecessary. The truth in shortest about matters of importance shall be taken for good style.”'

At the time at which Mr. Motley's history opens Barneveldt was sixty-two years of age, having been born in 1567 of the ancient and knightly house of Oldenbarneveldt, and the proper appellation by which he was known to his country was Johann van Olden Barneveldt. He had studied much and well in the universities of Holland, France, Italy and Germany. He was at an early age one of the first civilians of his time. Having come to man's estate at the time at which the great war of freedom commenced, he served as a volunteer in several campaigns, and nearly lost his life at the disastrous attempt to relieve the siege of Haarlem. After practising the profession of the law before the tribunals of Holland, he became at twenty-nine Chief Pensionary of Rotterdam, and one of the most trusted counsellors of William the Silent as long as he lived. After the assassination of William and the consequent failure of the negotiations for conferring on him the sovereignty, Barneveldt was at the head of both embassies which went to offer the sovereignty and protectorship of his country first to England and afterwards to France, and to both

countries without success. Indeed he was the head of every embassy of importance to either country at this period of his career. As Advocate of the Province of Holland the story of his career becomes the history of the Netherlands.

It was not, however, the struggle for the succession of the Duke of Cleves which brought the chief statesman and the chief soldier of the Netherlands into an antagonism which only ended in the death of the former. The great point of division between them was the doctrine of Predestination as agitated in the Arminian and Gomarist controversy, and in this Maurice was entirely ignorant as to which of the sects was for Predestination and which against it. 'He knew nothing of Predestination,' he was wont to say, 'whether it was green or whether it was blue. He only knew that his pipe and the Advocate's were not likely to make music together.'

Mr. Motley is, however, justified in giving such prominence to the affair of the Duchy of Cleves in these volumes, and to the personality of Henry IV. For the politics of that great Prince were strangely mixed up with the foibles of his character, and nothing can be more amusing than the passion of the elderly sovereign for the youthful Princess de Condé, if indeed it was not (as some have supposed) in part assumed to mask his political designs. Sully, as we know, was his chief confidant and counsellor in these designs; but there was one person whom he desired to see almost as much as Sully, and that was Barneveldt. Again and again he pressed him to come to Paris with full powers to make arrangements; but it was impossible for Barneveldt, on whom rested the whole burden of affairs in the Netherlands, to leave the Hague; so as a sort of compromise a solemn embassy was despatched by Barneveldt to confer with the French King on the mighty undertaking he had in hand. An account of this embassy forms an interesting episode in these volumes. The reports of the conferences of the embassy with the King were taken down by the commissioners at the time and sent by them to the States General, and from such reports Mr. Motley has drawn his narrative. The account of the interviews of these ambassadors with the King of France and his ministers and the whole story of the negotiations are of great interest to show that however deeply Henry might be in love with the Princess of Condé, his passion for her was by no means the uppermost consideration in his mind at that moment.

The narrative of their last interview with the King before their departure in May 6, 1610, is extracted from their own official report, and is the more remarkable, as it is the last political utterance on record of Henry IV. previous to his assassination,

which took place a few days afterwards. The King, indeed, had reason not to be entirely satisfied with the *personnel* of the embassy thus sent to him; and the Advocate had at length only sent his son-in-law, Cornelis van der Myle, with two colleagues, whose powers were limited by stringent instructions from himself. Moreover, while contemplating a general war, and intending to draw upon the States for unlimited supplies, the ambassadors haggled about the money to be paid for a couple of regiments which, though French, were virtually their own troops, since they were employed in their service. Turning, however, towards the end of the interview, from the discussion of minor details, the King observed that the affair of Cleves had a much wider bearing than people thought. Therefore the States must consider well what was to be done to secure the whole work as soon as the Cleves business had been successfully accomplished.

“For how much good will it do,” said the King, “if we drive off Archduke Leopold without establishing the princes in security for the future? Nothing is easier than to put the princes in possession. Every one will yield or run away before our forces, but two months after we have withdrawn the enemy will return and drive the princes out again. I cannot always be ready to spring out of my kingdom, nor to assemble such great armies. I am getting old, and my army costs me 400,000 crowns a month, which is enough to exhaust all the treasures of France, Spain, Venice, and the States General together.”

He added that if the present occasion were neglected, the States would afterwards bitterly lament and never recover it. The Pope was very much excited, and was sending out his ambassadors everywhere. Only the previous Saturday the new nuncios destined for France had left Rome. If my lords the States would send deputies to the camp with full powers, he stood there firm and unchangeable; but if they remained cool in the business, he warned them that they would enrage him. The States must seize the occasion, he repeated. It was bald behind, and must be seized by the forelock. It was not enough to have begun well—one must end well. *Finis coronat opus*. It was very easy to speak of a league, but a league was not to be made in order to sit with arms tied, but to do good work. The States ought not to suffer that the Germans should prove themselves more energetic, more courageous than themselves. And again the King vehemently urged the necessity of his Excellency and some deputies of the States coming to him with absolute power “to treat.” He could not doubt in that event of something solid being accomplished.

“There are three things (he continued) which cause me to speak freely. I am talking with friends whom I hold dear; yes, dearer perhaps than they hold themselves. I am a great king, and say what I choose to say. I am old, and know by experience the ways of this world's affairs. I tell you, then, that it is most important that you should come to me resolved and firm on all points.”

‘He was silent for a few minutes, and then spoke again. “I shall not always be here,” he said; “nor will you always have Prince Maurice, and a few others whose knowledge of your commonwealth is perfect. My Lords, the States must be up and doing while they still possess them. Next Tuesday I shall cause the Queen to be crowned at St. Denis. The following Thursday she will make her entry into Paris. Next day, Friday, I shall take my departure. At the end of this month I shall cross the Meuse at Mezières, or in that neighbourhood.” He added that he should write immediately to Holland to urge upon his Excellency and the States to be ready to make the junction of their army, with his forces without delay. He charged the ambassadors to inform their High Mightinesses that he was and should remain their truest friend, their dearest neighbour. He then said a few generous and cordial words to each of them, warmly embraced each, and he bade them all farewell.’ (Vol. i. pp. 213-5.)

- These remarkable words, which have never before been made public, were uttered by Henry in the course of this interview, on Thursday, the 6th of May. On the 8th the ambassadors left Paris, and reached the Hague on the 16th.

Thus stood the King before the world and before history, prepared to strike his great blow for the abasement of the House of Austria—the storm was all prepared—the military arrangements were complete; regiments were everywhere hurrying hourly to the place of rendezvous. Six thousand Swiss, 20,000 French infantry, and 6,000 horse, were uniting at Mezières. Twelve thousand foot and 2,000 cavalry, including the French and English contingent—a splendid army led by Prince Maurice—were ready to march from Holland to Düsseldorf. The army of the possessory princes under Prince Christian of Anhalt, numbered 10,000 men. The Duke of Savoy, with 25,000 men, under Marshal Lesdiguières, was ready to aid in the Milanese; and the Marshal de la Force, at the head of his forces in the Pyrenees, amounting to 12,000 foot and 2,000 horse, was prepared to pass the Spanish frontier. The portion of these military preparations to which Sully had especially devoted himself, and in which he took especial pride, was the artillery. ‘Never,’ he said, ‘was seen in France, and perhaps never will be seen again, artillery more complete and better furnished.’ Sully’s son, the Marquis de Rosny, was placed at its head as Grand Master, while the father was to follow soon as its chief, and as superintendent of finance. As to finance, Sully had prepared unknown to his master such a supply—thirty millions—that when the latter heard the sum mentioned he jumped from his chair and hugged and kissed him with delight. To complete the account of the strength and position of France, there remained to be taken into consideration the

alliance of Sweden, Denmark, the Hanse Towns, Holland, Savoy, and the whole Protestant force of Germany.

To oppose to this array the forces at the disposition of Austria and of the Papacy were comparatively insignificant, while they had but a bankrupt treasury to draw upon for supplies.

The shadow, however, of a coming catastrophe at the court of France darkened as the crisis approached. The Queen had been appointed regent in the King's absence, and, partly to strengthen her position and as a precaution against the sinister designs which Condé and others were suspected of entertaining against the proposed regency, it was determined that the Queen should be crowned at St. Denis, on the 13th of May, two days before the King's departure. Henry himself was beset with strange and dark presentiments respecting this ceremony. He hated the very name of it. Although he had despised the warnings of soothsayers and astrologers, he seems to have had some strange forebodings of projects of treason and crime among the vile Italian intriguers and their associates who surrounded the Queen. The coronation took place on the appointed day, a Thursday. On the following Sunday the Queen was to make her triumphant entry into Paris. On the Friday the King went to see the preparations, and was, as all the world knows, stabbed to the heart by Ravallac, in a carriage with the Duke d'Épernon by his side in a narrow street, the Rue de la Ferronière, where the vehicle was stopped as though by accident.

The history of Mr. Motley throws no new light on the mysterious horror which surrounds this dark deed, yet he gives in the Appendix two letters of Pecquius, the envoy of the Archduke Albert, written from Paris, which contain evidence of the horrible suspicions then commonly whispered about Paris; and certain it is that a woman named Escomans, who had denounced Épernon as one of the chief conspirators, was brought to trial and condemned to prison for life—while the evidence against her was carefully suppressed. The assassin himself, before expiring on the Grève, made a declaration which was taken down by the Greffier of the court—and this declaration also was suppressed—although it is, according to Mr. Motley, said still to exist, and to contain the names of the Queen and the Duke d'Épernon. But it is obvious that the removal of the chief and prime mover of this grand political combination by the foulest means, was an object of primary importance to the party against which Henry was about to take up arms, and it is certain that the Queen took part against her husband with the Pope and with Spain.

Mr. Motley draws a very obvious comparison between the effects produced by this assassination of Henry IV. and those produced by the murder of William the Silent, committed just twenty-six years before by Balthasar Gérard, which failed so completely in producing its aim, while the blow of the knife of Ravallac was followed in France by what was equivalent to a political revolution.

'On the 14th of May, France, while in spiritual matters obedient to the Pope, stood at the head of the forces of Protestantism throughout Europe, banded together to effect the downfall of the proud House of Austria, whose fortunes and fate were synonymous with Catholicism. The Baltic powers, the majority of the Teutonic races, the kingdom of Britain, the great Republic of the Netherlands, the northernmost and most warlike governments of Italy, all stood at the disposition of the warrior-king. Venice, which had hitherto, in the words of a veteran diplomatist, "shunned to look a league or confederation in the face, if there was any Protestant element in it, as if it had been the head of "Medusa," had formally forbidden the passage of troops northwards to the relief of the assailed power. Savoy, after direful hesitations, had committed herself body and soul to the great enterprise. Even the Pope, who feared the overshadowing personality of Henry, and was beginning to believe his house's private interests more likely to flourish under the protection of the French than the Spanish king, was wavering in his fidelity to Spain and tempted by French promises.

'Most pitiful was the condition of France on the day after, and for years after, the murder of the king. Not only was the kingdom for the time being effaced from the roll of nations, so far as external relations were concerned, but it almost ceased to be a kingdom. The ancient monarchy of Hugh Capet, of Saint Louis, of Henry of France and Navarre, was transformed into a turbulent, self-seeking, quarrelsome, pillaging, pilfering, democracy of grandees. The Queen Regent was tossed hither and thither at the sport of the winds and waves, which shifted every hour in that tempestuous court.' (Vol. i. p. 229.)

The news of the murder of Henry, however, effected no more change in the policy and resolves of the leaders of the Dutch Republic than the assassination of William of Orange had done a quarter of a century before; and with Barneveldt as its political and Maurice as its military chief it courageously faced the immense responsibility which immediately devolved upon it, and proved equal to the task.

For it soon became apparent to the States General that they could place little reliance on help either from France under her new rulers or on Great Britain. The secret desire of the Queen Regent and the clique who had succeeded Henry in the government of France was to escape altogether from the engagements entered into by the French king; and all that a fresh embassy sent to France after the accession of Louis XIII.

could obtain from the new government was the promise that the contingent of 8,000 men and 2,000 horse, which Henry IV. by the Treaty of Hall had bound himself to supply to the possessory princes, should not be withdrawn.

The embassy which was despatched to the English Court could extract no more promise of assistance from James and his ministers there than had been obtained from Marie de Medici and the Concini faction. It was indeed the misfortune of England to have at her head at that time the most contemptible sovereign who figures in her long line of monarchs; and if Mr. Motley in his former volumes has dissipated the halo of prestige with which Queen Elizabeth was surrounded, it may now be said that he has made still more despicable the character of James I.: we are rendered still more sensible of the change from the England of Elizabeth, of Walsingham, Raleigh, and the Cecils, to the Great Britain of James, with his Carrs and Carletons, his Nauntons, Luke's, and Winwoods. Elizabeth had indeed treated the Netherlands with sufficient hauteur, but James I., with his Spanish leanings and his besotted notions of divine right, regarded the revolted people with little less than detestation. As Mr. Motley says, 'It is pathetic to see such men as Barneveldt and Hugo Grotius obliged on great critical occasions to use the language of respect, affection, and submissiveness to one by whom they were hated and whom they thoroughly despised—to a man both frivolous and pedantic, at once a conceited theologian and a licentious liver.' The royal pedant, in fact, was at this time, by his abuse of his royal prerogative and by the contempt he was bringing on the crown, preparing the catastrophe of the next reign. Amid all the strange tricks and turns of his tortuous policy, he remained only constant to one delusion, the hope of a Spanish marriage. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, continually held before his eyes the bait of a Spanish Infanta and her two millions of dowry, and played with him as one plays with a child by the offer of a cherry. Any shadow of a promise of the Infanta if he should behave well, rendered him supple as a glove to all the purposes of Spain. It was from this Spanish infatuation that James drew strength for that obstinate resolve with which he resisted one of the most generous impulses which ever moved the English Parliament and the English nation, who desired nothing so much at this time as to take the lead of the Protestant cause in Europe, and to espouse the cause of James's own son-in-law to the death. For seven years James clung to his chimerical

projects, in spite of the advice of his ministers, the remonstrances of Parliament, and the prayers of his allies.

The account of the interviews of the envoys of the Netherlands with the king, which Mr. Motley has extracted from the reports of the ambassadors sent by Barneveldt to England after the death of Henry IV., are highly instructive as to James's character. All propositions of any close alliance were coldly declined; the only concession they obtained was that the English troops which were already in the service of the Provinces might be employed in the cause of the possessory princes. The commissioners who formed the embassy were, however, graciously received by the king, and they dined with him. No one sat at the table but His Majesty and themselves, and they all kept their hats on their heads. James, after expressing regret for the tragic death of the King of France, and some general political conversation, began to touch on the religious controversies then raging in the Netherlands, and made inquiry as to their character; he was informed that Predestination with its consequences formed the chief point at issue between the theological combatants. The answer of the King, spoken with the conviction of the man who thought himself the most profound theologian of his time, is most characteristic.

"I have studied that subject," said James, "as well as anybody, and have come to the conclusion that nothing certain can be laid down in regard to it. I have myself not always been of one mind about it; but I will bet that my opinion is the best of any, although I would not hang my salvation upon it. My Lords the States would do well to order their doctors and teachers to be silent on the topic. I have hardly ventured moreover to touch upon the matter of Justification in my own writings, because that also seemed to hang upon Predestination." (Vol. i. p. 251.)

The King, however, knighted the commissioners before they left; and as Mr. Motley says—"The barren burthen of knighthood and a sermon on Predestination were all he could bestow upon the commissioners in place of the alliance which he eluded and the military assistance which he point-blank refused."

The Republic was thus constrained to take upon herself the whole brunt of the defence of liberty and Protestantism in Europe. But we forbear to follow further Mr. Motley in his narrative of the movements of diplomatists and armies, and the general cause of European politics—of all these Barneveldt was the soul and leader on the Protestant side, and under his

direction it was that the forces of the Netherlands, commanded by Prince Maurice, took possession of Jülich in a bloodless campaign, and the Treaty of Xanten was concluded which arranged for the temporary occupation of the Duchies, and remained in force, with a precarious existence, until the famous *Fenstersturz* or windowfall of the Imperial Counsellors from the Hradschin gave the signal for the Thirty Years' War.

It was not Barneveldt's action in these matters which afforded the chief pretext for the calumnies that brought him to his death; it was his impartial and statesmanlike bearing amid the violence of contending religious factions which sent him to the scaffold, and as it was to the great question of the antagonism of Church and State that Barneveldt became a victim, it is necessary to set forth briefly the origin of the feud between the Arminians and the Gomarists, which threw all the provinces of the Netherlands into a state of religious convulsion, and placed them on the very verge of civil war, when they had need of all their united forces to face the storms gathering against them in Europe.

The Union of Utrecht, by which the Provinces were gathered together, was based on the toleration of all the various creeds in the States. In the provinces the burning, hanging, and burying alive of culprits guilty of holding another creed than their judges was become obsolete. The established creed of the States was the Reformed religion founded on the Netherlands Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, although the Catholics still in some of the provinces were supposed to form two-thirds of the inhabitants. Now the maxim on which the religious peace of Europe had been temporarily based was that of *Cujus regio ejus religio*, by which the sovereign of a country who had appropriated to himself the revenues of the ancient church prescribed his own creed to his subjects. This maxim applied to the Netherlands, who possessed no personal sovereign, must inevitably end in a struggle of force—the creed of the dominant party would become the creed of the country—but who were the dominant party in the Netherlands, and what was their creed?

The Reformed Church in the Netherlands was split up into two parts—the chief difference of doctrine between the two portions consisting in the matter of Predestination. The predestination or ultra-Calvinistic party was the most popular, and, as is usual, the most fanatical; but the magistrates and the States of Holland, with Barneveldt at their head, were mostly on the side of Free Will; and it was the appointment of Arminius, a free-will theologian, by the States of Holland in 1603 to a

chair of theology which aroused the terrible wrath of Gomar, the chief of the ultra-Calvinists, and created a schism which shook the whole commonwealth and ended in the judicial murder of its greatest statesman. The gist of this great controversy was in truth the old question whether priests should control the state, or the state control the priests. The two parties were already sufficiently embittered against each other, when Arminius, the genial and tolerant chief of the free-will party, died, leaving his chair vacant in the University of Leyden. The magistrates and civil authorities being throughout the land chiefly Arminian, the heads of the Leyden University appointed Conrad Vorstius in the place of Arminius. This appointment made as violent a stir throughout the land as the original appointment of Arminius. The preachers of the Arminian caste now, with Uytendogaert at their head, drew up the famous Remonstrance addressed to the States of Holland, defending themselves against the imputations of their adversaries, and laying down their doctrines in the matter of Predestination in five points. To this Remonstrance their adversaries replied by a Counter-Remonstrance in seven points, and the two parties became no longer known as Arminians and Gomarists, but as Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants. Thenceforward the Seven Provinces were one scene of fierce theological combat.

'In burghers' mansions, peasants' cottages, mechanics' back parlours; on board herring smacks, canal boats, and East Indiamen; in shops, counting-rooms, farmyards, guard-houses, ale-houses; in the exchange, in the tennis-court, in the mall; at banquets, at burials, christenings, or bridals; wherever and whenever human creatures met each other, there was ever to be found the fierce wrangle of Remonstrant and Contra-Remonstrant, the hissing of red-hot theological rhetoric, the pelting of hostile texts. The blacksmith's iron cooled down on the anvil, the tinker dropped a kettle half-mended, the broker left a bargain unclenched, the Scheveningen fisherman in his wooden shoes forgot the cracks in his pinkie, while each paused to hold high converse with friend or foe on fate, free will, or absolute foreknowledge, losing himself in wandering in mazes whence there was no issue; province against province, city against city, family against family; it was one vast scene of bickering, denunciation, heartburnings, mutual excommunications, and hatred.' (Vol. i. p. 338.)

The great political question between the two parties became this, whether or no there should be a national synod to settle the creed of the country. The Counter-Remonstrants, who gradually attained the majority of voices in the provinces, and consequently in the States General, were for the synod. The Remonstrants, who still held the majority in the States

of Holland, were against it; feeling with Barneveldt that the establishment of a religious synod in the country with a Calvinistic majority was virtually the establishment of a theocracy.

As for Prince Maurice, Barneveldt's second in influence and popularity in the States, he was, as has been already stated, at first entirely ignorant as to which of the sects was predestinarian and which was for free will; or, so far as he had any opinion at all in the matter, it would seem to have been at first Arminian, for Uytenbogaert, one of the chief leaders among the Arminians, was his favourite preacher until the Prince became estranged from him because the preacher, on an occasion of public scandal, had thought it his duty to make severe remarks on the equivocal female society which was in the habit of entering Maurice's apartments by night. Nevertheless it was not until 1617, after brooding long over fancied wrongs endured at the hands of Barneveldt, and goaded more and more by the spirit of enmity towards his rival, that he withdrew himself from the ministry of Uytenbogaert, and uttered to Carleton, the ambassador of James, the following words:—

'There are two factions in the land, that of Orange and that of Spain; and the two chiefs of the Spanish faction are those political and priestly Arminians, Uytenbogaert and Olden Barneveldt.'

Maurice had at that time put himself at the head of the Counter-Remonstrants, and gave open countenance to the machinations which ended in the death of Barneveldt. By a master-stroke of political malice—by a sort of Jesuitical *coup de Jarnac*—the adversaries of Barneveldt fixed upon him the charge of 'Hispaniolising,' or playing false to his country, in order to bring back its provinces under the yoke of Spain. It seems almost incredible that even his bitterest enemies should have dared to bring such a charge against the venerable statesman who was the founder of the independence of the Netherlands, and had spent his life in opposing the projects of Spain; but it is still more incredible that the majority of the nation should have been brought to believe in such a calumny: yet such is the fact. 'Spanje,' 'Oranje'—'Spain' and 'Orange'—became thenceforward the faction-cries hurled at each other by the antagonistic parties.

But besides the Stadtholder Barneveldt had another bitter enemy, whose influence was exercised to bring the great advocate to his ruin; and this was the royal theologian, James I. The fallacious hope of a Spanish marriage was not the only crotchet which swayed James in his relations with the Netherlands. The *odium theologicum* which he felt to-

wards a rival professor of theology gave increased malignity to his odious character. For Barneveldt, in despite of his aversion to theological discussions, was necessarily obliged to become as much master as he could of this mazy subject of Predestination, and was constrained at times to reply to long exhortations of the royal pedant on this subject, and in his replies had a clever but exasperating knack of quoting passages from the very theological disquisitions of his royal opponent in favour of his own views. The wrath of the King, who, as we know, told the Dutch ambassadors that he considered himself the chief human authority on the matter of Predestination, may be imagined. Moreover the University of Leyden had the audacity to place in their theological chair Conrad Vorstius, whose opinions James had condemned as utterly unorthodox. He at once ordered Vorstius' books to be burnt at St. Paul's Churchyard, and at both Universities. So detestable were the new professor's treatises in the eyes of the English King, that when one of them was handed to him one day on his return from hunting, he was so struck with horror on looking into it that he instantly sent to Sir Ralph Winwood to order him to insist that the blasphemous monster should be at once driven from the Netherlands. The King took the pains to prepare a catalogue of the blasphemies, heresies, and atheism of the heretical professor, and transmitted them to the English ambassador, who delivered a long sermon to the States of Holland on the appointment, and complained that 'the man, in full assembly of the States of Holland, had found means to palliate and plaster the dung of his heresies, and thus to dazzle the eyes of good people,' a phrase in all probability dictated to Winwood by King James himself. 'The friendship of the King and the heresy of Vorstius were quite incompatible,' said the envoy; while, by another strange inconsistency, the man who persecuted furiously the Puritan holders of the opinions of Calvin and Beza in England, declared that no other opinions were tolerable in Holland. Nor was the inconsistency of the King confined to matters of dogma—for while in England he claimed, as head of the State, to hold the Church in complete subjection; in Holland he used all his influence to emancipating the professors of advanced Calvinism from all subjection to the State. If the obnoxious professor was not at once removed, it seemed imminent at one time that the English King would even have declared war on the States. Winwood, in an interview with Barneveldt, declared that no contentment could be given to his Majesty but by the banishment of Vorstius.

"If the town of Leyden should understand so much," replied Barneveldt, "I fear the magistrates would retain him still in their town."

"If the town of Leyden should retain Vorstius," answered Winwood, "to brave or despite his Majesty, the King has the means, if it please him to use them, and that without drawing sword, to range them to reason, and to make the magistrates on their knees demand his pardon, and I say as much of Rotterdam."

"To such insolent language Barneveldt replied in anger and with dignity, "I was born in liberty. I cannot digest this kind of language. The King of Spain himself never dared to speak in so high a style."

"I well understand that logic," retorted Winwood, with a touch of the pedantry of his master. "You hold your argument to be drawn *à majori ad minus*; but I pray you to believe that the King of England is peer and companion to the King of Spain, and that his motto is, *Nemo me impune lacessit*;" and he added, on going out of the room, "Whatsoever I propose to you in his Majesty's name, can find neither goust nor grace." (Vol. i. p. 281.)

In truth Barneveldt's dignified opposition to the King's arrogant persecution of Vorstius, and the quiet way he had of refuting the King out of his own theological writings, was heaping up against himself coals of wrath in the spirit of James; and Winwood, his ambassador, rendering himself the careful minister of the King's petty spirit of vengeance, did not fail to league himself with all the malcontent spirits, whose envy and jealousy of the commanding superiority of the great Advocate were already becoming dangerous.

But besides the question of Predestination there were other political considerations which inflamed the jealousy and hatred of James towards the Republic. A large sum of money, eight millions of florins (about 750,000*l.*), had been advanced by Elizabeth to the Republic, and this was secured by the mortgage of the important seaports and fortified towns of Flushing, Brielle, Rammekens, and other strong places which were held by English garrisons. The possession of these places by England, under such a monarch as James, was a constant source of danger and trouble to the States. James with his Spanish infatuation might hand them over to Spain at any moment; nevertheless as he was for ever being hard pressed for money by his minions, he himself in turn was continually pressing the Republic for repayment; he even went so far as to hint that if he were not repaid speedily, he should propose to divide the Republic between himself and France. The following passage, extracted from the correspondence of James with Cecil, preserved among the valuable archives of Hatfield, and now published by Mr. Motley for the first time, is highly curious; and shows, in the strange orthography of the time

and the man, that some such catastrophe might be apprehended.

'If thaye be so weake, as thaye cannot subsiste ather in peace or warre without I ruynе myselfe for upholding thaimе, in that cace surelie *minus malum est eligendum*, the nearest harme is to be first eschewid; a man will leape out of a burning shippe & drowne himselfe in the sea, and it is doubtless a farrer of (*farther off*) harme from me, to suffer thaimе to fall again into the handis of Spaine & lette God prouide for the dainger that maye thairby with tyme fall upon me or my posteritie then presentlie to sterue myselfe and myne with putting the meate in thaire mouthе, naye rather, if thaye be so weake as thay can nather sustaine thaimе selfis in peace nor warre, lette thaimе leaue this uainegloriousе thursting for the tittle of a free (quibiche no people are worthie or able to enjoye that cannot stande by thaimе selfis lyke substantiues) and *diuidantur inter nos*. I meane lette thaire cuntreys be deuydet betuene france and me, otherwayes the king of spain shall be sure to consume us.' (Vol. ii. pp. 450, 451.)

Excluding all other considerations, it is impossible to reflect without some humiliation on the circumstance that the foreign policy of England, was, at a great crisis of the history of Europe, swayed by reasoning couched in such jargon as this.

To pay the whole of the sum due was at this time impossible for the Republic; but Barneveldt knew how James was pressed by his minions, who were as insatiable in their demands for money as the parasites of the Queen Regent in France, and by a clever stroke of policy he managed, by paying down in one lump sum 250,000*l.*, to deliver the Commonwealth from the incubus of the English mortgage. The cautionary towns were thus restored into the hands of the Netherlanders, and the English garrisons withdrawn; but James, however anxious to touch the 250,000*l.* for the benefit of himself and his parasites, did not regard the Advocate with any kindlier feeling for thus taking advantage of his own greed to get back the cautionary towns by a payment of one third of the sum actually due. Barneveldt had been careful to smooth over and settle all these numerous difficulties in order to prepare the way for the alliance of which he saw the States would stand most sorely in need. In his prophetic soul he felt the great storm gathering whose ravages were to devastate Europe for thirty years.

All the world was preparing for war. In fact the Thirty Years' War may be said to have begun by the coronation of the sombre bigot Ferdinand of Gratz as King of Bohemia. This precocious pupil of the Jesuits, who on leaving school made a pilgrimage to Loreto to make vows to the Virgin for the extirpation of the heresy, was the monarch above all others to reduce to a fearful reality the maxim, *Cujus*

regio ejus religio. His election and his refusal to include the *Majestät-Brief* and the Compromise (which gave toleration to the Protestants), among the privileges of his own subjects acting as a war-cry throughout Europe, of which the famous *Fenstersturz* of his councillors Slowaz and Martinitz from the windows of the Hradschin was but the faint and first reverberation. Had the Protestant powers but been united, the balance of force was vastly on their side. Even in Austria, in the lands under the dominion of the younger branch, the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics by nearly ten to one. Bohemia, Upper and Lower Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Hungary, were all pregnant with the spirit of Huss, of Luther, and even of Calvin. In Italy, Venice and Savoy were induced to take part with the Protestants. In France, the very flower of her nobility and people were either of the Reformed faction, or prepared to oppose the House of Austria; so that a firm alliance between the Netherlands, Great Britain, and the Protestant princes of Germany would have a large, solid, and invulnerable nucleus of force, which would have gathered strength from all quarters. By a strange fatality in the very year of the coronation of Ferdinand, 1617, the jubilee of the centenary of the Reformation was celebrated by the Protestant powers of Europe; the Pope responded by ordaining a jubilee at Rome, and the occasion was seized by the polemical doctors of divinity, and pamphlets of both sides exchanged blasts and counter-blasts of hatred, which seemed only capable of being set at rest by havoc and extermination.

Of the activity of Barneveldt, and of the value of his correspondence during this period, Mr. Motley thus speaks:—

‘No man can thoroughly understand the complication and procession of phenomena attending the disastrous dawn of the renewed war, on an even more awful scale than the original conflict in the Netherlands, without studying the correspondence of Barneveldt. The history of Europe is there. The fate of Christendom is there. The conflict of elements, the crash of contending forms of religion and of nationalities is pictured there, in vivid if homely colours. The Advocate, while acting only in the name of a slender confederacy, was in truth, so long as he held his place, the prime minister of European Protestantism. There was none other to rival him, few to comprehend him, fewer still to sustain him. As Prince Maurice was at that moment the great soldier of Protestantism, without clearly scanning the grandeur of the field in which he was a chief actor, or foreseeing the vastness of its future, so the Advocate was its statesman and its prophet. Could the two have worked together as harmoniously as they had done at an earlier day, it would have been a blessing for the common weal of Europe. But, alas! the evil genius of jealousy, which so often forbids

cordial relations between soldiers and statesmen, already stood shrouded in the distance, darkly, menacing the strenuous patriot, who was wearing his life out in exertions for what he deemed the true cause of progress and humanity.' (Vol. ii. p. 28.)

To the last Barneveldt maintained hope in an alliance with England; and more especially with the Commons of England; and the study of his correspondence with Caron, the envoy of the Netherlands at the English Court, has especial interest for the English reader. From all his letters there breathes the assurance, which he was justified in entertaining from the prevailing temper of the English nation, that if his Majesty would only appeal to the Commons of England the alliance he sought for was a certainty.

'Day by day,' he writes even in 1604, 'the Archdukes are making greater and greater enrolments of riders and infantry in ever-increasing mass, and therewith vast provision of artillery, and all provisions of war. Within ten or twelve days they will be before Jülich in force.

. . . If the King of England will lay these matters earnestly to heart for the preservation of the princes, electors, and estates of the religion, I cannot doubt that Parliament would co-operate well with his majesty, and this occasion should be made use of to redress the whole state of affairs.' (Vol. ii. p. 12.)

He writes again:—

'I am amazed and distressed that the statesmen of England do not comprehend the perils into which their fellow-religionists are everywhere threatened, especially in Germany and in these States. To assist us with bare advice, and sometimes with traducing our actions, while leaving us to bear alone the burthens, costs, and dangers, is not serviceable to us.' (Vol. ii. p. 16.)

And again on June 19, 1616:—

'We receive advices every day that the Spaniards and the Roman League are going forward with their design. They are trying to amuse the British King and to gain time, in order to be able to deal heavier blows. Do all possible duty to procure a timely révolution there. To wait again until we are anticipated will be fatal to the cause of the Evangelical electors and princes of Germany, and especially of His Electoral Highness of Brandenburg. . . . *So long as Parliament is not convoked in order to obtain consents and subsidies for this most necessary purpose, so long I fail to believe that the great common cause of Christendom, and especially of Germany, is taken to heart by England.*' (Vol. ii. pp. 22, 23.)

Thus we find Barneveldt in his correspondence ever active, ever busy in opposing those machinations of Spain for complicity in which he was put to death by his countrymen. Nothing can be more pathetic than the despatches, which exhibit him as preparing himself to gather strength on all sides

for the defence and consolidation of the Protestant cause in Europe, while we know that he who was most capable of taking its direction was removed by a judicial murder before the crisis came, and that the world was thus deprived of his energy, wisdom, and experience. For contemporaneously with the growth of deadly hatred between Catholic and Protestant in Europe proceeded the growth of hatred between Remonstrant and Counter-Remonstrant in the Netherlands, till it reached such a pitch that the country seemed on the verge of civil war. The controversies between the chiefs waxed hotter and hotter, and fiercer and fiercer grew the faction-fights of the rival parties near their churches on Sundays, 'preachers' and magistrates being often too glad to escape with a whole 'skin.' The leaders on the different sides were now Uytenbogaert for the Remonstrants and Henry Rosæus for the Counter-Remonstrants; and the rivalry was as bitter between these preachers as it grew to be between Maurice and Barneveldt. Amid this state of smouldering civil war the antagonism between the Advocate and the Stadtholder reached its climax. The Prince attended public worship for the last time under Uytenbogaert on July 10, 1618. The chief point in dispute between the two parties was the proposition of a national synod. This Uytenbogaert denounced with bitterness in a sermon which enraged the Prince beyond measure. 'He is the enemy of God,' he said to his mother on coming out of the church. He never afterwards sat under a Remonstrant minister, and on the next Sunday attended divine service at the Cloister Church, then in the hands of the Counter-Remonstrants.

This first attendance of the Prince at the Cloister Church assumed the air of a public demonstration. The Prince was attended by his cousins, Count William Lewis of Nassau, the Stadtholder of Friesland, and by all the chief householders and members of his staff. The military chief emerged from the old moated palace in which he dwelt and passed along the drawbridge in the presence of an immense crowd, who pressed around him and accompanied him to the church. The whole proceeding had the air of a military demonstration; the procession passed the house of the Advocate, and a tale was got up that he vowed vengeance against the ringleaders who had seized on the Cloister Church and got up this menacing demonstration. Four men of the Counter-Remonstrant persuasion, one of them the Prince's book-keeper, were to be seized in their beds in the dead of night, and then executed and their heads and headless bodies made a spectacle and a warning to the inhabitants of the capital. It is needless to say that the whole

tale was the invention of one Trigland, a Counter-Remonstrant preacher, who has handed it down in the chronicle which he left behind him.

The great question, as before observed, between the two rivals was that of the proposed Synod—should there or should there not be a National Synod convoked by the authority of the States General, to enforce a creed on the whole country, in violation of the 13th article of the Union of Utrecht, which secured the regulation of the religious affairs of each province to such province itself? One of the most interesting points in this history for an American historian is that the conflict which arose between Barneveldt and Maurice, and ended in the tragic end of the former, turned on the very antagonism at issue in the great civil war in America—the antagonism of state rights and national sovereignty. This antagonism existed in a still more prominent form in the States of the Netherlands than it did in America, for in the former the very notion of a people and of a national sovereignty had not been formed, and the Union of the Netherlands was in fact but an agreement for offence and defence between sovereign states.

Barneveldt used every endeavour to oppose the convocation of a National Synod, entertaining as he did the conviction that each State was sovereign in reference to its own form of religion; and under his guidance the States of Holland passed a measure known as the 'Sharp Resolve,' which rejected the National Synod, and the regents of cities were authorised to enrol men-at-arms, called *Waartgelders*, to keep the peace, the *Waartgelders* being indeed a sort of Remonstrant militia. This measure of the 'Sharp Resolve,' and the enrolment of *Waartgelders* especially, incensed Maurice, who, early in the year 1618, resolved at any cost to settle matters with the Advocate. One by one he took forcible possession of such towns as were still in the Barneveldite interest. He appeared at the head of a body of troops and in the midst of his lifeguards in the town of Nymegen, surrounded the whole board of magistrates, who were Barneveldtians, in the town-hall, gave them all notice to quit, and replaced them by functionaries of his own choosing. Less show of violence succeeded at Arnheim; and having thus revolutionised Gelderland, the Prince proceeded to Overysseel, and thus succeeded in 'synodising' five provinces out of the seven, leaving two still 'waart-geldered.' The character of the conflict between the two parties was well symbolised by a smart caricature of the time—representing a pair of scales hung up in a great hall. In the

one was a heap of parchments, gold chains, and magisterial robes, the whole bundle being marked the 'holy rights of each city.' In the other lay a big, square, solid, iron-clasped volume, marked 'Institutes of Calvin.' Each scale was respectively watched by Gomar and by Arminius. The judges, gowned, furred, and ruffled, were looking decorously on, when the Stadtholder, in full military attire, burst into the apartment and flung his sword into the scale holding the 'Institutes.' Maurice too affected to believe in the absurd calumny that Barneveldt was secretly in league with Spain to impose again the Spanish yoke on the country. 'The Advocate is travelling straight to Spain,' he was heard to say on one occasion; on another, 'I will grind the Advocate and all his party into fine meal.'

Encouraged by the avowed hostility of Maurice, a crowd of virulent and detestable pamphleteers assailed day by day the fair fame of the Advocate, and brought infamous accusations, not only against the great statesman himself but also against his family. His whole life was ripped up and slandered from the commencement; and the greatest patriot of the time—the man who next to William the Taciturn had wrought more for the independence of his country than any other—was denounced as a traitor, a pope, a tyrant, and a venal huckster of the liberties of his people; every member of his family was accused of abominable crimes. 'He had received waggon-loads of Spanish pistoles; he had been paid 120,000 ducats by Spain for negotiating the truce; he was in secret treaty with Archduke Albert to bring 18,000 Spanish mercenaries across the border to defeat the machinations of Prince Maurice, destroy his life, or drive him from the country; all these foul and bitter charges, and a thousand similar ones, were rained almost daily upon that grey head.' One of the worst of these libellers was a drunken notary named Danckaerts, a resident of Amsterdam, who declared that the life of the Advocate was forfeited, and that he must soon answer for his crimes. The Advocate was so roused by this production that he got the States of Holland to summon the libeller to the Hague to answer for his offence; but the town covered him with her shield, and with her writ *De non evocando* set the writ of the States of Holland at defiance; indeed, some of the richest merchants of Amsterdam had contributed to the expense of publishing the libel.

In this state of things the Advocate addressed a straightforward manly letter of explanation to the Prince, containing a justification of his bearing towards his rival, and enclosing

a letter of remonstrance he was about to lay before the States of Holland, which set forth a summary review of the whole events of his life, and which amounted to the history of his country, and indeed of Europe, during that period, broadly and vividly touched by the hand of a master. This letter to Prince Maurice was delivered into the hands of the Prince himself by Cornelis van der Myle, the son-in-law of Barneveldt; but the reception which it received at the hands of the Prince was brutal. No reply was ever sent, but several days afterwards the Stadtholder called from his open window to Van der Myle as he was passing by.

'He then informed him that he neither admitted the premises nor the conclusion of the Advocate's letter, saying that many things set down in it were false. He furthermore told him a story of a certain old man, who having in his youth invented many things, and told them for truth, believed them when he came to old age to be actually true, and was even ready to stake his salvation upon them. Whereupon he shut the window and left Van der Myle to make such application of the parable as he thought proper, vouchsafing no further answer to Barneveldt's communication.' (Vol. ii. p. 201.)

The Stadtholder continued meanwhile his triumphant procession from city to city of the Netherlands. After having moulded to his will the assemblies of Gelderland and Overysse, he sailed across the Zuyderzee to the Venice of the North, Amsterdam. He was escorted thither by a fleet of yachts, and received by an immense assemblage of vessels of every class, hung with the Orange colours, and with cheering crowds clinging like bees everywhere to the rigging. From ship and fort a volley of artillery burst forth at his approach, and the national melody, 'Wilhelmus van Nassauwen,' rang through the air; orange favours were everywhere, and the whole civic militia, amounting to three or four thousand, with orange plumes in their hats, and with orange scarves, were drawn up to do him honour; the burgomasters in official robes and chains were waiting to receive him at the Dam, on a high scaffolding covered with blue velvet, in front of the stately mediæval town-hall; tedious and eulogistic harangues were made, and a series of gorgeous processions and spectacles, got up in true Dutch taste, were arranged for his gratification.

Utrecht henceforth became the point at which both parties—the States General with Maurice at their head, and the States of Holland with Barneveldt at their head—endeavoured to establish their influence. Both parties sent commissioners there; Maurice was appointed chairman of the commission of the States General, Grotius the chairman of that of its rival.

Here in this ancient and imposing city had been signed, forty-one years before, those famous Articles of Union, whence it had been styled the *Cunabula Libertatis*, but the difference of interpretation of which was now threatening to deluge all the cities of the Netherlands with 'a blood-bath.' It was then the Kermes or annual fair; all the world was keeping holiday at Utrecht, and Mr. Motley seizes the occasion to give us one of those pages of vivid description into which he throws something of the genius of Teniers or Ostade.

'The pedlars and itinerant merchants from all the cities and provinces had brought their wares—jewellery and crockery, ribbons and laces, ploughs and harrows, carriages and horses, cows and sheep, cheeses and butter-firkins, doublets and petticoats, guns and pistols—everything that could serve the city and country side for months to come—and displayed them in temporary booths or on the ground in every street and along every canal. The town was one vast bazaar. The peasants came from the country with their gold and silver tiaras and the year's rent of a comfortable farm, in their earrings and necklaces, and the sturdy Frisian peasants, many of whom had borne their matchlocks in the great wars which had lasted through their own and their fathers' lifetime, trudged through the city, enjoying the blessings of peace. Bands of music and merry-go-rounds in all the open places and squares, and open-air bakeries of pancakes and waffles. Theatrical exhibitions, raree shows, jugglers and mountebanks, at every corner—all those phenomena which had been at every kermes for centuries, and were to repeat themselves for centuries afterwards, now enlivened the atmosphere of the grey episcopal city.' (Vol. ii. p. 228.)

Into the midst of this scene of merriment and bustle the Stadtholder and his fellow-commissioners entered, on July 25, 1618. 'You hardly expected such a guest at your fair,' he said to the magistrates of the town with a grim smile. Conferences were held without effect, and on July 31, 1618, Maurice quietly organised his *coup d'état* for the town of Utrecht. At the break of day he took possession of the Neu, the chief square of the town, with regular troops; cannon were placed to command all the streets; all the waartgelders in the town were summoned to the Neu, and told to lay down their arms at the feet of the Prince.

'Charter books,' writes Mr. Motley, 'parchments, 13th Article, Barneveldt's teeth, Arminian forts, flowery orations of Grotius, tavern talk of Van Ostrum, city communities, States' rights, provincial laws, waartgelders and all—the martial Stadtholder, with the orange plume in his hat and the sword of Nieuwport on his thigh, strode through them as easily as through the whirligigs and mountebanks, the waffles and fritters, encumbering the streets of Utrecht on the night of his arrival.' (Vol. ii. p. 255.)

The leading Barneveldtians of Utrecht, and of the commission

of the States of Holland, with Grotius at their head, now took a precipitate departure; indeed had they tarried an hour later they would have found themselves in prison. Four days later the Prince, who gave himself all the airs of an absolute sovereign, dismissed the old magistracy and appointed a new one devoted to the Synod, to the States General, and to the Stadtholder; he appointed them moreover to remain in office for life, although the board had previously been changed every year. The cathedral church, too, was at once given over to the use of the Counter-Remonstrants, and this process was repeated through all the cities of the two insubordinate provinces of Utrecht and Holland, till the Counter-Remonstrants were in possession of all the churches and all the seats of authority. Even after matters had reached this pass, Count Lewis of Nassau, the Stadtholder of Friesland, contrived to bring about an interview between Maurice and Barneveldt, without, however, entertaining much hope of success. This was the last time that the two great chiefs of the Republic stood face to face, and Mr. Motley thus portrays their respective appearances:—

'The Advocate with long grey beard and stern blue eye, haggard with illness and anxiety, tall but bent with age, leaning on his staff, in black velvet cloak, an imposing magisterial figure—the florid plethoric Prince in brown doublet, big russet boots, narrow ruff, and shabby felt hat with its string of diamonds, with hand clutched on sword-hilt, and eyes full of angry menace, the very type of the high-born imperious soldier—thus they surveyed each other as men, once friends, between whom a gulf had opened.' (Vol. ii. p. 240.)

Barneveldt defended the proceedings at Utrecht on constitutional grounds, he repeated also his arguments against the Synod. The Prince replied, however, in his sternest tone that the National Synod was a settled matter, spoke with indignation of the proceedings at Utrecht, and finally relapsed into silence. The two leaders parted never to meet again.

Soon after, indeed, Barneveldt was arrested. He had been warned of the impending danger, but he refused to fly as he might have done. The venerable statesman was arrested, too, in the Prince's very apartments, within the Binnenhof. He was on his way across the court to the States General, when a chamberlain of the Prince accosted him and told him the Prince desired to speak with him; he followed the functionary to the Prince's room, and there was taken prisoner and locked up in a room belonging to Maurice's apartments. Grotius and Pensionary Hoogerbeets were made prisoners at nearly the same time and in precisely the same manner. The news of this

arrest of course filled different persons with different feelings. Even Dudley Carleton, the English Ambassador, reported that impartial persons considered the proceeding as superfluous now that the Synod had been voted and the waartgelders disbanded. On the same afternoon the eldest son of the imprisoned Advocate, William, the Seigneur van Groeneveld, accompanied by his two brothers-in-law, Van Huyzen and Van der Myle, obtained an interview with the Stadtholder, and earnestly entreated that the Advocate, in consideration of his advanced age, might be kept a prisoner in his own house on bail. The Prince assured them that the arrest was the work of the States General, and that no harm should come to the prisoner more than to himself.

The States General, eight of whom the day previously had authorised the arrest by a secret resolution, now took the responsibility of the proceedings on themselves. On August 29 they passed a resolution that a document to this effect, entitled a 'Billet,' should be printed and circulated among the community, and this 'Billet' was without date or signature! The deputies of Holland, however, protested against the address, and by a vote of the majority sent a committee to remonstrate with the Stadtholder, who answered to the effect that 'What had happened was not by his order but had been done by the States General, who must be supposed not to have acted without good cause. Touching the laws and jurisdiction of Holland he would not himself dispute, but the States of Holland would know how to settle that matter with the States General.'

It is curious but humiliating to notice the different effects which the news of the arrest of the Advocate created in France and England. Since a Spanish marriage had in France not remained in the phantom state in which it did in England, but was really brought to pass between Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria, the relations between Spain and France had again become cold, the ancient spirit of rivalry had revived, so that France again took up the policy inaugurated by Henry IV., of strict alliance with the Netherlands. In France, therefore, where the Advocate was honoured and beloved, the news of his arrest created great sorrow, and instructions were sent to the French envoys to use every endeavour to effect his liberation, and their exertions in his behalf were unceasing; exertions, however, which were steadily opposed by the ex-ambassador of the Netherlands to Paris, Francis Aerssens, who nourished a malignant hatred of his old patron, the Advocate, because he suspected him wrongly of having been the cause of

his recall. In England, on the other hand, the British king was now drawing closer his relations with Spain; the lure of a Spanish bride for his son was again dangled before his eyes, and he felt a vindictive pleasure which he failed not to express through his ambassador at the overthrow of a rival who had dared to oppose him in theological argument, and he appears to have used his power to frustrate the efforts of the French envoys and bring on the catastrophe.

After a few days the Advocate was removed from the chamber in the apartment of Maurice to a room in which the Admiral of Arragon had been confined by the command of the Prince after the battle of Nieuwport. His faithful servant, Jan Franken by name, was allowed to attend him, while a sentinel stood constantly before his door. His papers were taken away and he was deprived of all writing materials, and neither friend nor relative permitted to see him.

A tragic circumstance, too, still more prejudiced superficial minds against Barneveldt. Secretary Ledenberg, a citizen of Utrecht, who had been imprisoned by order of the States General at the same time as the Advocate, through fear of torture and to escape confiscation of his property, committed suicide, leaving a paper behind him, which shows what sort of justice he anticipated from the tribunal who held his fate at their mercy.

'I know that there is an indication to set an example in my person, to confront me with my best friends, to torture me afterwards to convict me of contradiction and falsehood as they say, and thus to found an ignominious sentence upon points and trifles, for this it will be necessary to do in order to justify the arrest and imprisonment. To escape all this I am going to God by the shortest road. Against a dead man here can be pronounced no sentence of confiscation of property. Done 17th September, o.s. 1618.'

The great Advocate had been imprisoned on August 29, 1618; his trial did not begin till March 7 in the following year; it had been purposely delayed in order that the work of the Synod, which had met at Dordrecht, might approach completion. In this Synod the spirits of Gomar and of Calvin were triumphant; predestination to life and predestination to damnation had been preordained, according to the decree of the Assembly, from the beginning of time. A select portion of the Netherlanders and of mankind was to be eternally blessed, and all others were to be eternally damned, and especially the Arminians and the believers in the Five Points. The Arminians were declared heretics, schismatics, teachers of false doctrines. They were pronounced to be incapable of filling any

clerical or academical post. No man henceforward was to teach, lecture, or preach, unless he was a subscriber to the infallible Netherland Conference and the infallible Netherland Catechism. The conclusion of the Synod was celebrated by a great festival at Dordrecht, in which the labours of the Synod and the canons it established were eulogised in long Latin speeches and prayed for in long Latin prayers, and the main orator did not forget to render thanks 'to the most magnanimous King James of Great Britain, through whose godly zeal, fiery sympathy, and truly royal labour, God had so often refreshed the weary Synod in the midst of their toil.'

While the magnanimous King James of Great Britain was refreshing the weary Synod with his godly zeal, his fiery sympathy, and truly royal labour, the victim of his rancour and his spite had been sitting in prison for nearly seven months waiting for trial. For nearly all this time he had received no intelligence from the outward world, except such as could be conveyed to him in the inside of a quill concealed in a pear and by such devices. Nothing, indeed, could be more illegal or arbitrary than the proceedings against the Advocate from beginning to end. His very arrest itself was a gross violation of law; he was a great officer of the States of Holland; he had been taken under their especial protection; he was on his way to the High Council. The States General were only guests on the soil of Holland and had no jurisdiction there. He was arrested in time of peace—by no warrant or form of law—'The greatest civil dignitary of Holland was entrapped under pretence of a conference by its first military officer and imprisoned by force.' A tribunal had to be created for judging the Advocate—for the States General had no tribunal at all—so they appointed twenty-four commissioners, twelve from Holland and two from each of the other six provinces. But the tribunal was a mere packed jury, for though there was an affectation of concession to Holland, care was taken that the worst enemies of Barneveldt should be included in the nominations; and some of them were ignorant men, totally unacquainted with law, or with any but their own mother-tongue. The trial lasted nearly three months, and for the whole of this time the venerable and illustrious statesman daily descended from the mean and desolate garret in which he was confined to the apartment below, where he had to confront the mean crew who were constituted his judges without appeal. The atrocities of the French Revolution present no greater example of the perversion of the spirit and the forms of justice. The trial was carried on without any attention to or even

pretence of form: there was no bill of indictment, no arraignment, no counsel, no witnesses, and no arguments. The whole process consisted of a rambling and tangled mass of interrogations reaching over forty years, presented to the prisoner by a nondescript court without order or method. The prisoner asked for a list in writing of the charges brought against him, he asked also for pen, ink, and paper; but every request was refused, and his papers and books were taken from him.

'He was allowed to consult neither with an advocate nor even with a single friend. Alone in his chamber of bondage he was to meditate on his defence. Out of his memory and brain, and from these alone, he was to supply himself with the array of historical facts, stretching over a longer period than the lifetime of many of his judges, and with the proper legal and historical arguments upon these facts for the justification of his course. That memory and brain were capacious and powerful enough for the task. It was well for the judges that they had bound themselves at the onset by an oath never to make known what passed in the court-room, but to bury all the proceedings in profound secrecy for ever. Had it been otherwise; had that been known to the contemporary public which has only been revealed more than two centuries later; had a portion only of the calm and austere eloquence been heard in which the Advocate set forth his defence; had the frivolous and ignoble nature of the attack been comprehended, it might have moved the very stones in the street to mutiny. Hateful as the statesman had been made by an organised system of calumny, which was continued with unabated vigour and increased venom since he had been imprisoned, there was enough of justice and of gratitude left in the hearts of Netherlanders to resent the tyranny practised against their greatest man, and the obloquy thus brought against a nation always devoted to their liberty and laws.' (Vol. ii. pp. 316-7.)

Out of the confused mass of documents which have lately come to light respecting this trial, and out of the wilderness of interrogatories and answers therein contained, it would be vain to attempt to draw a connected and interesting narrative. Mr. Motley has examined these papers, all of which were long kept secret and only a portion of which have yet been published. Among these latter are especially noteworthy the publication by the Historical Society of Utrecht, of the 'Verhooren,' or Interrogatories of the Judges, and the replies of Barneveldt—as well as the 'Verhooren' of Hugo Grotius, by Professor Fruin; and from these documents Mr. Motley has made a few extracts to show the nature of the charges brought against the statesman.

The truth is that the illustrious founder of the Republic of the Netherlands was a victim to a revolution which set at

naught the Articles of Union of the Provinces of the Netherlands, as signed at Utrecht. These Articles were miserably defective, it is true, regarded as a political constitution; nevertheless, nothing could be more stringent than the provisions by which the right of regulation of all matters relating to religion was reserved to each province. No province was to interfere with another in such matters, and every individual in them all was to remain free in his religion, no man being molested or examined on account of his creed. It was moreover declared that no provinces or cities which held to the Roman Catholic religion were to be excluded from the League—provided they conformed to its conditions. Nothing, indeed, can be more clear than that the framers of the Articles of the League had excluded religious affairs altogether from this act of political union; and now the very Assembly, which had no powers except by virtue of the Articles of the League, were hunting one of its chief framers to death, for opposing their endeavours to inflict one uniform doctrine respecting the subtlest point of theology on the whole nation.

The best answer of the Advocate to the accusations of his judges was the recital of his whole life. Sufficient records remain to show that the old man, deprived as he was of all writing materials and even of a clerk to assist him, proved himself fully the master of his accusers on every point in which they assailed him. He protested from the outset against the jurisdiction of the tribunal and the manner of his arrest; he denied—and the denial of course roused the fury of the bigots who sat upon him to frenzy—that the central government had any right to meddle with religious matters at all; nevertheless he condescended to enter into the theological question of Predestination which had been the thorniest hedge of division for so many creeds, and lay at the bottom of the terrible convulsion then raging in the Netherlands; and after examining both sides of the question with all the skill of a practised theologian, he concluded that a spirit of moderation and kindness should govern the conduct of brethren of the Reformed Church who thought differently on so difficult a subject. In setting forth his defence to these and other charges, the old statesman at times surveyed nearly half a century of European history in which he had himself played so prominent a part, and expounded the ancient laws and customs of his country with unerring strength and accuracy of memory.

‘The patience (Mr. Motley writes) with which the venerable statesman submitted to the taunts, ignorant and insolent crossquestioning and noisy interruptions of his judges, was not less remarkable than the

tenacity of memory which enabled him thus day after day, alone, unaided by books, manuscripts, or friendly counsel, to reconstruct the record of forty years, and to expound the laws of the land by an array of authorities, instances, and illustrations, in a manner which would be deemed masterly by one who had all the resources of libraries, documents, witnesses, and secretaries at command.' (Vol. ii. p. 321.)

Only when insidious questions were put, tending to impute to him corruption, venality, and treacherous correspondence with the enemy—for they never once dared formally to accuse him of treason—did that almost superhuman patience leave him. The popular slander against him was that he was secretly in league with Spain to restore the Provinces to the Spanish yoke; and he was questioned by his judges about a certain payment, said to have been made by him to a certain man of business, Van der Becker, in Spanish coin. Premising briefly that it was impossible to remember in what coin he had always paid a man with whom his business transactions had lasted twenty or thirty years, he burst forth into a storm of indignation, declaring that it seemed impossible to him that any dispassionate man of moderate intelligence could imagine him, whose whole life had been a perpetual offence to Spain, to be in suspicious relations with that power.

'From his youth, he said, he had made himself, by his honourable and patriotic deeds, hopelessly irreconcilable with the Spaniards. He was one of the advocates practising in the Supreme Court of Holland, who in the very teeth of the Duke of Alva had proclaimed him a tyrant, and had sworn obedience to the Prince of Orange as the lawful governor of the land. He was one of those who in the same year had promoted and attended private gatherings for the advancement of the Reformed religion. He had helped to levy, and had contributed to, funds for the national defence in the early days of the revolt. These were things which led directly to the Council of Blood and the gibbet. He had borne arms himself on various bloody fields, and had been perpetually a deputy to the rebel camps. He had been the original mover of the Treaty of Union which was concluded between the Provinces at Utrecht. He had been the first to draw up the declaration of Netherland independence and the abjuration of the King of Spain. He had been one of those who had drawn and passed the Act establishing the late Prince of Orange as Stadholder. Of the sixty signers of these memorable declarations none were now living save himself and two others. When the Prince had been assassinated, he had done his best to secure for his son Maurice the sovereign position of which murder had so suddenly deprived his father. He had been member of the memorable embassies to France and England, by which invaluable support for the struggling Provinces had been obtained.' (Vol. ii. p. 308.)

These and other arguments addressed to his judges during

the two months of the trial, were of no avail ; of as little avail was an energetic address delivered by Du Maurier, the French envoy, to the States General in presence of the Prince of Orange. It seems, however, almost certain that if the friends or relatives of the Advocate had been willing to implore pardon for him his sentence would have been commuted or cancelled ; but although Count William of Nassau and the Princess Dowager Louise, the mother-in-law of the Princess of Orange, interested themselves to get the children of the Advocate to apply to the States for pardon, they stedfastly refused to do so. ' They ' would not move one step in it—no, not if it cost him his head ;' they, like the Advocate himself, considered such a step would be an admission of his guilt ; they possessed moreover, like the Advocate himself, all the stoicism and the pride of the Hollanders, and they knew that his enemies would prefer the loss of his honour even to the loss of his head.

The terms of the voluminous sentence passed upon him were as unique as the whole proceedings of the trial. He was condemned on his own defence, which was styled his confession—for no testimony or evidence of any kind had been brought against him. ' Whereas the prisoner John of Barneveldt,' said the sentence, ' without being put to the torture, and without ' fetters of iron, has confessed to having perturbed religion, ' greatly afflicted the Church of God, and carried into practice ' exorbitant and pernicious maxims of State inculcating ' by himself and accomplices that each province had the right ' to regulate religious affairs within its own territory, and that ' other provinces were not to concern themselves therewith,—therefore, and for a score of other reasons, communicated in a series of vague, tangled generalities, ' the judges, in the ' name of the Lords States General, condemned the prisoner ' to be taken to the Binnenhof, there to be executed with the ' sword, that death may follow, and they declared all his property confiscated.'

The last day on which Barneveldt had appeared before his judges was May 1. His sentence was not communicated to him till about half-past five on Sunday afternoon, May 12. The Advocate was busy drawing up notes which he had intended to make use of in the future progress of his trial. Although taken thus unprepared, and told he was to die, the next morning he behaved with his usual stoicism, and kept the same undaunted air. To a clergyman who came to offer him consolation he said, ' I am a man, have come to my present ' age, and I know how to console myself. I must write, and ' have now other things to do.' Sitting down, he wrote a short

pathetic letter to his wife and children, whom he had not been allowed to see since the beginning of his trial, and whom he was not even now allowed to see. The condemned statesman was executed at half-past nine the next morning, about sixteen hours elapsing from the time at which the sentence was communicated to him to that at which it was carried into effect. He supped as usual, and even invited the provost marshal and the clergyman who had been sent to see him to join him at supper, and pledged the health of each of them in a glass of beer. After this two soldiers were added to his watch, who kept him always under their eyes. Other preachers visited him after supper, and he held much talk with them on political and religious matters. At eleven o'clock he went to bed as usual, but was unable to sleep, so he asked his servant to read to him from a prayer-book. This was not allowed, nor was John Franken permitted even to speak to him except in a loud voice, so that all their conversation might be overheard. A clergyman was sent for, who read to him the 'Consolations of the Sick.' After some talk he tried again to sleep; but he passed the whole night in wakefulness, reading from time to time in a French psalm-book. At five o'clock he got up and dressed for the final scene. To the last the treatment to which he was subjected was harsh and cruel. His wife and children had continued to hope for his acquittal, and had sent in three elaborate petitions prepared by counsel in his favour. Of these no notice had been taken. Late in the evening of May 12 they heard that he was to die on the morning of the 13th, and they at once addressed a last appeal to the judges. 'The afflicted wife and children of M. van Barneveldt humbly show that having heard the sorrowful tidings of his coming execution, they humbly beg that it may be granted them to see and to speak to him for the last time.' Barneveldt was never informed of this petition of his wife and children, but was asked if he desired to see them; this he now declined on the plea that it would cause him too great emotion. The French envoy made too a third and last appeal to save the life of the great statesman, at five o'clock in the morning. It may be imagined, indeed, that few of either Barneveldt's friends or enemies, after hearing of the sentence, slept much on this eventful night, but like himself passed those hours in watchfulness.

The execution was fully equal in its want of form and solemnity to the trial. The scaffold was a shapeless mass of rough unhewn planks nailed together in one night. A heap of sand was piled on the spot where he was to be beheaded,

beside which lay his coffin, a coarse dirty box of rough boards originally prepared for a murderer, who had been lately condemned but pardoned on the eve of execution—'not this man but Barabbas!'—and that the scene might be complete, two common ruffians of soldiers—fit subjects for the pencil of Ostade or Callot—sat on this coffin playing dice and betting whether God or the devil should have the soul of the doomed man.

When the august and venerable statesman, leaning on his staff, stepped out on the scaffold from a window in the house in which he had been confined, and saw the preparations and the thousands of wolfish eyes of the crowd waiting to see him die, he lifted his eyes to heaven and murmured, 'O God, what does man come to!' and then uttered in bitterness of heart, 'This then is the reward of forty years' service to the States!' After kneeling on the bare planks and praying for a quarter of an hour with a clergyman named Lamotte beside him, he was undressed by his valet; then he turned to the crowd and declared that he died a true patriot, and a minute or two later his head was cut off by the executioner with a double-handed sword, and body and head were immediately huddled into the box beside him. He was then seventy-one years seven months and eighteen days of age.

Grotius, as is well known, effected his escape from prison two years afterwards with the help of a brave wife and a brave servant-girl, Elsie, in a manner not unbecoming the great publicist, by taking the place of the heavy books of the Professor Erpenius, which he was in the habit of having conveyed to him in a big chest; and the story of his escape furnishes the subject of one of Mr. Motley's most entertaining chapters.

As for the family of Barneveldt, the desolation of his wife was rendered not yet complete even by the execution of her husband. The property of the statesman having been confiscated, and his two sons reduced, both to obscurity and one to beggary, although Maurice had promised to take care of them, they were frenzied by the spirit of revenge, and conspired against the life of the Stadtholder, were discovered, the one executed and the other escaped into exile. The guilt of the sons naturally recoiled on the stainless fame of the great Advocate, and has doubtless had something to do with the tardy justice which has been rendered to his memory, while the power, popularity, and influence of the Stadtholder were rendered thereby still more triumphant.

We cannot do better than conclude our review of this tragic

story by quoting the final phrase of Mr. Motley, in which he characterises its effect on the States of the Netherlands:—

'The Republic—that magnificent commonwealth which in its infancy had confronted, single-handed, the greatest empire of the earth, and had wrested its independence from the ancient despot after a forty years' struggle—had now been rent in twain, although in very unequal portions, by the feud of polemical and political hatred. Thus crippled, she was to go forth to take her share in that awful conflict now in full blaze, and of which after ages were to speak with a shudder as the Thirty Years' War.'

The volumes which we have just reviewed contain so much that is new and interesting that we have abstained from criticising the conduct and character of the work. We have noticed here and there expressions which seemed to us to be somewhat extravagant or out of place, and a want of method and skill in marshalling the facts of the narrative; but these are slight blemishes in the work considered as a whole. One consideration has proved itself especially attractive to us in perusing the volumes, and that is the earnest love of political and religious liberty which animates every page, and which has made the citizen of the great Republic of the West the ardent admirer and the fitting historian of that Republic of the Netherlands to which the liberties of Europe remain so deeply indebted. We trust that Mr. Motley will not fail to present us in due time with that completion of his labours to which we are informed the present volumes form so brilliant an introduction—the History of the Thirty Years' War.

ART. V.—1. *Modern English*. By FITZEDWARD HALL, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. Oxon., formerly Professor of the Sanskrit Language and Literature and of Indian Jurisprudence, in King's College, London. New York: 1873.

2. *Recent Exemplifications of False Philology*. By FITZEDWARD HALL, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. Oxon. New York: 1872.

IT was remarked some years ago that all the Professors of the English Language south of the Tweed were Scotchmen, and as a half-ironical explanation of this singular fact it was sometimes added, that Scotchmen are accustomed to study English with some care as a foreign language, while Englishmen themselves pay little or no critical attention to their mother-tongue. Something of the same kind may, perhaps, be said of our kinsmen on the other side of the Atlantic. While they have

inherited our blood and speech, both in course of time have undergone important changes through contact and intermixture with other races and other tongues. The typical Anglo-American has definite mental and physical characteristics, some of which are traceable to the foreign elements—Indian and European—that have helped to stimulate and enrich the primitive Anglo-Saxon strain. None the less does the thoughtful and cultivated American look with irrepressible interest towards the old country and seek to connect himself with its memorable past, collecting with pride the traditions of his family history, and seeking, should opportunity offer, to trace the name he bears in some faded public record, or on the well-worn brass or mouldering stone of some quiet English chancel or churchyard.

In the same way the Anglo-American speech has received contributions from many foreign sources. Tributary streams or rivulets of words have flowed into it from the outlying Spanish, French, and Indian settlements as well as from the incorporated Dutch, Negro, and German races. Almost every state, moreover, has a local mint or machinery of its own for the coinage of new words, some of which attain to general circulation, and eventually pass into the national exchequer. As a natural result the Anglo-American tongue differs in many definite and recognisable respects from the standard and accepted English of the old country. These differences appear mainly in lax and archaic constructions, obsolete idioms, harsh abbreviations, new-fangled terms and phrases, including reckless verbal ventures and base local coinages, combined in oral intercourse with an elaborately misplaced emphasis, and a curious combination of drawl and twang in pronunciation. These and other differences are of course most apparent in the spoken language, and in the lighter and more evanescent forms of literature that adopt almost instinctively the ease, directness, and freedom of colloquial speech. While the distinctive features mainly affect the vocabulary they also include, as we have hinted, definite elements of structure, idiom, and pronunciation, which together mark off Anglo-American as a separate type of English, and give it distinctive characteristics and tendencies of its own. This very circumstance seems to have kindled the zeal and industry of native American scholars towards the historic and analytical examination of the noble language they have inherited. They have undertaken the critical study of English in its main sources and epochs, its idioms, usages, and laws, and have attempted to elaborate, according to their lights, the conditions of its vernacular purity, legitimate enrichment,

and future progress. Having noted the tendencies towards rapid and inconsiderate change to which the language is exposed in their own country, they have sought to arrest the progress of these forces by lively warning and appeal, or at least to regulate their working by reference to the established principles of linguistic science.

But whatever may be the cause or causes of the special interest shown by Americans in the study of English, the fact is sufficiently obvious and interesting. From the earliest period of their existence as an independent people, the Americans have continued to make noteworthy contributions to this branch of literature and criticism. Nor indeed have they been wanting in the humbler departments of English scholarship. According to the list prefixed to Mr. Goold Brown's dense volume, entitled 'A Grammar of English Grammars' (1851), upwards of two hundred grammars and essays on the language were published in the United States within little more than half a century. The same period has, however, been illustrated by the writings of critics and grammarians who have gained honourable recognition on both sides of the Atlantic—from those of Lindley Murray and Noah Webster at the close of the last century, to those of Professor Whitney and Dr. Marsh in our own day. Murray and Webster, it is true, represent an early and happily obsolete period in the history of philological science as well as of English scholarship. They were not much behind the linguistic attainments of their own day, and although we can now afford to smile at the pedantic rules of the one and the far-fetched etymologies of the other, their works did good service in helping to fix critical attention on the grammar and vocabulary of the language. Their modern representatives have kept pace with the rapid advancement of philological science. Professor Whitney, though not professedly an English scholar, is a learned and accurate philologist of whom any country might be proud. The range of research, and power of exposition displayed in his 'Lectures on Language,' 'Oriental Studies,' and scattered papers in the journals of various learned societies, have justly gained him a European reputation. Of Mr. Marsh's contributions to English scholarship we need say nothing. They are known and valued wherever the language is critically studied.

The works at the head of our article represent the latest contributions by an American scholar to the elucidation of English past and present. The author of these works, Mr. Fitzedward Hall, is in many ways well qualified for the task he has undertaken. He has evidently great interest in philo-

logy, a considerable knowledge of its general principles, and an acquaintance with several important languages, including Sanscrit. The fact that he was for some years Professor of the Sanscrit Language and Literature and of Indian Jurisprudence in King's College, London, is in itself proof of his accomplishments as an orientalist. In particular, he is an industrious and enthusiastic English scholar, having studied the language with critical care in most of its more important periods of growth and development. He has obviously read and noted a great number of books in connexion with each of these periods. In the preface to 'Modern English' Mr. Hall gives a characteristic account of his labours in this direction. After stating that the best part of his life had been spent in official positions in India, making of necessity large demands on his time and strength, he adds, 'For all that, I have contrived, at odd times, to run through something of divers literatures, and to give some thought to my mother-tongue. On not a tithe of the books I have skimmed have I taken notes serviceable for philological purposes; and yet my memoranda on English words and uses of words have grown to a matter of half a million.' The immense number of minute references and quotations contained in the voluminous notes illustrates the latter part of this statement. Mr. Hall thus possesses one of the most important requisites for the intelligent criticism of English—a wide and accurate knowledge of the relevant facts. Next to sound judgment, logical power, and critical sagacity, this knowledge is indeed the most vital qualification for speaking to any good purpose or with any authority on the usages, characteristics, and prospects of our national speech. In other words, a thorough knowledge of the literature is indispensable to any satisfactory or useful attempt at dealing historically or analytically with the language. It may be added that it is precisely the qualification in which many who have written on the subject have been conspicuously deficient. Hence the conflicting opinions that have been held, and the arbitrary canons laid down with regard to such important points as usage and idiom, the purity, correctness, and appropriateness of diction. Those who have the widest knowledge of English, in its various stages of progress, will be least disposed to dogmatise hastily on such points, and most careful to ground their conclusions on a broad historical basis by the copious induction and impartial use of pertinent analogies and examples.

This is what Mr. Hall attempts to do in 'Modern English.' If he is sometimes unsuccessful, as we think he is, this arises

from no want of perception as to the true principles of procedure, but simply from a partial or temporary failure in their application. He has the merit of fully recognising at the outset the right method to be pursued in all such inquiries—that of careful historic induction and legitimate inference; and of demanding that all conclusions shall rest on an ample basis of exact knowledge. On the whole, too, Mr. Hall is tolerably faithful to his principles, and in many points succeeds in turning his extensive reading to good account. With most of his general principles we should be disposed cordially to agree. In particular the freedom and flexibility of the language on which Mr. Hall insists, and the process of continual change to which as a living tongue it is necessarily subject, are points of great practical importance, which cannot be too clearly expounded and enforced. We have repeatedly directed attention to these vital characteristics, and they are well illustrated by Mr. Hall in relation both to the past history and present state of the language.

While there is, thus, much in the substance of Mr. Hall's work to commend, it is, however, justly exposed to adverse criticism in other respects, and especially in relation to its style, spirit, and form. In some of these particulars, indeed, the volume is a literary curiosity, fitted to excite feelings of mingled amusement, impatience, and indignation in readers of ordinary taste, cultivation, and sensibility. To take the last point first: the literary form of the book is simply detestable, if we may adopt for the nonce the kind of language which Mr. Hall himself is fond of employing. In this respect the execution is slovenly and careless to an unpardonable extent, as the author himself virtually allows, at least in part. In the preface he explains the origin and history of his work as follows:—

'The contents of this volume are made up, in the main, of selections from a large number of essays which I have composed, within the last ten years, for my own amusement. As to the particular Chapters here grouped together, seeing that they were written at considerable intervals, and, as soon as written, were laid aside and well-nigh forgotten, I found, on revising them, that, almost of course, I had, here and there, in some measure repeated myself. After all, however, the repetitions have seemed too slight to demand that I should be at the trouble of removing them; and, accordingly, I have let them stand. For the rest, it is not impossible that things which have offered themselves, at various times, as worth the saying, may deserve that attention which they might, if said only once, have failed to secure.'

This language, on the part of an author formally addressing his readers, is, to say the least of it, sufficiently cool. It comes

in substance to this:—‘I wrote these chapters for my own amusement, and although in looking them over I find them defective and redundant, I can’t be at the trouble of mending them for you. You must make the best of them, and may be consoled by the reflection that even the defects of such a writer as I am, may be of use to such readers as you are.’ Nothing could well be more arrogant or, in the strictest sense of the term, impertinent than this. If a man writes simply for his own amusement, he may of course adopt what literary form he pleases, and repeat himself as often as he likes. But if he publishes his work and formally appeals to the reading public, he is bound to consider the conditions of orderly, lucid, and interesting exposition. But the repetitions, which Mr. Hall himself admits, are by no means the only or the worst defect in point of literary form. Far more serious is the mass of undigested notes that burden and at times almost overwhelm the text. These crude contributions from the author’s commonplace book disturb and perplex the exposition at almost every point, making the author’s pages an unsightly mixture of large and small type, numerals, capitals, and italics. Some of the notes, if the reader has leisure and patience to pick them out, are indeed vitally connected with the subject in hand, and so far as this is the case they ought, of course, to have been wrought into the substance of the exposition. Other notes, and these often of inordinate length, are connected with the text only in the most distant and accidental way, and in these cases they ought to have been relegated to a separate chapter, or excluded altogether from the volume. Then again, one whole chapter, the longest in the volume, is made up of the same disconnected and undigested material as the majority of the notes, a whole cartload of commonplace entries having been boldly shot into the text without any system of grouping or arrangement, and without a word of interposed comment or explanation to render the mass of details intelligible. There is in fact no rational order or coherence, no expository method, or literary finish in the chapter, the sixty pages of continuous extracts being introduced by a quotation from Mr. Marsh, and concluded by what the author himself allows to be a digression about Mr. Thackeray. Indeed, on this point an adverse critic might fairly say that while the volume contains the materials of a good book, they are to a large extent in so chaotic a state that the book itself still remains to be written.

Mr. Hall is hardly more fortunate in the style and temper of his lucubrations. He can indeed write with point and vigour, and here and there passages are to be found wholly free from

objection or offence. But as a rule his writing is harsh and laboured, cumbrous and obscure, abounding in distortions and inversions of phrase and meaning. His vocabulary, too, a marvel in its way, bristles with obsolete, pedantic, and new-fangled terms. Sometimes the unusual, uncouth, or newly-coined term has a point or tang of its own that gives a kind of medicinal flavour to the sentence and a tonic effect to the style. But more frequently it simply diverts the reader's attention without adding anything to the force or clearness of the expression. Here, in fact, lies the secret of Mr. Hall's weakness as a writer, though we have no doubt he himself regards it as the source of his strength. He is pre-eminently a verbalist. He has paid so much attention to words and phrases, and especially to strange, archaic, and unaccepted words and phrases, that he cannot forget them in writing. He is accordingly haunted with a restless desire of introducing them at every turn, and although, as we have said, they may be now and then appropriate and expressive, in the greater number of instances they are dragged in without necessity, and simply disfigure the page and disturb those who peruse it. Instead of being allowed to follow without interruption the development of the author's thought, the reader is continually distracted, not only by notes illustrating or enforcing the meaning of the text, but by words so strange and unfamiliar as to require further notes for their explanation. Thus having used the terms *mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus*, Mr. Hall has a long note explaining the origin and meaning of these outlandish phrases. Sometimes, again, there are notes within notes, like Chinese boxes. Thus having in a note used the word *dyslogistic*, he proceeds to give a long disquisition on the term, explaining its composition, analogies, and—in opposition to the lexicographers whom, as usual, he bitterly condemns—its precise signification. There is obviously no end to this kind of process, as in the explanation another term might have been used requiring another explanation, and so on indefinitely. We may give as further illustrations of Mr. Hall's far-fetched and scholastic phraseology, the following: *rail-opotent*, *sanctanimity*, *parvanimities*, *obsmathies*, *polysemants*, *homography*, *homophores*, *politicaster*, *philologasters*, *philologastray*, *philosophaster*, *philosophastray*, *hereticate*, *auspicate*, *infrigidate*, *apocopation*, *resipiscent*, *fantast*, *verbarian*, *neoterism*, *longiloquence*, *provection*, *irrelate*, *orthopraxy*, *ipseditism*, *verbiculture*, *subaudition*, *prochronism*, *vernacularize*, *zealotry*. Mr. Hall's style is, however, not only laboured and pedantic, but at times careless and slipshod, falling into slang phrases and rank colloquialisms, such as taking 'an ethical header,'

and giving new words 'the go-by.' Nor, as it seems to us, is Mr. Hall always even accurate in his use of language. He at times employs words in unauthorised, obsolete, and abusive senses; such as the verb *actuate* for produce, or bring about, the adjective *phenomenal* for old-fashioned, *cathedral* for authoritative, *regulation* for common, ordinary, natural, and *protoplastic* for adult, full-grown, developed. Without pausing to state and discuss each of these instances in detail, we may give the passage in which the first occurs. 'Bishop Lowth points out the substitution of *wert* for *wast*; but he had, apparently, little idea how many suffrages for it could be mustered. It was *actuated*, we may safely conjecture, by an instinct against cacophony; and so well is it established, that, at least in poetry, it is free from all reproach.' This is surely an obsolete sense of the verb to actuate, good usage having long restricted it, and appropriately restricted it, to agents. Mr. Hall's wide and careful reading should enable him to decide this point at once, and we appeal to him with some confidence as to whether the objection we have urged against his use of the verb is not well founded. It is the more important to insist on this, as Mr. Hall himself treats with extreme severity even the very slightest verbal inaccuracies. To adopt for the moment his own style, we may fairly say, that one so addicted to the illaudable habit of lapidation ought himself to be without fault. His inerrancy ought to protect him from any chance of being justly 'perstringed' however gently.

This brings us to what is, after all, the greatest blemish in Mr. Hall's work, as well as the most serious drawback to the pleasure which those interested in the subject might otherwise derive from its perusal. We refer to the spirit of detraction that animates his writing, and the bitter language in which he habitually indulges. The tone adopted in referring to other writers, especially to writers on the English Language, is censorious and intolerant in the highest degree, the writer's acrid humour finding relief in judgments almost always ungenerous, and sometimes flagrantly unjust. The obnoxious thought of his rivals in criticism appears indeed to stimulate the secretion of bile to so great an extent that it not unfrequently overflows, disturbing the writer's whole system, and in particular discolouring the organs of intellectual vision. That dry light of reason which Bacon desiderated is thus hopelessly obscured, perception and judgment being alike perverted by the violent incursion of acrimonious feeling. Almost all who have written on style, attempted the criticism of English, or gained a reputation for their mastery of language, become in turn objects

of Mr. Hall's wrath and condemnation. It is a curious problem, indeed, how it comes to pass that discussions about words are, as a rule, so bitter and envenomed. Verbal criticism, instead of being, as we should naturally imagine, one of the most innocent and harmless of scholarly occupations, seems to have a malign power of exciting the worst passions of our nature. Opponents who may have differed about the origin, meaning, or use of a word, fight over the disputed accent or etymology as desperately as though life or fortune were at stake in the conflict. Mr. Hall illustrates this tendency *in excelsis*. The main object of his attack in his earlier work is a countryman of his own, Mr. R. Grant White, who, it seems, has written a book on words and their uses; and who on the strength of this work is made to figure as the exponent and exemplar of false philology. We know nothing of Mr. White except as a Shaksperian critic, in which capacity, while displaying a good deal of acuteness and ingenuity, he often dogmatizes on slender evidence, and pronounces very decided opinions on extremely dubious points. We have no doubt the same tendencies appear, probably in an aggravated form, in Mr. White's book about words. Mr. Hall had thus a comparatively easy task in exposing the rashness and inaccuracy of some of Mr. White's confident judgments. But he has certainly weakened the force of his criticism by the bitterness of his invective, and the strong personal feeling that appears to animate his criticism. This leads him not only to outrage the claims of courtesy and fairness, but into gross violations of good taste, as in the passage referring to Mr. White's 'Gloriana.' While generally agreeing with Mr. Hall on the points in dispute, we have no sympathy therefore with the spirit that animates his polemic; and, as we have said, the analysis and exposure of Mr. White's philological shortcomings would have been far more effective and acceptable had the critic been less lavish in the use of such epithets as ignorant, arrogant, swaggering, ostentatious, shallow, silly, self-sufficient, unscholarly, antiscientific, anti-historical; and such phrases as extravagances of whimsicality, recklessness of facts, exorbitant and uncompromising intolerance, baseless pretensions, and grossly erroneous teaching.

In Mr. Hall's more recent and important work, 'Modern English,' there is no improvement in point of tone and temper. On the contrary, the larger work simply affords him a more ample field for the gratification of his mordent appetite and acrimonious proclivities. Instead of concentrating his anathemas on an individual, he here indulges in the luxury, described by the observant Highlander in relation to an irate

southern, as that of 'swearing at large.' His passion for evil-speaking breaks out at times into open literary blasphemy, and he does not scruple to profane some of the most revered names in the hierarchy of genius, learning, and science. So extreme and indiscriminate is the censure, indeed, that it is sometimes difficult to discover on what ground it is administered. That he can bear no rival near the throne is of course an obvious reason for attacking those who have written on the English Language; but this fails to explain the intensity of feeling against others who have not been guilty of this offence. It would at times almost appear as though Mr. Hall regarded literary eminence as in itself a legitimate ground of censure. If a writer is distinguished for the ease, flexibility, and correctness of his style, Mr. Hall makes it a point of honour to show that in these respects he is a poor creature, with little grammatical knowledge and no historical insight into the use and meanings of words. Then, again, any tendency towards philological conservatism seems to be, in Mr. Hall's view, an unpardonable sin. Those in any way tainted with this deadly leprosy Mr. Hall evidently regards as outcasts and pariahs, to be visited with the utmost rigour of lingual condemnation. He seems, moreover, sometimes to confound philological with political conservatism, and to bring under the same condemnation those who are guilty of either. This may in part, perhaps, account for the hostile feeling he displays towards writers in many ways so different, as Addison, Swift, and Johnson, Carlyle, Thackeray, and Ruskin, Bishop Wilberforce, Landor, and Archbishop Trench, Lord Macaulay and Lord Lytton. However this may be, Mr. Hall is alike impartial and unmeasured in his condemnation of eminent English authors. We may give a few specimens, which will illustrate at once his style of writing and of criticism, his good taste, good feeling, and literary judgment. In reference to Mr. Carlyle, for example, Mr. Hall says: 'It is not easy for me to write, without a strong sense of loathing, the name of this acrid fantast, and idoliser of brute force,—at best, a bad copy of all that is objectionable in Hobbes. The word *international*, introduced by the immortal Bentham, and Mr. Carlyle's *gigmanity*—to coin which, by the way, it was necessary to invent facts—are significantly characteristic of the utilitarian philanthropist and of the futilitarian misanthropist respectively.' Criticism like this is now-a-days a curiosity, a kind of survival illustrating in the midst of a cultured and refined civilisation the feelings and usages of savage warfare. Anyone may, of course, disapprove of Mr. Carlyle's

political views, and even believe them false and mischievous, as we do quite as strongly perhaps as Mr. Hall. But surely no such difference in opinion ought to blind any candid or reasonable mind to Mr. Carlyle's great merits as an essayist and historian, or induce even a momentary forgetfulness of the salutary influence which the noble ethical qualities of his writings have exercised over some of the best minds of the age. Those who have little sympathy with his political views may at least remember his praiseworthy, and in many cases successful, efforts as a social critic and reformer. No one in our day has exposed more truthfully, or more effectually, the less reputable aspects and more injurious tendencies of modern life, has laid bare in a more humorous and incisive way the empty and feverish vanities and ambitions of modern society with all the personal meannesses and degradations, the collective impostures and hypocrisies, they tend to foster and diffuse. And his main gospel—that of insisting on the cardinal importance of truth and duty, of simplicity, rectitude, and thoroughness in all the activities of thought and life—is entitled to a foremost place and influence among the higher literary and moral forces of the time. But Mr. Hall loses sight of all this in his wrath against an antidemocrat and rival word-coiner. He often, indeed, appears unable to tolerate in others the practices which he must surely regard as virtues in himself. Mr. Carlyle, for instance, is rather fond of taking liberties with the vocabulary, as well as with the grammar of the language, of indulging in verbal comments and etymological digressions, and this Mr. Hall, it may be unconsciously, resents as trespassing on his own domain. As we shall presently see, he is equally severe against Coleridge and De Quincey for having been repeatedly guilty of the same offence.

This illustrates the main weakness of Mr. Hall's strictures both here and elsewhere throughout the volume. He is a verbalist in criticism as well as in style, occupied with words rather than things, and ready at any moment, on the strength of a repellent term or distasteful phrase, to launch his philological thunderbolts at the offender's head. This would be no valid ground of reproach if Mr. Hall confined himself simply to judgments about words, their history, meaning, and various use. But this, as we have seen, is by no means the case. If he dislikes the way in which a great writer uses a word, or discovers some error in his criticism of its history and meaning, he proceeds to pronounce on his moral character and literary merits in the most summary and confident way. If the offender have any conservative leanings his case is desperate, and no plea in arrest

of judgment will be listened to. Reverting to the notion of 'survival,' it would almost seem as though, after long wanderings in some democratic and philological wilderness, Mr. Hall entered the cultivated walks of literature with an anti-conservative tomahawk in one hand and a verbal foot-rule in the other. The rule he immediately proceeds to apply to all reputations, the higher and lower alike, and those who do not square with its straitened requirements are remorsefully scalped upon the spot. Nothing—no amount of genius, learning, or ability, no grace of fancy, creative power of imagination, or exquisiteness of literary finish—avails to avert the inevitable doom. Hence the grotesque and utterly irrelevant severity of his literary judgments. We may add another specimen or two by way of illustration. Referring specially to 'Esmond,' he speaks of Mr. Thackeray as follows:—

'Of the spirit, as of the language, of any by-gone age, Mr. Thackeray had but a purblind perception. But, among all his works in which he has ventured into the past, that on the English humorists must, to anyone who has studied those writers by the light of history, seem the most ambitiously abortive. From Mr. Thackeray as a novelist, there are, however, lessons to be learnt which are highly valued now-a-days, and, but for supplying which, he would never be the prime favourite that he is with young Britons. And these lessons are, with others of a similar cast, to disbelieve utterly in human goodness, and to believe everyone who is not of your own set to be, most likely, a "cad," and to be treated accordingly. The novels of Mr. Thackeray mirror, rigidly to the life, the conceit, superciliousness, suspicion, and jealousy of the Englishman in his latest polite phasis of degeneration. To his countrymen they have, indeed, become a very Bible, as I have more than once heard them admiringly denominated.'

Further on Mr. Hall speaks of the 'patrician slang' Mr. Thackeray affects, and the 'nauseous slang' he employs. In an earlier page Mr. Ruskin is described as 'a typical Conservative' and stigmatised as an 'elegant Pharisee;' and, after giving the opinions on political economy and war expressed by some other conservatives, including Southey and Wordsworth, Mr. Hall says:—

'It seems strange that those who entertain such views should not reflect how they, or how those whose conclusions they accept ready-made, come by their notion of God. In an æstrum of vindictive passion, which they regard as a sort of celestial inspiration, they simply project themselves, magnified into non-natural dimensions; the ideal monster they, of course, find to be very good, and thenceforward they do worship to it as the adorable supreme. But they have lordly prelates and such like on their side; and so all must be right. . . And what is the inference from all this? It is that there is no conceivable

absurdity, frivolity, or cruelty which should surprise us in the thorough-paced conservative, or one who takes his stand on tradition or imitation as against reason. If the fires of Smithfield were to be rekindled to-morrow by legally constituted authority, there is not, I suppose, one English conservative in a hundred that would raise a dissenting voice.'

A little earlier we have, in relation to the same subject, another choice sentence:—'The miserable thing called Conservatism, for all its hypocritical appeals to the wisdom of our ancestors, and its other chicaneries and subterfuges, is thus evinced to have sordid and heartless selfishness, the foul offspring of sloth, for its sole foundation.' On a later page we have this somewhat remarkable collocation of names:—'A disciplined taste recoils from fantasts and contortionists like Mr. Carlyle, Archbishop Trench, and Mr. Browning, with just the sort of feeling provoked by the antics of a clever buffoon.'

In this way, as conservatives of some shade or other, as writers on the language, or as masters of style, a number of eminent English authors come under Mr. Hall's ban. Such writers as Dr. Latham, Dr. Marsh, and Mr. White belong to the second head; and, having ventured to become critics of English, they are adjudged to be ignorant, uncritical, and incompetent in varying degrees. But two distinguished English authors, De Quincey and Coleridge, seem to exercise over Mr. Hall and his aversions a kind of malignant spell, or fatal fascination. At the mention of their names his intensest antipathies seem to be at once aroused, and like the creature in the fable he fastens with envenomed but futile tooth on their brilliant and well-established reputations. In other words, he returns to them again and again, attacks them from different points of view, and labours in every possible way to depreciate their various merits, lower their literary position, and disparage their personal character. Nor, perhaps, is this surprising, as these writers concentrate in themselves the qualities that, as we have seen, excite Mr. Hall's most violent animosity. They are both in different ways conservatives, both recognised masters of expression, and both fond of making excursions into the domain of verbal criticism. On all grounds, therefore, they are marked out as victims; and Mr. Hall pursues them with a relentless pertinacity which must be surprising to those not in the secret of his likes and dislikes, and amusing to those who are. This pursuit of detraction by all means, and at any price, is, however, a somewhat dangerous game. Wrath, of course, easily finds weapons; but if the hasty missile fails of its mark, it is apt, like the Australian boomerang, to recoil on

the assailant's head. Mr. Hall has not wholly escaped this source of danger. He has, indeed, here and there convicted Mr. De Quincey of insufficient knowledge on minute points connected with the history of special words. But his attacks on Coleridge are generally unsuccessful, while some of his attempts to prove his opponents ignorant and uncritical react injuriously on the critic himself. Take the following passage for example:—"The shadowy exhibition of a regal banquet in 'the desert draws out and stimulates the sense of its utter 'solitude and *remotion* from men and cities.'" So discourses Mr. De Quincey, who, nevertheless, denounces Bentley's '*putid* and *negoce* as "lawless pedantries" and as "filth." Not only must *remotion* suggest, to the ordinary reader, "repeated "motion," or else "backward motion," but, besides being 'neither actual English nor, it is to be hoped, potential, for "re-movedness" or "sequestration," it is not, even in that sense, a 'true Latinism.' Here it may fairly be a question whether it is worth while to revive the word *remotion*, which has fallen out of use. But this is not the point raised by Mr. Hall; nor could he raise it with any consistency, as he employs obsolete words at pleasure, and without the pretext of appropriateness or necessity. The charge against Mr. De Quincey is that he employs *remotion* in a sense not authorised by its etymology or its early English use. In both particulars, as it seems to us, Mr. Hall is completely wrong. *Remotion* is used by standard English authors in the sense of removal, and like other words of similar form and origin, it designates indifferently the process and the result, while not unfrequently, as the context shows, the actual signification includes both. The use of the word by Shakspeare will sufficiently illustrate this. In 'Lear' it is employed in relation to the refusal of Cornwall and Regan to see the King on his arrival at Gloster's castle:—

Lear. Deny to speak with me? They are sick? they are weary?

They have travelled hard to-night? Mere fetches,
The images of revolt and flying off.
Fetch me a better answer.

Death on my state! wherefore

[*Looking on Kent*.

Should he sit here? This act persuades me
That this *remotion* of the duke and her
Is practice only. Give me my servant forth.
Go tell the duke and 's wife, I'd speak with them,
Now, presently: bid them come forth and hear me,
Or at their chamber-door I'll beat the drum,
Till it cry sleep to death.'

Here *remotion* has precisely the sense of remove and sequestration which Mr. Hall denies that it ever had, or could legitimately have, in English. Again, in 'Timon of Athens,' when Apemantus has elected to become a beast if the world be taken from men and given to beasts, Timon replies,

'A beastly ambition, which the gods grant thee to attain to. If thou wert the lion, the fox would beguile thee; if thou wert the lamb, the fox would eat thee; if thou wert the fox, the lion would suspect thee. . . . Wert thou a leopard, thou wert german to the lion, and the spots of thy kindred were jurors on thy life; all thy safety were *remotion*, and thy defence, absence. What beast couldst thou be, and were not subject to a beast? and what a beast art thou already, that seest not thy loss in transformation.'

Here *remotion*, if not used absolutely in the sense of remoteness, has undoubtedly the double signification of removal and its result. Safety lies not merely in going off, but in the end secured by running away—distance, remoteness, sequestration. It might be paraphrased 'all thy safety were distance, and thy 'defence absence.' As to the derivation of the word, it is, of course, formed regularly from the participle of *removeo*, like the cognates *emotion*, *commotion*, *promotion*, the participle itself having the sense of what is removed or remote.

As another instance in which Mr. Hall's zeal as an assailant exceeds his discretion as an English scholar, we may give the following:—

'Every reader must remember that, in "Christabel," an owlet, weirdly prescient of a providential mastiff-bitch hard by, instead of comporting itself like ordinary owlets, delivers itself of a hideous *scritch*. If this novel procedure of Minerva's favourite were at all better calculated than an ordinary regulation *screech* to pierce or infrigidate one's marrow, it might be connived at. But, to most tastes, it may be suspected, a lazily intrusive *scritch* must give deeper offence than even an unfelicitously bestowed *felicitously*; and so, in all likelihood, must the demeanour of Coleridge's sun, which, as represented in "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner," *uprist*, under the despotic spell of a coming *mist*.'

Here the implied charge against Coleridge is that he used the word *scritch* without adequate authority, and for no assignable reason except laziness; in short, that he altered the form of the word in order to save himself the trouble of finding a legitimate rhyme. As to the second word which incurs Mr. Hall's censure, *uprist*, the implication appears to be that it does not exist in English at all. In both points, however, Coleridge is right, and his critic altogether wrong. With regard to *scritch* there are obvious literary reasons for its use

which even Mr. Hall, had he been less prejudiced, or less determined to find fault, might easily have discovered, as they are hardly beyond the range of his verbal foot-rule. In both poems, in order to increase the sense of remoteness, of ideal separation from the present and actual in which so much of their weird and almost magical power consists, Coleridge employs archaic or obsolescent words, forms, and phrases, such as *eftsoons*, *swound*, *sheen*, *grammercy*, *bale*, and *baleful*, *virtuous*, *wildered*, *countrie*, *clomb*, *a'feared*, *I wis*, and *I ween*. *Scritch* belongs to this class, and is used by Coleridge with the fullest authority, as well as with perfect appropriateness and literary effect. With regard to authority, as the form is not given in modern dictionaries or illustrated in the older ones, a word or two may be added. The form *scritch*, both generally and in special relation to the owl, is in reputable use amongst English writers for more than two centuries, is found regularly entered in older dictionaries, and still exists locally over a wide area in the South and West of England. With regard to authors, in Lilly's play of 'Mother Bombie,' in a scene where two 'knaves,' or men-servants, are eavesdropping to overhear their master's conversation, one says to the other in relation to the anticipated dialogue and its disclosures, 'You shall heer sweete musicke betweene a hoarse 'raven and a *scritch* owl.' Again, in Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas, we have the following description of night fowl and birds of ill-omen:—

'Neer these, the Crowe his greedy wings displayes,
The long-liv'd Raven, th' infamous bird that layes
His bastard Eggs within the nests of other,
To have them hatcht by an vnkindely Mother,
The *Scritch Owl*, vs'd in falling Towers to lodge,
Th' unlucky Night-Raven, and thou lasie Madge
That fearing light, still seekest where to hide,
The hate and scorn of all the Birds beside.'

And in the 'Garden of Curious Flowers,' the word occurs in a passage referring to witches and sorceresses which bears directly on Coleridge's use of it:—'These women are called '*Lamiæ* and '*Striges*, for *Lamia* is a most cruel beast which hath the heart of a woman and the feet of a horse; and '*Striges* [sic] is a bird that flyeth by night, making great '*shriking* and noise, the which when she can get into any place where children are, doth suck out their blood and drink 'it. We call these '*Skritch-owls*.' Another example may be given from a curious pamphlet, published in 1619, and entitled 'An Astronomical Description of the late Comet from the

'18th of Nov., 1618, to the 16th of Dec. following. With certain Morall Prognosticks or Applications drawne from the Comet's Motion and Irradiation amongst the Celestial Hieroglyphicks. By vigilant and diligent observations of John Bainbridge, Doctor of Physicke, and Louer of the Mathematicks.' The passage is as follows:—

'I might easily fill a volume with verses of holy enraged poets, who have sounded a loud alarme of these blazing starres; yea, and confirme their prophetick lines with particular histories of the strange mutations ensuing these presages both in Church and Common-weale. Let that *Epiphonema* of *Manilius* to *Augustus Caesar* suffice:

Nunquam futilibus excanduit ignibus æther:

The earth in vaine did never gaze
When comets in the skie doe blaze.

But I list not to be an ominous *Scritch-owle*; I had rather be the Halcyon of calme serenitie, which doubtlesse I shall be if ourselves hinder not.'

But most important of all is the use of the form by Shakspeare in a passage which Coleridge no doubt had before him in writing 'Christabel.' The well-known song of Puck at the close of 'Midsummer Night's Dream' begins as follows:—

'Now the hungry Lyon roares,
And the Wolfe behowls the moone:
Whilest the heavy ploughman snores,
All with weary taske fore-done.
Now the wasted brands do glow,
Whil'st the *Scritch-owl*, *s ritching* loud,
Puts the wretch that lies in woe
In remembrance of a shrowd.'

These instances, which might easily be multiplied, are sufficient to illustrate the literary use of the form. We need not quote from the older dictionaries, in many of which, however, it is to be found. But it may be added, that *scritch-owl* is commonly used in the West of England, where we have repeatedly heard it, and especially in Somersetshire, where Coleridge lived at the time of writing 'Christabel.' He was therefore perfectly entitled to employ this form of the word, and he does so with his usual fine perception of poetical effect. The same may be said of *uprist*, which Mr. Hall suggests is not English at all, but which is, in fact, a good old English form in use both in prose and poetry from the time of Gower and Chaucer to that of Shakspeare. These examples show how far astray Mr. Hall may be led in his eager pursuit of a favourite foe, and at what expense to himself, and his reputation as an

English scholar, he sometimes attempts to gratify a cherished antipathy.

We have now done with the points which seem to us open to criticism in the style and temper of Mr. Hall's contributions to English philology. They have been dwelt upon at some length, because Mr. Hall is evidently an accomplished English student whose writings may be of real service to our vernacular scholarship, and because the features we have emphasized are not only objectionable in themselves, but likely to operate as drawbacks to the acceptance and usefulness of his work. We turn now with pleasure to the substance of his teaching in 'Modern English.' The chief point on which he insists is, as we have said, the flexible, varied, and changing character of the language, and the chief moral or lesson of his teaching that we need not regret this evidence of vitality, or attempt seriously to resist the further working of those plastic forces which have made the language what it is, and which its continuous life and progress necessarily involve. The following extracts, which are more favourable specimens of Mr. Hall's style than some already given, clearly bring out these points:—

'No nearer, in the nineteenth century, is English to being a finality than it has been in any previous century; and not even the complete isolation of all the English-speaking peoples, and that seconded by a rigour of despotism undreamt of by very positivists, could avail to give it a definitive form. Countless influences have hitherto contributed to its alteration from age to age, and will always contribute to the same result. As little reason have we to conceit ourselves that our progeny will be satisfied with our English, as the subjects of the Heptarchy would have had for conceiting themselves that their Saxon would supply the necessities of us their descendants. The prejudices of our purists would have been just as defensible in any former age as they are now; and if they had been operatively entertained early enough, and widely enough, we should now be talking in monosyllables, and eking out our scantiness of vocalism by nods, shrugs, winks, and other resources of pantomime.'

The last sentence of this extract tempts, indeed, a word or two of modifying comment. It would not in the least follow that we should now be talking in monosyllables even though what Mr. Hall terms 'the prejudices of our purists' had been 'operatively entertained,' no matter how early or how widely. The purists have no objection to words of more than one syllable provided they are made up of Saxon or vernacular elements. That words so formed need not be short is shown by such early compounds as *unbuzomness*, *foolhardiness*, *undaftiness*, *straightforwardness*, *busybodiness*, *forethoughtfulness*, and such analogous modern compounds as *longwindedness*, *pigheadedness*,

not to speak of other modern compounds such as *rascaldom*, *humbuggery*, *cantankerous*, *clodcrusher*, *handicraftswoman*. Anglo-Saxon itself is indeed full of such polysyllabic words, and the facilities for their manufacture enabled the vernacular writers of King Alfred's day to translate instead of transferring the technical terms of New Testament history. With them, for example, the Pharisees are *sunderhalgen* or separate saints. What the purists most complain of is, indeed, the loss, or rather general disuse, of this power of building up Saxon elements into expressive compounds of any length or complexity that may be desired. And the length to which some are disposed to go in this direction is illustrated in the proposed translation of the 'impenetrability of matter' by the daring phrase 'the unthoroughfaresomeness of stuff.' The triumph of the purists would not therefore necessarily result in a monosyllabic despotism. While thus at fault in some of the details of his criticism, Mr. Hall fairly exposes in the extract just given, as well as in the following passages, the general weakness of the position taken by the purists,—their indiscriminate and unreasoning hostility to all words derived from foreign sources, and their desire to fix within arbitrary limits the further growth and natural development of the living tongue.

'As in the order of nature generally, so in language, there obtains the law of incessant decay and incessant compensatory renewal. Some words, do what we may to retain them, will fall out of sight; and other words, do what we may to intercept or resist them, will emerge, and win their way to acceptance. The former fade and vanish away, because they have served out their turn; the latter spring up obediently to influences of which it is impossible to forecast the products. The vicissitudes of language are, thus, a thing over which our volitions rarely have a calculable control. Truisms as they are, these facts, if duly weighed, should suffice to dissuade from that unfavourable opinion of modern English, on which so many pique themselves, as being a proof of their sagacity, or more refined taste. Moreover, freely as we of the nineteenth century neoterise, it must be indubitable to any observant student of English, past and present, that, relatively to their amount, new words, and new meanings of old words, have been scrutinised much more jealously, during the last seventy years, than they ever were scrutinised before. In presence of this truth it strikes one with surprise to come upon the assertion, from a scholar like Landor, that "our language, for the last half century, has fallen more rapidly into corruption and decomposition than any other ever spoken among men."

'To follow the ruling passion of the present time, I am aware that I ought to depreciate modern English, and, if not sit in the seat of the scornful, at least assume sackcloth and ashes, for its multiplied trans-

gressions. There are those, however, who, like the writer of these pages, with as little fear of being counted unfashionable as care to be counted fashionable, distinctly avow an exceedingly good opinion of the language, taken for all in all, of the days on which we have fallen. Though our contemporaries produce much of bad and inferior writing, they produce much more which, in various degrees, up to the highest, is excellent. And so deems the most proficient stylist that our literature, taken in its fullest compass, can hitherto boast. "This," says Dr. Newman, "is not a day for great writers, but for good writing and a great deal of it. There never was a time when men wrote so much and so well, and that without being of any great account, themselves. While our literature, in this day, especially the periodical, is rich and various, its language is elaborated to a perfection far beyond that of our classics, by the jealous rivalry, the incessant practice, the mutual influence, of its many writers. In point of mere style, I suppose an article in the 'Times' newspaper or 'Edinburgh Review,' is superior to a preface of Dryden's, or a 'Spectator,' or a pamphlet of Swift's, or one of South's sermons."

The general doctrine of these passages appears to us sound, and the detailed illustration and enforcement of it by Mr. Hall is certainly seasonable. The physical definition of life, as a condition of unstable equilibrium arising from the action and reaction of external and internal forces, applies to living languages as well as to other living things. Life involves of necessity a continuous process of gain and loss, incessant nutrition and expenditure, alternate reparation and decay. In periods of vigour the vital forces receive and assimilate freely all available nutriment within the sphere of their action. On the other hand, in periods of languor and decline the inner and assimilating energies being weak receive but little from without, and are absorbed in maintaining, against the disintegrating action of external forces, the unity, harmony, and individuality of function essential to independent life even in its lowest forms. This great law of vital action is well illustrated in the history of our own language. In the most vigorous periods of the national life, which are also the great periods of the literature, the language manifests its vitality by receiving and assimilating freely new elements from various quarters, as well as by throwing off elements no longer essential to its healthy action. In the fourteenth century the vocabulary received large accessions from the Norman, French, and Latin languages; Chaucer, Gower, and Mandeville having introduced a number of words from the former source, and Trevisa and Lidgate from the latter. The process of increase had indeed begun half a century earlier, and before the close of the period it embraced materials derived from other sources besides Latin and Norman-

French, words having passed into the vocabulary from Greek, Italian, and even Arabic. In the Elizabethan era, or rather in the great Reformation period, which may be said to extend from the first quarter of the sixteenth century to nearly the middle of the seventeenth, verbal contributions from various sources were so numerous that the national wealth in this respect may be said to have been doubled within little more than a century. At the Restoration a period of reaction set in, and the diminished national energies had a restrictive influence on the language. This period too marks the rise of criticism as a modifying power in our literature and public life, and this tended still further to restrict the expansive energies of the language. Henceforward for nearly a century both the spontaneous and reflective influences that affected it were adverse to anything like decided growth and progress. Still during this period important additions were made to the vocabulary, especially from the French, and with the progress of science and the growth of scientific conceptions from Greek and Latin as well.

But it is in the modern period, during the last hundred years, and especially during the present century, that the language has vindicated its vitality by a spontaneous and reflective development of its powers more vigorous and prolific than at any former period of its history with the single exception of the Elizabethan age. There is, indeed, a striking analogy between the two periods in this, as in so many other respects. The parallel between the great public events which in each period stirred the national mind, and roused its best powers into vigorous and various life, has been often traced. The powerful influence thus communicated to literature, especially in all its higher departments, is one of the common-places of criticism. But the remarkable influence of the new life upon the language, in each period, has never been adequately traced or illustrated. In the sixteenth century the multitude of fresh interests—religious and political, literary and scholastic, maritime and commercial, the rapid diffusion of new arts and industries, the influence of far-reaching discoveries and inventions—produced a complete though gradual revolution in the thoughts and feelings, the habits, aspirations, and pursuits of the more active and enterprising, as well as of the more cultured and reflective classes of the English people. Each new interest made fresh demands on the vernacular speech, and to meet these demands expressive words and phrases were pressed into the service from different quarters, and the national exchequer was enriched by confluent streams of dis-

tinctive phraseology. The Reformation conflict contributed a theological, religious, and polemical dialect of its own. The literatures of Greece and Rome, opened to English scholars by the revival of letters, enriched the language with a number of philosophical, poetical, and technical terms; while the new literatures of Italy and Spain, diligently studied in the latter part of the Elizabethan period, combined with the increasing intercourse of Englishmen with the Continent, supplied a number of words and phrases from the modern languages of Europe. Commerce, navigation, and maritime discovery helped to increase the augmenting store, while the enormous industry displayed in the secondary and subordinate departments of literary activity, especially in translations from ancient and modern originals, brought into general use the neglected stores of expressive diction supplied by the archaic and provincial elements of the national speech. In our own time like causes have acted on the language in a similar manner, and to almost as great an extent. The development of political freedom and of conceptions national and international connected with it; the rapid progress of science in every department; the introduction and universal diffusion of arts, inventions, and industries that have almost annihilated space and time; the evolution of new and comprehensive schemes of philosophical speculation; the creation of new schools of poetry and fiction, have so increased the vocabularies of imagination and reflection, of physical analysis and material contrivance, of political, social, and industrial science, that the number of words added to the language during the present century must be numbered not by tens or hundreds simply, but by thousands.

The main practical question for English scholars is as to the true function of criticism in relation to this prolific and continuous development of our linguistic wealth. Here at the outset it may be said that it is clearly not the business of criticism to resist obstinately changes that are not only inevitable, but in the main salutary and useful. Nor, on the other hand, ought the critic to trust so implicitly to the working of spontaneous or popular methods of meeting new verbal requirements as to accept their temporary results without adequate and even severe scrutiny. So far as criticism can influence the process of admitting new words at all, its aim should be to guide it according to rational principles, and thus prevent it from running into extravagance and excess. This, of course, must be done by specifying the conditions which new words ought to obey before they are accepted and allowed to pass into current and reputable use. The first of these conditions

is undoubtedly utility, the word must supply an actual want. If this is the case, if the word aptly expresses some new object or state, notion or process, or some shade of meaning among existing conceptions and activities for which no single word is at present available, it has a strong claim to admission, and is almost sure, sooner or later, to be accepted. Next to utility the most important requirements are, as Mr. Hall points out, those of analogy and harmony. The chance of admission will be all the greater if in form, etymology, and meaning it follows the analogies of the language, and is at the same time neither harsh in sound nor cumbrous in structure. We naturally avoid as much as possible polysyllabic and inharmonious compounds.

In applying these tests, however, the English critic should, as it seems to us, especially at a time like the present, incline to conservatism rather than to innovation; and this for two reasons. In the first place, experience shows that no amount of hostile criticism, however severe, will prevent a new word from being accepted if it supplies a real want, and has thus the strong claim of utility in its favour. In the second place, when, as now, there is a strong tendency towards the wholesale importation of new and foreign terms, criticism can do no harm, and may do much good, by resisting the current, and insisting strongly on the conditions which ought to regulate the process. Vigorous and incisive criticism, while powerless to prevent useful additions being made to the vocabulary, may do something towards saving the language from the more injurious results of the dominant tendency, from the depraving effects alike of vulgar ignorance and fashionable folly, of sciolistic affectation and cultured eccentricity.

Mr. Hall, as it seems to us, hardly sufficiently recognises the importance of these considerations, even in theory, while in practice he may be said to disregard them altogether; his own vocabulary illustrating the extreme of license as to verbal innovations. If his example in this respect were extensively followed, the language would soon exhibit the grotesque confusion of a Babylonish dialect, and the ordinary reader require a polyglot dictionary at his elbow for the elucidation of its pedantic and new-fangled, its 'inkhorn' and 'over-sea' phraseology. It is however natural that as an ardent democrat Mr. Hall should lean to the extreme of liberalism even in philology. He certainly appears to underrate the possible injury to the language from the unchecked indulgence of popular impulses in relation to verbal novelties. We do not however complain of this, and are quite willing to admit that in

some cases where criticism has been defeated by the popular instinct in favour of brevity or convenience no great harm has been done. On the whole, however, Mr. Hall's theory is far better than his practice. He allows that new words have been scrutinised much more jealously during the last seventy years than they were ever scrutinised before, and insists on the importance of subjecting our continuous verbal acquisitions to definite critical tests. The two chapters on 'Modern English' (V. and VI.) in which he discusses this question, appear to us the most valuable in the volume, and in justice to Mr. Hall we quote the following passages:—

'Of new words we may enumerate, at least, five distinct sources. Those words which may be called inspired are due, almost wholly, to the common people; others are elaborated by the learned; others are imposed by conquest, as the Norman element of the English, and the Semitic element of the Indian vernaculars; others, all the world over, are imported by commerce; and others, still, are introduced from abroad by fashion, or are borrowed thence for their usefulness. It is with the two first classes and the last that we are concerned practically. Inspired neoterisms, as springing from the needs of the illiterate, often respond to a general need, and are easily enfranchised. Besides being, mostly, monosyllables, they are easy of remembrance; and—where not abbreviations—being formed on the most obvious analogies, they are rarely exceptionable as illegitimate formations. However less immediately valuable for popular use, the coinages of scholars, in proportion as they supply recognised wants, likewise make good their value eventually, by obtaining the rights of citizenship. Intercourse with foreign countries and their inhabitants contributes further to augment our lingual wealth. And thus our exchequer is constantly increasing; and, at the same time, its contents are constantly liable to mutations. Once it was not so; but, now-a-days, we may accept, as an indubitable argument of a nation's healthy activity, both intellectual and material, the fact of the expansiveness and mobility of its language.'

'What between the activity of modern life and the productiveness of modern reflection, new words offer themselves for trial, in peculiar abundance, and it behoves us to try them. But what are the considerations by which we are to be governed, in determining to harbour, or to discard, them?

'The principal, obviously, are prompted by observation of the fate of words in the vicissitudes which English has heretofore undergone. Of philosophical purifications effected except by instinct, our language has as few to show as any other. It may, however, be safely predicted, that, in the future, unless our successors lapse into barbarism, unphilosophical deprivations of our language will be comparatively rare. Even now, ignorance and chance, which have availed so largely to load our tongue with anomalies, are no longer, as regards it, other than an insignificant source of mutation. From mere impulse of expedience,

we shall go on, as we have always gone on, supplying blanks, curing ambiguities, and removing excrescences; but, in time to come, in distinction from the past, our innovations, whatever they may be, will, in the main, be controlled by analogy. We shall continue to change our language, and, very generally, for the better; and the motives for changing it will be the same, in character, with those which have operated towards rendering it what it is. Whatever is new, or whatever, though old, has an inadequate verbal representative, demands, and at last obtains, its appropriate expression. There are, besides, neoterisms occasioned by alteration in the import of words already existing.'

'Many are the words which, though nine persons out of every ten use them, are positive blemishes to our tongue. Old or new, if not ineradicably established, or if not exchangeable for others that comport with analogy and are just as intelligible and euphonious, we should give them the go-by. To learn what to avoid, a heedful study of the best writers is, though not all in all, indispensable, and will continue to be so, pending the appearance of lexicographers much in advance of those who have hitherto volunteered to enlighten us. As to choice of words, new or old, while, among writers of the first class, none are wild neoterists, there are conservatives of every degree of conservatism. Of these, some set their faces, regardless of expedience, against everything in the least novel; but others, more wisely, conform, in their phraseology, to the temper of the times. Popularity, however, or even celebrity, is no guaranty of skill in neoterising, with reference to need, analogicalness, or harmony. From the best writers we may, with proper care, gather ideas of the multiform considerations which control the right selection of expressions more or less familiar to us. Words and meanings actually new to us stand, as regards their eligibility, on an independent basis. Those which are eligible must, without reservation, supply desiderata; and, while doing so, they must fulfil the conditions which it is reasonable to impose on desiderata. We live in days when our language is the subject of daily and daring innovations. Revolutionism is in all things, indeed, the spirit of our age; and this chapter will not have been written in vain, if it shall but serve as a contribution, however meagre, towards teaching the art, in the domain of speech, of revolutionising after precedent.'

This is the aim of Mr. Hall's '*Modern English*,' and the illustrations of his main thesis scattered through the volume are full of interest and instruction. We cannot help feeling, indeed, that with his command of intelligent critical principles, and his almost unrivalled collection of materials for their illustration, he might render still more effective service to English scholarship. To this end it is however essential that he should revise the literary form of his expositions, and remove as far as possible the blemishes which tend to repel intelligent readers from his pages, and prevent them from studying his facts and reasonings with the attention they so well deserve.

- ART. VI.—1. *The Proportions of the Human Figure, according to a new Canon; for practical use: with a critical Notice of the Canon of Polycletus, and of the principal Ancient and Modern Systems.* By WILLIAM STORY. London: 1866.
2. *The Natural Principles of Beauty, as developed in the Human Figure.* By D. R. HAY. London: 1852.
3. *The Proportions of the Human Figure, according to the ancient Greek Canon of Vitruvius. Also a Canon of the Proportions of the Human Figure, founded upon a Diagram invented by JOHN GIBSON, Esq., R.A. With description, practical application, and illustrative outlines.* By JOSEPH BONOMI. Second Edition. London: 1857.
4. *The Law of Increase, and the Structure of Man.* By F. P. LIHARZIK, Ph. D. Vienna: 1862.

THE broad field of human history, stretching back from the present era to the earliest dawn of dimly-preserved tradition, and ranging over the hemispheres of both the old and the new world, is irradiated from certain bright spots, or centres of light, on which the attention of the student unavoidably fixes. Some of these phosphorescent nuclei illuminate the course of the religious, or of the ethical, progress of mankind. A great prophet, or a great legislator, sprang forth from the darkness of his age, and left his name hewed, in deep-graven letters, on the face of our planet. In physical science, a continuous and still-broadening pencil of light may be traced to the age of Galileo. Sparks and streaks in its brightening path recall the names of Dalton, of Cavendish, of Faraday. In that branch of human study which is conversant with the secrets of mechanical and chemical law, the men of the present day occupy one of those luminous oases, the fullest lustre of which is yet, we may hope, to be developed in the future.

If we regard the æsthetic history of mankind, the brightest spot is more remote. The acme of the excellence attained by the physical beauty, if not by the intellectual dignity, of the race, is not to be found in the nineteenth century, or in the existing centres of civilisation. When we regard, in poetry, one expression of the æsthetic faculties, we instinctively revert to the music of Homer, rolling with the very sweep and cadence of the Ionian Sea. For a mental analysis which is not, like modern attempts, almost exclusively subjective, and which has therefore tacitly guided the activity of human thought for more than 2,000

years, no subsequent work can compare with the writings of Aristotle. In his doctrine, and in the immortal musings of the Sage of Academus, the study and culture of the health, vigour, and beauty of the human body formed an essential part of education, second to no portion of the course of study, or of the duty of a citizen. Wise institutions combined with the influence of climate and condition, and (may we not believe?) with the fresh and lusty youth of the race; and the result was such an ennobling of the human form as no other period of history, or region of earth, is known to have witnessed. For it is not on the testimony of poets or of historians that we rely; but on the faithful reflections of actual or of ideal beauty, that the chisels of Phidias and his scholars and successors have stereotyped on the marbles of Pentelicus and of Paros. Some of these unapproached masterpieces, clothed in their very decay with a grace that is immortal, are in our National Museum; where, compared with the productions of modern art, they look as though they had come from another and a nobler planet. The brightest illumination apparent in a review of the æsthetic branch of human history, is thus found to exist at a period remote from our own. It is circumscribed in its extent; and its extreme brilliancy is limited, comparatively speaking, to a very brief period of time.

The progress of Greek art was as rapid, as its excellence was unrivalled. In no other department of human skill, has the length of the period of decadence been so much greater than that occupied by the progress towards maturity. In the Glyptothek at Munich, is one of the most ancient pieces of Grecian sculpture known to be extant. It is a statue of Apollo, which was found at Tegea, near Corinth, and it is attributed to the middle of the sixth century B.C. It bears a strong resemblance to an Egyptian statue. The metopes from Selinus, which are supposed to be of about the same date, present the Egyptian characteristic of the delineation of the chest in full, and of the legs in profile. In the Lycian room in the British Museum is the headless seated figure of 'Chares, ruler of Teichioessa,' from the Sacred Way of Branchidæ in Caria, which was dedicated to Apollo, and is erroneously described in the catalogue as a statue of that deity. The artist of this early portrait has failed to liberate this work from the massive block; and the sculptural mastery over the material is very far inferior to that attained by the Egyptian sculptors of the time of the eighteenth dynasty, a thousand years earlier than the work in question. Yet

within 130 years from the date ascribed to this statue of Chares, the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia, and that of Juno at Argos, were adorned by the masterpieces of Phidias and of Polycletus, and the Canon of Proportion had attained its perfect symmetry. The unformed buds, full of promise, but swathed within their protective envelope, that were formed in the sixth pre-Christian century, had opened into the finest blossom in the fifth; and although the manipulation of the sculptor may have continued to improve, that grandeur of treatment, which may be compared to the perfume of the flower, gradually faded, on the introduction of the more passional and naturalistic phases of sculpture.

In an endeavour to analyse that ideal of human beauty, which was at the same time the aim of Grecian culture, and the inspiration of Grecian art, two snares have to be cautiously avoided. The first is the danger, which has proved fatal to many writers, of becoming so dazzled and oppressed, by a grandeur far exceeding the artistic tone of the present day, as to sink into a feeble and helpless admiration, or to degenerate into rhapsody and commonplace. The other is, lest the attempt to anatomise Art should be made in language altogether technical, and should thus become didactic, dry, and unreadable. This latter risk is illustrated very strikingly by modern English works on natural history, especially on botany. The discoveries inaugurated by Linnæus have enriched the natural sciences with so much definite knowledge, of which the picturesque writers, Buffon and his school, were uninformed, that English writers have limited their observations to technical details alone; and thus we have works on botany which fail to mention the colours of flowers, or the pictorial effect on the landscape of different types of vegetation.

Of the several elements which combine to produce the one noble result of the unapproached grandeur of Greek sculpture, there are some that are within the province of critical analysis, above which others may be thought to soar. Of the effect produced on the mind by the sculpture of Phidias, it is not more easy to determine the actual source, than it is to characterise the secret charm of Homer. But it is fully within our competence to dissect the actual proportions, and to define the laws of symmetry, which have been followed by the master sculptors of Greece. The great point of contest between the old and the new philosophy of animal physiology—or rather between a philosophy that has never yet been reduced to system, and a hurried and impatient inference from few and unarranged facts—may be said to be the significance of external form. Into

this, it is not now the moment fully to enter. But it is a subject which it is impossible to pass by without reference, in any attempt to investigate the elements of personal beauty.

The question, indeed, may be said to be raised, whether the word *Physiognomy* is hereafter to be erased from our dictionaries as obsolete, or whether, by a more logical and chastened writer than Lavater, it is to be raised to the rank of both an æsthetic and a scientific term. If we are to adopt a teleology that is at once more rigid and more equivocal than that of the *Bridge-water treatises*; if we are to replace the conception of a central, formative idea, by that of a disjointed sequence of accidents, Art will sink into mere mechanical reproduction of accidental outline. As conceived by the sculptors of Greece, and by the Italian painters of the Renaissance, the expressive power of Art is, in that case, simply a superstition. The effect produced by a noble presence is, we are told, not the instinctive perception of the embodiment of a noble spirit, clad in appropriate material grace, but the result of some dimly-remembered association. On the same principle we should derive as much, or more, pleasure from the contemplation of a wooden bench, or, certainly, of an easy chair, as from that of the noblest charger; or should find the blood stir as much at a glimpse of a spoon or a papboat, as on a glance at the bosom of Helen.

If such be the philosophy of the future, sculpture may well be ranked among the perished arts of the past. Not that the subtle and impalpable power of that association of ideas which awakens memory is foreign to the artist. To no man is this magical process more constantly perceptible. As clay, or wax, or marble, takes form under the plastic touch of the sculptor, the silent studio becomes peopled with thronging memories. As feature or form struggles forth into being beneath his chisel, each blow strikes forth a vision of past emotion or affection, like sparks from the flint. Forms of majesty or of beauty, whispers of terror or of love, lingering, tender, shadowy dreams of childhood, remembrances of early hope, of high resolve, of boyhood's longing to enter into the contest with an unknown future; all these are the continually succeeding visitants that fire the imagination of the sculptor. No one who has not wrought on and on—it may be into the small hours of the night—in such companionship as this, can be aware of the subtle power of association between memory and external form.

But this imaginative power of association is something very different from that gross, mechanical, unpoetical conception of that power, which makes the material the source, instead of

the consequence, of the ideal. Even when we can refer the effect produced on the mind, by a certain form or expression of countenance, to a distinct recollection, we only go back a single link in the chain. The original effect has still to be explained. Nor, on this view, can any rational explanation be offered of the remarkable power evinced by infants, and by animals inferior to man, of instant appreciation of expression. Again, no one is unconscious of the close and intimate relation between emotion and sound. The tones of love and of anger awaken echoes in the heart, alike of man and of animals, which are as inseparable from the audible sound as is the reflexion of an incident ray from a mirror. No one, but a man walled in from the practical world by the iron fence of a theory, doubts that sounds are, of their own nature, expressive and communicative of emotion. Such the ordinary, and, we believe, the instinctively true, sense of mankind takes to be also the case with form. The body we hold to be at once the expression and the image of that inspiring spirit which has, during the dim hours of earlier existence, woven its own garment around the frail threads of nerve. Thus first the general aspect, stature, and balance of the living being, and then its more fleeting and transitory emotions, are translated and telegraphed by the form and movements of the figure. The first expression we call *Physiognomy*; the second *Pathognomy*. Such, at all events, is the faith of the sculptor; and in the absence of any such belief his Art would sink into a mere mechanical trade.

How far it may hereafter prove to be within the competence of the human artist, when a long course of intelligently directed study shall have enabled him to read that physiognomical language of which we have yet only mastered a few of the alphabetic signs, to track the footsteps of nature, and to shadow out the portraits of the heroes and sages of the past, from the moral and intellectual indications of their characters which literature affords, we can at present only guess. In historic fact, portraiture rose to its highest excellence as the nobler characteristics of sculpture faded. Portraiture, in cameo and in medalling, was at its acme in the time of Alexander the Great. Nothing exists that is finer, within the compass of art, than the three-quarter face of Alexander by Pyrgoteles, or than the silver tetradrachm bearing the profile of that king, though issued by his successor Lysimachus, in the British Museum. The portrait-sculpture of the Augustan age is also of a very high order of merit. But we are confining our attention to that brief and dazzling period in which sculpture, as an ideal and imaginative Art, rather than as a means of por-

traiture, was at its zenith. We must acknowledge the presence, during this phase of the Art, of a grandeur which has never been rivalled; while the subtle spirit that has attained the sublime refuses altogether to be subjected to the dissection of criticism. The student may imbue his mind with the antique. He will become aware of the unity of treatment that characterises the poetry, the architecture, and the sculpture of that brief fragment of the *juventus mundi*. But he can no more reproduce the touch of the chisel of Phidias, than he can write in the metre of Homer. He can no more simulate the antique than he can reproduce the fragrance of the lily. The elements refuse to arrange themselves in classified order. His alembic has not the power to analyse, far less to combine, the elements of the ancient sublimity. Like the Egyptian king, the great Greek artists saw the gods, and they shadowed forth in marble what they saw. Succeeding ages have only seen the relics of that wonderful adumbration. We can form but a faint idea of that of which it was the result and the representation. It is not for our carefully shod feet to spring from peak to peak on the cloud-girt summits of Olympus.

But while confessing our inability to imitate, or even fully to understand, that subtle element in the grandeur of ancient Art which was, with the artists themselves, a matter, not of rule, but of sentiment and emotion; we are the more impelled to endeavour to master that portion of the work of the sculptor in which the callipers and the measuring rod come into play. We can distinguish the symmetry, from both the sentiment and the finish, of antique sculpture. The last qualification, indeed, though there is a stamp about the work of the Attic school which can never be mistaken, is capable of many degrees of excellence. Modern sculptors, as masters of material, and of apparent texture, vie not ignobly with those of antiquity. Were any proper attention given to the illumination of the Shakspeare, in the hall of the British Museum, for which Garrick stood as model, and furnished the portrait of Rubens which was followed by Roubiliac for the face, that statue would display as excellent an example of the power of the sculptor to represent tissue and texture, and to drape his figure in textile marble, without losing the due subordination of the attire to the physiognomy, as is to be found in the world. This style of excellence, however, is not that of the Greek artists. The tissues of their days were less varied. Attire lent itself with far greater ease to the requirements of their Art, than is the case in modern times. In the surface-finish of the Attic School, there is something as distinctive, as in

the pure fresh complexion of the country girl, when compared with the luxurious pallor of the beauty of half a dozen seasons. In the modulated forms of the masculine figures, which are much more sharply accentuated than are the feminine, is to be found an evidence of that care, and wise restriction of diet, which, literature tells us, were exercised with regard to the youth of Greece. Besides this, we find in both sexes the representatives of a firm and vigorous elasticity of muscle, by the distribution over the surrounding skin of the effect of compression in any point, which is an unintentional proof of the high vitality, and unchequered health, of the youthful race; with whom physical exercises were a part of their religion. Tantardini, and two or three other living Italian sculptors, have shown us that they can reflect surface, and simulate tissue, in marble, with a power and fidelity that have never been surpassed. It is rather in models, than in sculptural skill, that the sculptors of the Attic School had here so marked a superiority to their successors.

The peculiar grandeur of the drapery of the antique Greek sculptor, may thus be attributed, not so much to the substantially woven texture of the garments, as to the living grace with which they were habitually worn. A semi-conventional mode of handling may indeed be pointed out in regard to drapery. The peculiar lightness which is given by a certain ripple at the edge of the robes is well known to the student of our finest marbles. But it is in the harmony existing between the mind of the sculptor, and the vigorous, manly, earnest life which was fanned by the breezes of the Mediterranean, rather than in mere skill in treatment of material, that we conceive the secret of the charm of the antique, as regards surface-handling, really to lie.

But if, on the one hand, the grandeur of the motive, and on the other hand the grace of the surface-rendering, escape the grasp of the analyst, as being innate portions of the life and habit of the cultured and vigorous youth of a noble race, it is yet competent to us to investigate the geometry of the human form, as conceived by Phidias and his successors. Here we enter the province of exactitude. The more carefully we measure the chief masterpieces of antiquity, the more clearly do we become convinced of that close adherence to definite rules of proportion to which the great sculptors subjected themselves. There is no working by eye in this respect. We can detect, not only the exact proportions between certain dimensions of the figure, which are carried out with an exactitude that is that not of inches but of

hundredths of an inch, but also the optical corrections that were made with reference to the point of view from which the sculptures were to be seen. We can ascertain, from mathematical inquiry, by how much the proportionate height of the head, as compared to that of the full stature, should be increased, in order to give the effect of the natural symmetry, if the figure were raised to the height of the frieze of the Parthenon. When we apply rule and callipers to the figures removed from that frieze, we find that this exact deviation from the normal symmetry of the human form has been made by the Greek artist. To detect and to define these subtle laws is an attempt that is worthy of the most hearty sympathy of every cultivated student of Art.

It is not now for the first time that the subject of the Greek Canon of Symmetry is brought before the world. The existence of certain rules is admitted, plainly or by inference, by all good writers on the subject. But when we seek for the plain statement of this Canon, and inquire into what detail it has been carried, our inquiries are not fruitful. It will be our endeavour to exhaust what we have been able to collect on the subject, and to complete the information by some remarks of our own.

The most minute and laborious attention has been devoted to the subject of Symmetry by Albrecht Dürer. That great artist has devoted much time and labour to the production of a geometrical, or rather an arithmetical, work, which is full of an enormous amount of empirical detail, but which fails to take such a comprehensive grasp, or so to reduce observations to system, as to yield much light to the student. This work was printed at Nuremberg, in 1528, in folio. A Latin edition appeared in the same year, followed by a second in 1532, a third in 1534, and a fourth, at Paris, in 1535. The text is illustrated by numerous outline drawings of the human figure, and is full of detailed measurements, and calculations of the stereometry, or solid contents, of the several limbs and portions of the form. Dürer has seen, with the eye of a practised mechanic, that the movements of the animal form are governed by dynamical, rather than by statical, laws; and he has thus studied symmetry, in so far as it is identical with equiponderation, or the relations of equipoise and balance. Infinite labour has been devoted to the task; and in this respect the criticism which Michel Angelo passed upon the work, which he termed *poca e debole cosa*, is altogether unjust. But the mass of detail results in no canon, and gives no normal rules of ready application. More than that, many of the

details, especially those which relate to the relative proportions of the sexes, are, if compared with Greek exemplars, absolutely erroneous. It could not, indeed, be expected that an artist, whatever might be his eminence, could arrive at the theory of Antique Greek Symmetry by measurements of German men and women.

Michel Angelo himself, while thus unjust to Albrecht Dürer, is far from being either an undeniable authority or a safe guide on the subject of symmetry. We are bound to venerate him as an example of the most powerful genius. He attacked marble under a sort of divine fury, hewing out his ideas at once from the solid block, without waiting for the slower and surer guidance of the modelling in clay; and the chips flew from beneath his chisel like a storm of Arctic hail. But his genius was, essentially, rather pictorial than sculptural. Details very frequently occur which seem unpardonable to the thoughtful critic; such for instance as the low intellectual development of the head of the striking figure of Moses. It is, no doubt, the case, that from the works of no other post-Alexandrine sculptor can be drawn such instructive illustrations of the first secret of the sculptor's art, the necessity of a determined illumination. But the awe inspired by that ghostly shadow, from which, in the Medicean Chapel, looks forth a countenance that seems to veil an actually indwelling demon, and the effect of which on the observer can only be compared with that of the terrible Death, the work of Roubiliac, in Westminster Abbey, is very different from the impression which it was the aim of Antique Art to produce. We cite it, not for the sake of unworthy cavil, but as illustrating a conception of the requisites of sculpture which is rather that of the painter, than of the master of the severer art. Michel Angelo may be said to have painted in stone; and Leonardo da Vinci has justly remarked that, in his passion for vehement expression, the great Florentine has given to his children muscles as numerous and as fully developed as those of his men.

Leonardo himself has shown, both by his pencil and by his pen, his thorough appreciation of the importance of determining the laws of symmetry. But we only possess scraps and fragments; the notes for the systematic works which he projected, but did not live to execute. In the *Trattato della Pittura* we have all that is generally accessible of the writings of Da Vinci on the principles of Art. There is an English translation of this treatise by J. F. Rigaud, in which the scattered fragments are arranged on a convenient plan. From

the work of Da Vinci nearly all the rules and illustrations that are to be found in our ordinary treatises on drawing have been, either with or without acknowledgment, originally derived.

The *Trattato della Pittura* treats of anatomy, of proportions, of the motion and equipoise of figures, and of linear and aerial perspective. It enters into the rules of composition, the proper indications of character and of emotion, the incidence of light and shadow, and the harmony and contrast of colours. The remarks that may be brought together, in order to form a canon of proportion, are few, and not always consistent with one another. Leonardo refers to a treatise on the general measurement of the human body, which has not been found among his writings. What we actually possess must therefore be taken rather as hasty notes than as definite and well-considered rules. In some instances the head is taken as a modulus, or unit of measurement, of the figure. In others the face is thus employed; being stated as one-tenth of the height of a full-grown man. But in the most beautiful classical figure painted by Leonardo, his Leda, the proportions, as far as the amount of foreshortening introduced allows of precise measurement, are for the most part identical with those employed by the Attic sculptors in the purest era of the art; and differ, in important respects, from some of the rules given in the *Trattato della Pittura*. This picture was long lost, and was discovered, in the present century, at Fontainebleau. It has been identified as having been painted for King Francis I., and as a production of the matured genius of the artist.

In the *Trattato della Pittura*, as well as in the *Bücher von menschlicher Proportion*, the work of Dürer before cited, more attention has been given to what may be called dynamical proportion than to abstract symmetry. The true subject of the sculptor is the human figure in repose. The vehemence of action is more successfully to be rendered, as a rule, by painting than by the severer art. The most famous exception to this general rule, the metopes of the Parthenon, and the frieze of the Mausoleum, are *relievi* introduced into architecture, not independent or detached figures. Violent groups in the round, such as the Laocoön, date in the decline of art. It is natural that great painters and draughtsmen should rather contemplate, as did both the Nuremberg and the Pistoian masters, the play and balance of the mobile figure, than the more subtle relations of symmetry, especially of vertical symmetry.

The untiring and exhaustive patience of German men of letters has not passed over the subject of which we are speaking. We have cited the writings of Albrecht Dürer. In the

present century, Johann Gottfried Schadow has written repeatedly on symmetry and proportion. His *Polyclète, ou théorie des mesures de l'homme selon le sexe et l'âge, avec indications des grandeurs réelles d'après le pied du Rhin*, in German and French, reached a second edition in 1860. It is illustrated by numerous drawings and diagrams. It labours under the disadvantage common to most studious writers on the subject, that of burying general ideas under profuse abundance of detail. But it may be consulted with great utility, in the light of an index to the literature of human proportion, as regarded by artistic writers.

A later German writer is Dr. F. P. Lihartzik, the author of a treatise on the Laws of Increase and the Structure of Man. It is true that this work, which is the result of medical investigation, does not claim any very high rank either for the literary or the artistic views which it contains. But as the table at the close, which professes to give the definite normal proportions of the human figure from birth to maturity, is founded, the author tells us, on actual measurements of 'all the parts of the body on three hundred individuals, in every period of life,' it contains much that is of incidental, and even of direct value, as bearing on the Canon of Symmetry. The author, indeed, reaches a cloudy altitude, which few English readers will care to attempt to penetrate. He has had the courage and self-reliance to write a pamphlet, termed a 'Prospectus,' in what he evidently believes to be the English language; but which, like the French of Stratford atte Bowe of the Abbess of Chaucer, is only partially intelligible to English-speaking people. This unfortunate veil is calculated to divert from the result of his labours the attention which it really merits. The motive of the inquiry was to illustrate the relation that exists between rachitic and tubercular disease and the retarded development of the thorax. In pursuit of this valuable physiological investigation, Dr. Lihartzik has collected and tabulated a long series of detailed measurements, of the head, the trunk, and the limbs, at various periods, from that of birth to the age of twenty-four, when he considers growth normally to cease. Thus, by the 'Law of Human Increase' is not meant the growth of population, but the development of the size and figure of man from infancy to maturity. The exaltation of the author's ideas is thus intimated to the reader:—

'Seven fundamental dimensions, with the aid of determined circles, intersecting or osculating each other, make it possible to construe the human form in its absolute perfection; and this may be done with such

a degree of security and precision that henceforth no error can take place as to the dimensions of any one of the component parts of the frame.'

The attempt to delineate the leading normal proportions of the human figure by intersecting circles, triangles, and squares is as old as the infancy of draughtsmanship. We shall see presently that a geometric method of the kind was applied in Egypt, so far back as the time of the Memphite dynasties. A more elegant application of the method may be traced to the example and influence of Leonardo da Vinci. That a certain convenience attends the plan there is no doubt; and although, as we hope presently to show, it is possible to construct a scale of proportions that is at once more exact, more complete, and more readily capable of application, than are any such tentative rules, it is interesting to glance at the geometric mesh-work so confidently woven, and to compare the various attempts at defining, rather the osteology, than the visible external proportions, of the human figure, by the aid of the compass and the square.

The diagrams of Dr. Lihartzik, however they are arrived at, show a fair approximation to what we have to bring forward as the recovered Greek Canon in many respects. In one important determination (that of the equal division of the total height of the figure at the end of the trunk) there is an exact accordance which, considering the difference of the methods pursued, is worthy of great respect. But the German head, if fairly averaged by these experiments, is larger, and the neck longer, than is the case according to the Greek Canon. And it is singularly worthy of remark, when we remember the motive already assigned for the commencement of the physiological investigation of which the results are now tabulated, that the thorax of the model man of Dr. Lihartzik is somewhat slighter than that of the Venus de' Medici, and considerably less developed, in relation to the height, than in the stronger types of the manly figure, accepted by the antique sculptors.

It may be suggested, that the effect of that intellectual culture for which Germany is pre-eminent in our day, may have become physically evident in a permanent enlargement of the average size of the head, in proportion to the stature; and that this development becomes manifest from the comparison of the dimensions given as normal by Dr. Lihartzik, with those of the Canon of Polycletus. But the untenable character of this hypothesis is proved by the further observation, that the increased dimension is that, not of the head proper, or the case of the brain, but of the face. The most critical line

for determining relative height, is that of horizontal vision. This lies in the plane that passes through the eyeballs, when directed towards the level horizon (and generally through the inner angle of the eyes). To this line we habitually refer the height of the living figure; and to this, it is more accurate to refer that of a marble statue, than to the crown of the head, covered as it is with solid hair. In the antique, the line of horizontal vision is exactly intermediate between the crown of the head and the under side of the chin. But in the scale of Dr. Lihartzik the head is $\frac{2}{100}$ ths smaller, and the face is $\frac{1}{100}$ ths longer, than in the classic proportions. It follows that the superiority of the intellectual, over the animal, expression of the countenance, is far more apparent in the ideal or sculptural Greek heads, than in the tabulated measurements of Germany.

It must not, however, be left out of sight, that the ethnological element exerts a marked influence in the development of proportion, as well as in the appreciation of the beautiful. In Egyptian, Assyrian, Indian, German, Italian, and Grecian sculpture, may be traced the existence of distinct national types. In each case we must admit that, to some extent, the artist reproduces the likeness of his models, however highly that type may be sublimated by the power of his imagination. Thus the full and massive figures of the Flemish women, who were admired by Rubens, reappear in his historic compositions; to the manifest detriment of the beauty of his works, to any but a Flemish taste. And yet, if Rubens be estimated by his finest portraits, he was second to no limner that ever lived. In the works of some of the Flemish sculptors, especially sculptors in ivory, the effect of this disturbing influence is yet more pronounced. In the masterpieces of the great Italian painters, it is generally possible for the keen observer, if locally familiar with the different districts of Italy, to tell from what quarter the model was chosen. Not only is this the case with regard to the well-marked schools—the Venetian, the Parmesan, and the like—but it holds true with a minuteness of detail of which the untravelled Englishman can form no conception. Thus, the women of Rome have distinct and peculiar types, localised on either bank of the Tiber. The *Trasteverina* still displays a majestic and fully-developed figure, fit for the mother of soldiers and of heroes. The delicate and refined beauty of the *Signorine* of some of the noble houses, on the other hand, is as graceful and exquisitely feminine as any to be found in Europe. The habit of restricting intermarriages to the inhabitants of the

several *paesi*, or rural districts, has no doubt much to do with the persistency of local type. Thus in the *Terra di Lavoro* we find one characteristic of the antique races to prevail, and but one. That characteristic, moreover, may be called degraded and perverted. It is the bulky form common to the women, compared with the spare figures of the men. At Sessa, near Capua, peasant women may be met stepping with the grace, and lit with the very eyes, of the Sistine Madonna. At Ariano, perched on the crest of the Apennines, a Greek colony has left traces, in the use, at the present day, of the Greek article; in the noble beauty of both sexes; and in the classic accompaniments of the marriage ceremony. The stranger who meets a bridal procession in the streets will fly with surprise from the shower of nuts that hail upon him; and from the shouts of the classic pean, that overpower the drone of the Romish chant. Towards the Ionian Gulf, on the shores of Magna Grecia, where the olive, which when it first appears in the neighbourhood of Marseilles recalls the idea of a currant-bush, attains the height of sixty and seventy feet, the Phidian type of the female form yet lingers. Through the wide Apulian Plain are to be found shrines of ancient and undying fame, the annual *feste* of which attract pilgrims, not only by thousands, but by tens of thousands. At such a place as the Church of the *Quattri Incoronati*, near Foggia, the traveller may find himself, unawares, in the very atmosphere of the middle ages. The filiation with the yet earlier rites of classic times is, in other instances, so direct, that we are only warned of the results of the monastic influence by the substitution of the small marble shell of water, holy to the faith, but extremely unclean to the sense, for the real lustrations of the ancient worshippers. On the Monte Vergine, near Naples, a peculiarity of the ancient worship of Diana, lingering on the site of the temple of the Virgin Goddess, is yet to be observed, in the prohibition of animal fat. It is not very long since, on the occurrence of a thunder-storm during the festival, that a poor woman, who was found to have a sausage in her pocket, was nearly torn in pieces by the crowd, as the culpable cause of the manifestation of Divine anger. Of these great pilgrim gatherings, one of the most important is that which takes place in the city of Bari, on the festival of St. Nicholas. The statue of the saint is delivered, in the course of this *fiesta*, by the canons of the cathedral, to the mariners; who bear it through the streets by torch-light, embark with it in a flotilla of boats, and pass the night, with the idol in their custody, on the sea. In a procession in which the fervour and

frenzy of the worshippers, lit by a more than Rembrandtesque power of light and shadow, produce an effect that can neither be forgotten nor worthily described, with the slight, clean-limbed, keen-featured men, may be seen, at times, beautiful and magnificent women; fitter to be the protectors than the protected, who might almost have stepped from the frieze of the Parthenon.

Modern art, however, has not yet been cultivated to such a pitch as to enable its professors to determine, as the results of enlightened research, the chief features of ethnological type, when we descend below the most obvious generalities. Nor are those who have endeavoured to fathom the rules of symmetry, content with that solid and genuine reputation which their work would deserve, if it were kept within the safe limit of positive inquiry. The tendency to the transcendental appears to be a danger that especially besets the writers on proportion and symmetry. The patience with which Dr. Liharzik has collected his data, and the clearness with which he has indicated the outcome of his observations, are such as to command respect. But it is altogether otherwise when he comes to speak of the nature and importance of the law which he thinks he has discovered. His theory is, that the growth of the human body, in height as well as in girth, continues for twenty-four years from birth. This long period of growth, the author considers to be divided into 360 epochs, the length of each of which successively increases. Thus, the first epoch terminates at the end of one month; the second at the end of three months; the third at the end of six, the fourth at the end of ten, and so on. This long series is divided into three groups: the first of which ends with the 6th epoch, or the 21st month; the second with the 18th epoch, or 171st month; and the third with the 24th year. During each of the epochs, in each group, the growth of the body is stated to be equal. The increments given as normal are, $6\frac{1}{2}$ centimètres in each epoch of the first group, 6 centimètres in each of the second, and 2 centimètres in each of the third. The abrupt change of law which is thus attributed to the end of the fourteenth year is hardly consistent with English experience; and an interruption in the curves takes place, at each period of asserted change, which does not commend itself to the judgment, if the tables of Dr. Liharzik be graphically expressed. A projection of the curves showing the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs (which we have made from the tabulated statement), seems, by the broken lines which it presents at these two epochs, to

differ from the ordinary course of growth, at least in English children.

We consider it to be in full accordance with known facts, to admit the general principle of the slackening, or gradual diminution, of the rate of growth. In many of the inferior orders of the animal kingdom, however, growth appears to be more rapid in certain stages which are not the earliest. In man, moreover, the course of growth is especially liable to disturbance at the periods of the first and second dentition, which do not correspond to the changes of Dr. Liharzik's series. But that author is not content with the repute of the discoverer of an approximate law. He claims for it a rank of startling importance.

' 'This law,' he says, 'well deserving the epithet of universal, grows up to an overawing extent and weight, if we consider it as being the primeval source of every human knowledge, of the totality of human science. Any perusal, fugitive as it may be, of Dr. T. G. Rhode's excellent book on the "Religions Culture (*sic*), Mythology, and Philosophy of the Hindoos in relation with their oldest History," proves irrefragably, by the numbers quoted in it, the law here in question—and even in its present form—to have been known more than 3,000 years before our present times. It could be the only source of our whole computations of time. . . . This law was the deepest arcanum, the sublimest mystery, of a sacerdotal caste of elevated scientific acquirements, whose wisdom and high intellectual developement is still, even in our own days, a subject of admiration and justified surprise.'

It happens, unfortunately for this theory, that we are in possession of a Sanscrit canon of human proportion, the division of which materially differs from the results of the diagrams of Dr. Liharzik.

It is not in Germany alone, that the students of the Laws of Symmetry have spurned that plain road of geometric investigation, to which we are content to limit our own modest research. So fascinating appears to be the pursuit of the harmonies of number, that adventurous aspirants after the transcendental powers persuade themselves that they are at home among the constellations, while to the spectators, whose feet are yet firmly planted on the ground of common sense, they appear as mounted on the wooden steed of Cervantes. Mr. Hay, in a work entitled 'Nature's Principles of Beauty, as developed in the Human Figure,' published in 1852, has endeavoured to show that the main vertical divisions of that figure are identical with those of a musical chord. He has devoted much labour and research to the elucidation of this idea. The theory has much to recommend itself to the imagination; but two stern facts forbid its entire acceptance. One of these is, that the actual diminutions in the length of the chord

which give musical intervals, do not correspond to the sequence of the chief visible points of division of the human figure. One-tenth, one-eighth, one-sixth, one-fourth, three-eighths, one-half may be successively marked off on a vertical line, and the points thus given will be found to be of primary value to the draughtsman, as indicating the most symmetric division of the full-grown figure. But the musical scale is divided according to a very different sequence. And in the second place, in point of fact, the diagram given by Mr. Hay differs essentially from those which elucidate the Greek Canon.

Mr. Story, in his 'Proportions of the Human Figure,' takes a geometrical starting point; but very soon abandons the guidance of Euclid for that of the books Zohar and Jetsira, and of other cabbalistic writers. He considers that the relations existing between the square, the triangle, and the circumscribed circle, afford the key to the laws of human symmetry. The reasons for entertaining such a belief are of a nature into which we cannot here enter. Mr. Story gives us the results of an unusual amount of reading, digested by the reflections of a cultivated and artistic mind. Many persons will experience an extraordinary fascination in perusing his account of the quaint, mystic, lore of the cabbalists. But, as to the canon of form, we find a far shorter road to the proposed end. Where simple arithmetic is enough, it is useless to adopt geometric *formulæ*. And, in point of fact, those arrived at by Mr. Story are not absolutely accurate. He gives lines, stated to be in the ratio of four, five, and seven, which are actually in the ratio of the root of three, the root of two, and one-half; while for those important divisions of the figure which result from a division of the unit by three or by six, no rule is supplied. It was neither by measuring the length of the chords of the lyre, nor by the aid of the forty-seventh proposition of Euclid, that Phidias and Praxiteles defined the proportions of the Greek Canon.

A like remark applies to a little work by M. Bonomi, the sculptor, which is characterised by the spirit of patient investigation, and by study of the literature of the subject. The fact that the second edition of this pamphlet, first published in 1856, is out of print, is enough to show the anxiety which exists on the part of artists for some definite and ready manual of symmetry for the use of the studio. M. Bonomi gives a translation of the passage in Vitruvius which contains almost all that is extant relating to the Canon of Polycletus. He then describes a method used by Mr. Gibson, the sculptor, for the determination of certain leading dimensions of the figure. This method

is illustrated by a diagram, which the author has thought of sufficient importance to print as a sort of symbol on the book. It differs from the diagram of Mr. Story only in the circumstance, that the circle employed to connect the square and the triangle is inscribed in one case, and circumscribed in the other.

For the radius of his circle Mr. Gibson proposes, apparently as equivalent dimensions, four-fifths of the height of the head, or two-nineteenths of the height of the figure. To say nothing of this round-about method of arriving at a unit of scale, the difference between these two fractions of the figure is equal to five per cent.; a latitude entirely incompatible with the idea of geometric definition of proportion. The further disadvantage exists, that the dimensions obtained by the diagram, even if they were exact, are not properly normal for the draughtsman. They give osteological, rather than pictorial, or sculptural, measurements. We should be among the last to undervalue the importance, for the artist, of anatomical study, whether that of the skeleton or of the muscles. For the cartoon of the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, Raffaele made sketches not only in the nude, but in the skeleton. But the first requisites for the draughtsman are the visible proportions of the figure; and those dimensions which, on the one hand, are to be verified only in the skeleton, and, on the other hand, are not indicated in a draped form, or even in a sedately posed figure in the nude, are not those which should be most prominent in the manual for the studio.

The point illustrated by Mr. Gibson's diagram is simply the well-known proportion between the diagonal and the side of a square; which is nearly, although not exactly, that of seven to five. When a division by either of these numbers is required for the purpose of the artist, it can be far more readily, as well as more accurately, obtained by simple arithmetic, than by recourse to the diagram in question.

Among the remaining writers on the subject of human proportion, whose names should be had in honour, Camper holds the first rank. His name will always be illustrious among the contributors to the philosophy of form. His researches throw more light on the form and expression of the head and countenance, than on the proportions of the figure; but he is one of the first men who, combining art with science, has insisted on the great importance of ethnological type. The French artist Gerard Audran published in 1683, *Les proportions du corps humain, mesurées sur les plus belles figures de l'Antiquité*, which is illustrated by thirty beautifully engraved plates. A

German translation, with twenty-six plates, appeared five years later; and a reprint in 1855. Nothing could more fully illustrate the need of a systematic Canon than this laborious work of Audran. The Belvedere Apollo, the Vatican Antinous, the Venus de' Medici, and the Farnese Hercules, are admirably represented by the engraver; and a large number of exact measurements are given. But, in the absence of any systematic co-ordination, they are of little value to the student. They are not normal and salient examples, but form a perfect cloud of individual details. They presuppose a considerable amount of study, in order to form a separate scale of measurement for each statue; and no ready method is given for the comparison of the several scales. Thus Audran states the proportionate height of the Antinous at seven heads and a half; that of the Venus de' Medici at seven heads and three-quarters; and that of the Apollo at seven heads, three-quarters, and six-twelfths. The several scales thus indicated would be divided into 360, 372, and 378 parts respectively, and a corresponding want of accuracy will attend every comparison of the drawings.

A further objection arises to a method of measurement of which the height of the head is taken as the unit. It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain this unit, except in the living figure. The solidity of the marble prevents any exact discrimination between the head and the hair. Thus not only is a small dimension taken, as the basis from which to calculate those which are much larger, but that basis is so selected that it is extremely liable to error. Very careful measurements, of our own, of the statues in question, differ by as much as 20 per cent., in their proportionate results, from those given by Audran. So large a difference is not due to any inaccuracy of actual measurement, in either instance, but to the inherent imperfection of the method by which the height of the statues and of their heads are compared by the French artist.

It was not left to the subtlety of the Sphinx to point out that, in his pilgrimage from the cradle to the tomb, man undergoes a change of form which, but for its gradual and visible method of accomplishment, might be called a true metamorphosis. The earlier and the later phases of this wonderful series have attracted comparatively little attention from the Greek artists. Infancy and extreme age are rarely represented, except on gems, or on mural paintings, as at Pompeii; where we find small winged *amorini* caged, clipped, weighed, and sold, like so many singing birds. The insect-like form of Tithonus is only a fable in graphic form. It is

very doubtful how far the Greek artists took the trouble to study the proportions of childhood. We are aware of no instance in which they are correctly represented; and although, as we shall find, it is impossible to draw any conclusive argument from the micrometric measurement of gems, the undue length universally given to the legs is undeniable. The best toreutic representations of children are those of the Flemish artist du Quesnoy, commonly known as *Il Fiamingo*.

In the new-born infant, the neck cannot be regarded as a vertical proportion, as it no more appears in outline, either in the full view or in the profile, than it does in Egyptian wall-paintings. The head occupies nearly one-fourth of the entire height, and the legs extend to less than one-third, the trunk extending to $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the stature. These proportions gradually alter in the course of growth, until, in the mature and symmetric figure, the height of the head is the one-eighth part of that of the stature; the latter being equally divided at the extremity of the trunk.

It is a very remarkable truth, that the plastic art of the sculptor has passed through a series of historic phases, which are closely parallel to those to which Nature herself has subjected the human form. The most ancient representations of that form are characterised by the disproportionately large size which they give to the head. In the most ancient relic of Greek sculpture in the British Museum*—an undraped figure, executed in alabaster, and attributed to the seventh century before Christ—the head and neck occupy one-fourth of the entire height. In the earlier Egyptian canon the head equals three-sixteenths of the height. With the progress of sculpture this proportion diminished, as it does in the course of the growth of the individual. By the time of Polycletus it had been determined at one-eighth. Later still, Lysippus endeavoured to give lightness to his figures by a diminution of the size of the head below this proportion. We may see the result of the error in the *Venus de' Medici*, in which statue the exquisite symmetry of the figure is marred by the reduction of the head to little more than the ninth part of the height; a diminution which gives a doll-like and unsatisfactory expression to the countenance.

We are not in a position to pronounce, with absolute certitude, as to the Canon adopted by Phidias; as most of those works of that unrivalled artist, or of his immediate school, to which we are able to apply the callipers, were designed to occupy an

* Photograph, No. 613 of the series published by Messrs. Mansell.

elevated position, and to be seen from below. Optical laws, in such a case, demand that the size of the head should be increased in a proportion which geometry enables us readily to ascertain. By applying a corresponding correction, the relative heights of the figures in the frieze of the Parthenon will be found very closely to approach the division of the Canon of Polycletus. And it is worthy of especial note that the proportions of the figures in the frieze of the Mausoleum, which was executed ninety years later than the time of Phidias, are identical with those employed in the frieze of the Parthenon.

Not only has the human form, as represented in sculpture, undergone a gradual change in its proportions, resembling that which occurs in the natural growth of the living man, but Architecture presents us with a similar phenomenon. In the earliest Doric, as exemplified in the temple of Corinth, which is ascribed to about the same date as the alabaster statue above cited, the pillars are so squat as hardly to exceed four diameters in height. In the Parthenon the proportion is lightened to six diameters; in the temple at Delos, dating in the time of Philip of Macedon, it is seven diameters. This transformation took place in a single order. The graceful comparison of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns to the several proportions of the man, the matron, and the maiden, is well known. In the more slender columns, the same gradual attenuation is to be observed, that we have noticed in the more massive order. We find a proportion of ten to one in the Ionic columns of the Erechtheum, and the same ratio in the Corinthian columns of the Lantern of Demosthenes. In the massive strength of Egyptian architecture we find a like advance from five times the length of the modulus, as exemplified at Karnac, to seven times that proportion at Mahariga.

While the change in sculptural proportions, estimated from the birth, to the zenith, of art in Greece, has been so rapid, Egypt presents us with a record of a like change, although far slower in its development. We are able, from Egyptian monuments, to ascertain that the question of human proportion engaged the attention of the artists of that country more than 5,000 years ago. We are not left, in this case, to inferences from measurements of statues. On the walls of unfinished tombs are to be found the actual compartments into which the surface was divided, by the ancient draughtsman, for his guidance in the delineation of the conventional human form. Exact scales were thus indicated, and scrupulously followed. Lepsius cites three successive canons, as followed at different periods in Egyptian history.

In the time of the fifth dynasty of Egyptian kings, reigning at Memphis 3,400 years before our era, the draughtsman commenced his mural decoration by dividing the field of his work into equal squares, nineteen of which were allotted to the height of the human figure. The head occupied three of these divisions, or very nearly the sixth part of the stature. The neck is not shown in outline, the head resting directly on the shoulders. The face and the feet are ordinarily drawn in profile, the trunk in full; the breadth of six squares being occupied by the width of the shoulders, and of two by that of the waist. The figure, below the chin, was divided into equal portions for the trunk and legs in male figures. In females the legs occupy nine squares instead of eight, and the shoulders are a square and a half narrower than those of the man. The length of the foot is equal to the height of the head; being one-third longer than the width of the waist.

This canon appears to have been accepted for a period of 3,000 years, including the great sculptural era of the eighteenth dynasty. Under the twentieth dynasty, some 600 years B.C., a canon was introduced giving proportions somewhat nearer to those of the later-born Greek art. The draughtsman's squares were reduced in size; twenty-two of them were allotted to the height of the figure; and the several dimensions were somewhat varied. The most remarkable change introduced is in the height of the head-dress, which rises to the twenty-sixth square. The neck now becomes perceptible. The head of the seated figure is limited by the middle of the nineteenth square. The difference in the proportional length of the limbs of the two sexes is maintained, a circumstance which marks every canon except those of the Greeks.

It is not difficult to analyse the ideas which are embodied in the Egyptian canons. Strength is the first masculine attribute; and it is indicated, principally, by the great breadth of the shoulders, to which, as a personal characteristic, an inscription of Sesostris refers. It is also expressed by the large size of the feet. The Colossi in the tomb of Rameses III., a king of the twentieth dynasty, at Karnac, have feet of which the length is equal to two-ninths of the height of the figure. Between these mighty Telamones are sculptured smaller figures, apparently intended for children, with feet of the ordinary proportions given by the canon. Majesty is indicated by the large size of the head; and, when this is somewhat reduced, by the lofty adornments of the crown or head-dress. Lightness and agility are indicated by reducing the girth of the waist and lengthening the proportion of the legs. With regard

to the disproportionately narrow girth, we must bear in mind the almost incredible meagreness to which hunger, even now, reduces the proportions of many of the Arab tribes.

It will be observed that, if any attempt be made to compare the proportions of the various canons to which we have referred, there is great need of some simple common measure. We have seen certain sculptural divisions represented by fractional parts, such as the fourth, the sixth, or the tenth. Again we have the proportions of Audran, resulting in scales varying from $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{8}}$ to $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{8}}$; we have those of Dr. Liharzik, divided into 175 parts; and we have the Egyptian divisions by 19 and by 22. The Sanscrit scale is divided into 480. Our own ordinary estimate of proportion is by the English foot and its parts. Albrecht Dürer and Gottfried Schadow make use of the *pied du Rhin* . When we wish to compare a statue, a drawing, or a living figure, described by one of these methods, with one described by another, the process is either inexact or tedious. We are altogether at a loss for a means of comparison that shall be at once ready and precise. We want a method which shall be universal; and which shall at once furnish us with a scale of its own, and be capable of ready conversion into the various systems and units of measurement that exist in any part of the world.

This symmetric base, or modulus, is very simply afforded by taking the height of the human figure as a unit. It is, in point of fact, by this unit, that we instinctively compare our own stature and that of others. It is by reference to life size, heroic size, three-quarter size, and the like, that we describe the scales of sculpture and of painting. All ancient, and most modern, linear dimensions, are taken from postures, or from movements, of the human figure. In estimating heights, the multiple of the stature has been not unfrequently employed; as in the old French *toise*, the Greek *ὀργυρία*, or width between the extremities of the extended arms, and the English fathom. No modulus can be taken which is at once so exact and so elastic as the height of the human figure.

The division of this natural modulus is indicated by considerations similar to those which lead to its selection. The cubit, or length of the arm from the elbow, is an ancient dimension of universal application, and it is exactly the fourth part of the height of a symmetric figure. The cubit, in the ancient natural scales, is divided into six palms; and the palm into four digits. It is only necessary, for the sake of the utmost delicacy required by the artist, to divide the digit into ten lines, and we have a perfectly simple, and yet accu-

rately minute, autometric scale, applicable to the description of any figure, viewed at any distance, or represented on any scale. The leading dimensions are indicated by natural terms; while the total number of 960 lines possesses the singular advantage, that it is divisible, not only by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, and 12, but also, within one (that is to say, within $\cdot 075$ of an inch in a figure 6 feet high) by seven. No geometric diagram affords a mode of determining proportions at once so ready and so exact.

By the adoption of this general or autometric system of admeasurement, the difficulties of detail that have hitherto offered themselves to the clear enunciation of the laws of symmetry may be at once removed. Every ancient canon, and every modern measurement, is capable of ready reduction to the same common expression. The graphic representation of the figure is simplified to the utmost extent. If we represent, for instance, one of the miniature bronzes of the British Museum, of nine inches in height, by a line half an inch long, the comparative stature of the Theseus from the Parthenon will be represented by a line of five inches. Between these two limits will range every famous work of Grecian art. If the leading dimensions of the figure are indicated by diverging lines drawn from the main divisions of the Neptune to those of the Theseus, the symmetry of any intermediate figure can be readily compared, by drawing a line at the point appropriate to the height. Thus, for example, it immediately becomes apparent, that the neck and trunk of the Cupid, called Apollo Sauroctonus, differ markedly from the symmetric proportions of the adult male figure.

Autometric division, or delineation of figures in terms of their entire height, affords to the intelligence the same kind of information that is ordinarily given by the eye. It gives proportionate, not actual, size. To ascertain the latter, simple vision is inadequate: we require to be in possession of a knowledge which the eye does not accurately give, without assistance. The apparent size of any object depends, directly on its actual size, and inversely on its distance from the eye. Or it may be said that the apparent size of any object is indicated by the angle at the point of vision subtended by its limits; this angle depends as much upon the distance, as upon the magnitude, of the object. This well-known law is the basis of all perspective. The autometric division of the human figure is thus equivalent to the judgment which the correct eye can form of its symmetry, its distance from the observer being unknown.

What we call actual size is, after all, only precise comparison with a known standard. From such a base all trigonometrical measurement starts, and to this test all positive dimensions are referred. The use of the autometric scale is thus in exact accordance with our ordinary habits of estimating size. By ascertaining a single dimension of any figure, that is to say, its relation to a given standard of measure, whether it be fathom, metre, foot, inch, or any other known length, the unit, or total height of that figure, and thus all its minor proportions, are easily obtained. And the confusion of thought, which arises from the use of different metrical systems, is readily obviated by the employment of a common and proportionate division, which is applicable to all alike.

Thus, if we express the proportions of the three famous statues, to which we have referred as delineated by Audran, instead of saying that the Antinous is seven and a half heads high, the Venus seven and three-quarter heads, and the Apollo seven heads, three-quarters, and six-twelfths, we simply note that the heads of the respective statues are 100, 95, and 109 lines, or so many 960th parts, of their own height. (This is correcting the measurement as well as the denominational expression of Audran.) The dimensions are at once referrible to the canon, which gives 120 lines as the normal height of the head, and may be compared with those of the Theseus of Phidias, and of the Venus of Milo, the heads of each of which are within a couple of lines of this proportion; with the Leda of Leonardo da Vinci, whose form is in exact accordance with the canon; with the figures on the frieze of the Parthenon, which average 146 lines in height; with those of the Sanscrit canon, of 140 lines; the Egyptian canons, of 130 and 152 lines; and with that of the Archaic Greek statue, of 168 lines. The distinctive rule of symmetry followed in each instance is thus at once rendered appreciable.

With reference, again, to that correction which the sculptor has to make for the point of view from which his sculpture has to be seen; the amount of such correction is readily ascertainable as a proportionate quantity; and is thus, with perfect facility, to be applied by the use of an autometric scale. If we suppose that the frieze of the Parthenon was regarded at an angle of 45° , or from a point at a distance of about 45 feet from the wall of the temple, we shall find the measured length, which optically ought to be given to the head, very closely to correspond with that actually employed by Phidias.

We are thus in a position accurately to compare, at a

single glance, the canons of early, of mature, and of declining art: the influence of ethnographical type; the normal principles of the Egyptian, the Indian, the Assyrian, the Greek, and the Italian sculptors; and the relation between the most beautiful figures of the Renaissance, as limned by Raffaele, by Correggio, and, above all, by Leonardo da Vinci, and the proportions of the Cupid of Phidias, and of the Cupid and the Psyche of Praxiteles.

To render this method of autometry more intelligible, we subjoin a table denoting the chief symmetric proportions of the human figure, expressed in aliquot parts, and also in autometric lines.

Height of Figure		From Ground		From Crown	
		Lines	Parts	Lines	Parts
M.	To crown = 4 cubits	960	1	0	0
	„ top of forehead	896	$\frac{39}{100}$	24	$\frac{1}{20}$
	„ centre of eyes	900	$\frac{10}{100}$	60	$\frac{1}{16}$
	„ chin	840	$\frac{14}{100}$	120	$\frac{1}{12}$
	„ forearm	800	$\frac{16}{100}$	160	$\frac{1}{10}$
N.	„ point of nipples, 3 cubits	720	$\frac{24}{100}$	240	$\frac{1}{8}$
	„ end of femur	660	$\frac{28}{100}$	300	$\frac{1}{6}$
	„ navel	600	$\frac{32}{100}$	360	$\frac{1}{5}$
O.	„ os pubis	520	$\frac{38}{100}$	440	$\frac{1}{4}$
	„ end of trunk, 2 cubits	480	$\frac{40}{100}$	480	$\frac{1}{3}$
	„ ditto seated	460	$\frac{42}{100}$	500	$\frac{2}{3}$
P.	„ under side of patella	260	$\frac{76}{100}$	700	$\frac{3}{8}$
	„ centre of ankles	96	$\frac{96}{100}$	804	$\frac{4}{15}$
Quo stat	0	0	960	1

The foregoing table includes, as well as completes, the proportions which are cited by Vitruvius as those of the Canon of Polycletus. There is an exact coincidence in all, with but one exception. The canon of Vitruvius places the underside of the patella at twenty-four digits, or one-fourth of the whole height, from the ground. The result of actual measurements from the antique is to increase this dimension, at the cost of the length of the femur, by from one to two digits in the male, and from two to three digits in the female, figure. This solitary variation in the vertical proportions proper to the two sexes is not without ample physiological justification. It appears to have been observed, but not completely understood, by the Egyptian artists. Albrecht Dürer's study seems to have led him to deal with the question in a mode the very opposite to that of the Egyptian canon. A somewhat similar disproportion is found in the figures in the Judgment of Paris,

by Rubens, in our National Gallery. The tallest goddess, standing to the right, is too short in the legs, and too long in the body, by two digits. In the figure in the centre, this faulty proportion is far more conspicuous, being fully five digits of her own height. But this may arise to some extent from the endeavour to give the effect of perspective in the position of the figures, without special study of the symmetry of each. Still, it is the very opposite of the treatment adopted by the Egyptian draughtsmen. It has been the general idea, that a difference in the proportionate length of limbs of the two sexes exists. But in Greek exemplars the difference is not in the proportion of the limbs to the trunk, but in that between the leg and the thigh; by which means the equiponderation of the figure is preserved, without sacrificing the vertical symmetry.

Determination of the original dimensions of statues, of which we possess only fragmentary portions, is facilitated by the use of the autometric scale. So mathematically exact was the work of the sculptor, in the highest period of Grecian art, that if we find two or more dimensions to correspond, according to the restored Canon, we can speak with much certitude as to the rest. We may take as an example that female torso, of almost unrivalled beauty, which has been called the Richmond Venus. It was injured by a fire at Richmond House, December 21, 1791, and is now in the Greco-Roman Gallery at the British Museum. The disagreeable tint which has been given by the flames has perhaps disturbed our admiration of one of the most exquisite relics of the purest art of Greece. So accurately do the proportions of this torso accord with our Canon, that it is easy to determine the height of the original statue (if erect) at sixty-six inches, or three inches taller than the Venus de' Medici. Again, the headless Cupid, in the Elgin room, which has been attributed to Phidias, represented a boy of fifty-six inches high. The stature of the magnificent recumbent figure from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, known as Theseus, is in the same way determined at ninety inches; showing that the scale adopted for the group was one and a quarter times the size of life.

It was not only the vertical symmetry of the figure that was reduced to exact rule by the Greek sculptors. In the finest works, the proportions of the girths, or horizontal dimensions, are not less precise. Leonardo da Vinci, indeed, says that 'in general the dimensions of the human body are to be considered in the length, and not in the breadth, because, in the wonderful works of nature which we attempt to imitate, we

'cannot in any species find any one part in one model precisely similar to the same part in another.'* But he remarks also that 'all the parts of any animal whatever must be correspondent with the whole; so that if the body be short and thick, all the members belonging to it must be the same, viz. short arms and thick short fingers, with broad joints, and so of the rest.'† Thus the intimate relation that subsists between the vertical and horizontal proportions of the figure, is pointed out by the great Italian master, although he has not attempted to reduce the subject to system.

The range of the sculptor's art, indeed, is far more strictly limited than is the case with that of the painter. The purest sculpture refuses any subject but that which is in itself either beautiful or sublime. But even positive deformity has been introduced by some of the greatest painters into their chief works, as a foil to the more impressive figures. The familiar illustration of the beggar at the Gate of the Temple, in the Cartoon, will occur to everyone. While fully convinced that the '*dulcia sunt*' of Horace is especially applicable to works of graphic or plastic design, and that

'Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet'

is a counsel which not even M. Doré can with safety neglect, we are speaking of painting as it is, and as it has been regarded, not only by Michel Angelo, but even by the beauty-loving Raffaele. But in sculpture the true choice can only lie between different types of beauty; such as the grace of the Psyche and the majesty of the Jupiter. Each such type had its definite and normal proportion, in the purest age of art.

The modulus, or unit, of girth, is the length of the foot. Where we have been able to take accurate measurements of perfect examples, the determination of the principal girths, by this modulus, is exact. Thus, both in the slight and graceful form of the Venus de' Medici and in the more massive and commanding figure, now in the Louvre, which is called the Venus of Milo, the girth of the waist is exactly three times the length of the foot; although that length in the former figure is 137 lines, and in the latter 149.

There is a geometrical propriety in the use of this modulus of girth. If a figure stand like a soldier at attention, with the heels touching, the most stable equilibrium is attained by that position of the feet which most nearly coincides with the sides of an equilateral triangle. When the altitude of this triangle is

* Trattato della Pittura, ch. 173.

† Ibid. ch. 250.

equal to the height of the head, or one-eighth of the stature, the side is equal to one-seventh. This is the lightest proportion given to the foot; and, as measured by the foot, to the girths of the figure. By the evidence of this one dimension those of all the leading horizontal measurements are harmoniously regulated. We annex a table of girths:

Table of Proportionate Girths.

	Lines	Parts		Lines	Parts
Little Toe . . .	32	$\frac{1}{30}$	Chest . . .	548	$\frac{4}{7}$
Great Toe . . .	48	$\frac{1}{20}$	Shoulders . . .	548	$\frac{4}{7}$
Ankle . . .	120	$\frac{1}{8}$	Neck . . .	192	$\frac{1}{3}$
Calf . . .	222	$\frac{2}{9}$	Head . . .	320	$\frac{1}{3}$
Knee . . .	206	$\frac{2}{14}$	Arm . . .	177	$\frac{1}{2}$
Thigh . . .	320	$\frac{1}{3}$	Wrist . . .	96	$\frac{1}{5}$
Loins . . .	548	$\frac{4}{7}$	Thumb . . .	40	$\frac{1}{24}$
Waist . . .	411	$\frac{3}{7}$	Little Finger . . .	24	$\frac{1}{5}$

The autometric scale possesses the great advantage, of enabling the student to derive accurate information, in many cases, from photographs of the antique. With regard to sculpture in the round, there is too much optical distortion, in the best work hitherto performed by the camera, to allow of any metrical results being attained. But with reference to *relievi*, whether *alti* or *bassi*, to coins, and to gems, both in *cameo* and in *intaglio*, photography has placed a new and thoroughly correct source of information within the reach of the artist.

Photographs of most of the contents of the chief European museums are now attainable. Those of the Museo Borbonico, at Naples, which contains the finest bronzes in the world, and some of the finest marbles, are poor and ill-taken. At Rome some very noble photographs have been taken by Herr Braun. The Berlin Photographic Company, represented by Mr. Gerson, of Rathbone Place, have prepared a series of photographs of many of the finest statues to be found, in the museums not only of Germany, but also of Italy. Among these we may refer to that of a marble copy of the Cupid of Praxiteles, which was found at Centocelle, near Rome, and which, though unfortunately wanting arms and legs, is one of the finest relics of Greek art yet discovered. It appears to be a pendant to the well-known Psyche, in Greek marble, ascribed to the same artist, which was found in the Campanian amphitheatre, and is one of the chief treasures of the Museo Borbonico (now called the Museo Nazionale di Napoli).

The collections of the British Museum, which are of a

character not unworthy of the country and the age, have been photographed with much success; and the prints are to be obtained of Messrs. Mansell & Co., of Percy Street. Seven series of photographs have been issued, including: 1. The properly archæological or pre-historic objects, illustrated by comparison with the manufactures of existing savage tribes. 2. Egyptian antiquities. 3. Assyrian. 4. Grecian. 5. Etruscan and Roman. 6. Mediæval art. 7. Seals of sovereigns, corporations, and great nobles. It was intended to continue the work until every object of value in the Museum should have been photographed. The value of the collections would thus have been greatly enhanced, and every school of art, throughout the country, would have been able to possess faithful representations of the most authentic examples for study. But the English public has not hitherto given such a support to the enterprise—possibly from ignorance of its merit—as to justify the continuance of the work. The authorities of the Louvre have subscribed for a series, but the chief purchasers of these photographs have been the Germans.

The Grecian series of the British Museum photographs, consists of 186 prints, eleven inches by eight-and-a-half in dimension. They may be divided into: 1. General views. 2. Individual statues, groups, and busts. 3. Relievi. 4. Gems and engraved stones. 5. Vases and objects in terracotta. Of these we may consider the value of the first, second, and fifth group to be chiefly pictorial, but that of the third and fourth to be also metrical.

The antique marble relievi of the British Museum constitute a series that are nowhere to be surpassed. Almost all that is extant of the glorious frieze of the Parthenon, which was executed by Phidias during the administration of Pericles, are to be found in the Elgin room, together with the metopes from the same temple. The frieze represents the Panathenaic procession, which was celebrated at Athens every four years, in honour of the tutelary goddess of the city. A sculptured band, in Pentelic marble, wrought in low relief, ran round the *cella* for a length of 524 feet. It represented the victors in the games, in chariots, on horseback, and on foot; the virgins, selected from the best families of Athens, who bore the peplum for presentation to Athene; the priests leading victims; the presiding magistrates; and, as the culminating point of the procession, a group of seated gods. Of the ninety-two metopes of the Parthenon sixteen are in the Elgin room. They are in higher relief than the sculptures on the frieze, and are, unfortunately, more dilapidated. They

represent combats between Greek heroes and the Centaurs and the Amazons. The figures which filled the pediments of this temple are executed in the round, although with very marked corrections for the point of view from which they were to be seen. A portion of the frieze at the base of the Mausoleum in Halicarnassus, consisting of six slabs, is also to be found represented by the series of photographs. The date assigned to these noble fragments is B.C. 350; or about ninety years later than the sculpture of the Parthenon. There is also a small portion of the frieze from the *cella* of the temple of Apollo Epicurius, near Phigalia, in Arcadia; a work attributed to Ictinus, the architect of the Parthenon, and to the date B.C. 470. The comparison of these *rilievi* is highly instructive. The violent action represented in the latest work, contrasts very forcibly with the solemn and tranquil dignity of the Panathenaic procession. The energy of combat has been represented by Phidias, not in the continued surface of the frieze, but in the distinct groups that occupy the medallion-like metopes; an instance of the admirable judgment of this great master. Ictinus and the sculptors of the Mausoleum, on the other hand, have attempted to give the life and fire of battle to the whole line of figures on the frieze. As to the effect, on the spectator, of the adoption of these two very different motives, we can, unfortunately, now only guess. But what is of extreme interest from our present point of view, is the fact, that the same Canon of proportion has been followed in each instance, showing a persistency in the mathematical rules of the sculptor's art for at least a hundred and twenty years, including the very culminating glory of Grecian sculpture. But while the Canon of proportion was maintained, the mode of treatment was materially altered. This is most perceptible on comparing the impassive calmness of the faces of the combatants, in the earlier work, with the vivid expression of passion given to the countenances in the later. In the contrast between the placid features, and the violently moved limbs, of the sculpture of Ictinus, there is something that is at once strange and sublime. With the advance of power of pathognomical expression, coincides a certain loss of grandeur. An observation of this kind furnishes us with a species of scale, by means of which to judge of the relative antiquity of the relics of Grecian art. If we apply this test to one of the latest acquisitions of the Museum, a magnificent bronze masque, or rather portion of the head, of a female figure, we shall be led at once to refer it to a period near that of the highest excellency of Art. By a comparison of the treatment of this Aphrodite with

the smooth, unmodulated, lacquered surfaces of those electro-type copies of the antique which are now to be purchased, in assorted sizes, of Parisian dealers, we may observe the difference between lampistry and sculpture.

It might indeed have been observed that the difference between the effect produced on the eye by the human figure, viewed at such a distance as to seem only an inch high, and by a cameo or intaglio of that size, is very considerable. The latter is much more distinct. We are able, it is true, to command the effect of an exaggerated illumination; but if the distant object were artificially illuminated in the same manner as the gem, the result would not add any distinctness to the detail. It could only increase the definition of the outline. That an unconscious exaggeration, such as the eye itself demands, is given to his work by the gem-cutter is thus indicated, although it is far from being proved.

It is to the research of Mr. Burchett, the head master of the South Kensington School of Art, that we are indebted for further light on the subject. By the skilful aid of the non-commissioned officer of the Royal Engineers attached to the Museum, Mr. Burchett has produced photographs of choice gems, magnified sixty-four times (or eight times in each dimension). The object is so small, and so thoroughly within the power of the camera, that optical distortion is inappreciable. We thus become aware of an artistic distortion, or instinctively effected exaggeration of parts, which is both readily perceptible by the eye, and capable of metrical determination. In the case of a well-known and very beautiful gem in the British Museum, representing the Combat of Theseus with the Minotaur, the head and neck of the hero, which form the sixth portion of the symmetric human stature, are increased to the proportion of one-fifth of the height of the *intaglio*. The length of the lower limbs is reduced from 480 to 400 lines. The width of the foot is increased from 48 to 80 lines. In a print of eight inches by six-and-a-half inches, these departures from symmetry are positively shocking. In the gem itself they only accentuate the drawing, and give life to the sculpture.

We thus arrive at something like a circle, in the successive phases of glyptic art. We have seen that the creation of the sculptor, like the human infant, is of squat and dumpy proportions when it first stands alone. With the growth of art, and in Greece itself, with a rapid growth that is almost inconceivable, the proportions of vigorous manhood, and of slender and graceful maidenhood, have been attained and developed. Something analogous to the yet further change in symmetry

that often accompanies old age, when the teeth fall, and the face, and sometimes even the skull, seems to shrink from its mature dignity, is to be traced in the works of the Rhodian School, and of the followers of Lysippus. Lastly, in what may in some respects be considered as the highest effort of glyptic skill, the minute, almost microscopic, *cameo*, we find the reproduction of a second childhood. Thus the proportions of the Theseus appear, when magnified by the camera, to be those proper, in full-sized sculpture, to a child of between seven and twelve years old. The lesson that the most admirable symmetry for a figure of a given stature, is not equally appropriate for a larger or for a smaller form, is thus repeated and reiterated. It is evident on the face of Nature, and is inscribed in the history of Art.

The question of the natural, or most beautiful, proportion between strength and grace, as embodied in the human pair, thus naturally comes before us. It may be called a matter of taste. But none the less must it be regulated by certain subtle relations; and that taste will be the purest which is informed by a knowledge of these laws. We do not now assume to decide in what Beauty consists. But we are in a position to say what is, or is not, consistent with the Greek Canon, and with the Greek conception of Beauty. In the friezes and metopes of the Parthenon and Mausoleum, the two sexes are delineated as of equal height. But we must not too hastily deduce that this was the Greek sculptural rule. For when we further compare the standing and marching figures, in these wonderful compositions, with the horsemen, and with the sitting figures, we find that the principle adopted by the sculptor was that of filling up the width of a certain band of marble with sculptured figures. There is nothing resembling perspective attempted. The heads of the seated gods in the centre part of the end frieze of the Parthenon are on the same level as those of the standing figures on the same slab. It is quite possible that it was the intention of the sculptor to give additional dignity to the gods, by representing them on a larger scale than the mortals; but whether that be the case or not, we must not regard these grouped figures, however individually beautiful, as examples of proportionate symmetry, in the comparison of the sexes.

Into this question, although one that possesses a certain interest for every human pair, our present limits forbid further research. For the same reason we can only hint at the existence of that separate canon which regulates the ever-changing symmetry of childhood. So special are the proportions which

vary with every stage of infantile growth, that nothing but experience could convince us of the manner in which the chubby rotundity of childhood contains the germs of manly vigour or of feminine grace. And lastly, in glancing to the future, it may be permissible to express a hope that the study of every example of symmetry, for which the use of an autometric scale furnishes so powerful an instrument of analytic research, will not be suffered to pause until it enables us to indicate, in however dim and shadowy an outline, the principles that may hereafter be combined in a Canon of Descriptive Physiognomy.

ART. VII.—*J'Histoire de France depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789, racontée à mes petits-enfants.* Par M. GUIZOT. Vols. I., II., and III. 4to. Paris: 1874.

A NEW history of France from the beginning of all things to the great epoch opening on the infancy of our own generation—a great work by a great man—might suggest lamentations on our own poverty in the literature of completed histories when measured with the wealth of other nations, but it is a more gracious task to rejoice with our neighbour and accept our own share in the prize, since the best complete history of France is a mighty boon to the whole republic of letters. The grandest of all national histories is that of France, and it is the most thickly crowded with great events both in the far past and in recent times. We do not underrate our own island as a land of just and old renown, nor treat lightly the great example it affords to the rest of mankind in the rise of its institutions and the political difficulties it has conquered. No one would be less inclined to pardon us for the abandonment or the slighting of these memories than the illustrious historian of France himself. But it must be confessed that his country's annals are more tragic and picturesque. If the lights be not stronger, the shades are deeper. It has a closer connexion too with the rest of the civilised world, for even our greatness is fed and promoted by the pride of isolation.

But the history of France has a further claim to eminence by connecting the old world with the new. All that Britain had of the old world was swept away by the Saxon invasions and settlements. We know that for a period as long as that between the foundation of the House of Tudor and the present day, the greater part of Britain was a Roman province. Sub-

stantial remains—the great walls and fortresses in the north, the mansions in the south, with their statues, their baths, and their tessellated pavements, show that they lived in strength and luxury. But all these things are completely cut away from our history. If literature did not tell us about the Romans, and enable us to identify the remains they had left among us, the origin of these remains would be as mysterious to us as the temples and statuary of Central America or the ‘Druidical circles,’ the cromlechs, barrows, and hill forts, that still perplex our local antiquaries.

France, however, carries down to us unbroken the sequence of Roman history, and brings with it a relationship to all the history in which Greeks as well as Romans were concerned. Marseilles was as thoroughly a Latin city, with its philosophers, orators, and poets, as any other city of the empire secondary to imperial Rome herself. The Roman remains in France are naturally more extensive than our own, but, what is more material, they have a structural genealogy down to existing times. We see in Northern France the Classic architecture passing gradually into the intermediate stage that afterwards transformed itself into the Gothic, and that with so close and curious a sequence that an unpractised eye would scarcely see the difference between the Roman forms passing into what is generally called the Norman in the ninth and tenth centuries, and the Gothic forms passing back into the Classic in the Renaissance of the sixteenth. With us there is no such nice gradation. The Norman did not come to us until it had been fully formed as something distinct from the Roman.

Though invaded and colonised by Frank and Norman, yet Gaul handed down more thoroughly than any other nation the traditions of the old empire. It came to pass by a succession of accidents that the nominal empire had its centre in Germany, but what survived of its real succession was in France. Spain, though it also carried down the language, was remote and provincial. The centre of the civil half of the empire should, in the natural course of expectations, have been found in that Italy where its spiritual side has so long asserted the old central prerogative. But the invasions of the Normans and other local incidents broke up the land into separate principalities. Yet when that consolidation, for which France did so much, came to pass, it was observed that the vitality of the old Roman municipal institutions was materially available in the work of centralisation. The significance of the stages in European progress cannot be rightly felt with-

out carrying with us a recollection of the municipal and other institutions of the empire. They had less influence in England than anywhere else, except it might be Scandinavia and Prussia Proper; but even in these territories they spread an influence when European diplomacy—a creation of the imperial system—brought the territories under its influence. But it is in the history of France that these institutions are to be found in their most vigorous life, and may be most profitably studied. We are too apt in this country in our instruction on Continental history to overlook that key to the character of institutions and the causes of events. Take for instance the notion to be obtained in the usual school histories of the empire under Charlemagne. It was not that he subjugated one nation after another, and brought each out of a state of chaos or of obedience to its own provincial institutions under one broad system of his own devising. The system was all in existence throughout the several provinces—it was the head that had been lost. Charlemagne was the first monarch who, partly by war and partly by other contingencies, found himself in possession of the machinery of the old empire; and he was a man with capacity to take advantage of his great opportunity. He was thus to be counted more as a successor to the organisations of others than an organiser himself, and those students lose the predominating conditions of his great reign who are taught his history as that of a conqueror and organiser like Alexander and Julius Cæsar.

That the illustrious author of the work before us was fully master of all this and of the other key-notes to the history of Europe was made known to the world many years ago. We have now the opportunity of seeing how he has employed his gifts, not merely in lectures and dissertations, where a man has in a great measure his choice of topics, but in a full history where all parts, great and small, demand their proper place, and must have it.

The first virtue in the historian is accuracy—the second is completeness. This is necessary for converting the accuracy into impartiality. Everything told truly, and receiving the measure of detail to which its merits entitle it—all is done. But when it is done, what is the merit of impartiality in a history? There is a stupid popular idea abroad that there can be no zeal or enthusiasm where there is impartiality. It is forgotten what large expenditure of zeal and energy, with corresponding splendour of result, is given to other sciences from the mere impulse of a zeal in the pursuit of truth. It is a chase that in many natures never tires or cloy. There are

intellects that have their chief enjoyment, and ambitions that have their chief aim, in searching for the truth in astronomy, anatomy, zoology, and geology—shall we not have the same in history? Here no doubt there are peculiar difficulties. The astronomer and the geologist had enemies to encounter; but with them it was a single battle, and then all over. In history the difficulties are more tenacious. If history teaches philosophy by example, the tendency to make it teach the philosophy of our own politics is strong. Religion, which has to fight its battle single-handed against the men of science, here contracts a strong alliance with politics. The result of the struggle is that the most impartially-minded historian must give up part of a story he would fain tell. He describes a sequence of political events. He tells them truly as they occurred; but he would like also to tell—what he thoroughly believes is really true—that they were done in dishonesty or blundering honesty. How can he do so and retain any reputation for impartiality, when there are politicians of his day whose line of duty has no other definition but that it is the same that had been followed by those men of the old time?

If we are to apply the analogy of religion, the difficulties are still greater. That the historian should venture to say in this sphere whether men had acted rightly or wrongly is out of the question. The most vigorous efforts at impartiality would only plunge him deeper and deeper into the iniquity and folly in deciding who are in the way to salvation and who are in the way to perdition. Yet he should be thoroughly acquainted with all the sources of the religion or religions of the people about whom he writes, and should pursue their history and origin of creeds to the remotest sources. This duty falls upon him all the more heavily that there is in ecclesiastical history a systematic manufactory of falsehood. Churchmen are, of course, the chief writers on ecclesiastical history—they were at one time the chief writers of all history. It is the tendency of the churchman, that such as is the religious body to which he belongs, and in which he acts his daily part, such it has been in all times. It cannot be otherwise, for it is the embodiment of primitive truth. The more recent is the origin of the denomination to which he belongs, the nearer to the truth will generally be his supposition that it has never varied from a fixed standard. On the other hand, the church that is the oldest and the largest thus becomes the official recorder of the greatest body of falsities in ecclesiastical history. The Church decides not only on the truth that is to direct men's belief and worship in the present day, but it prejudices the

past, and excludes the hunter after historical truth from entering on that field; and it is a wide field, having been often enlarged by the removal of the landmark of its neighbour political history. Speak to a Romish bishop about the curious history of that age of the Church when bishops were not diocesan. You may as well invite an astronomer to discuss with you the laws of celestial motion at the period when the sun revolved round the earth.

No man has done more—we may at once say no man has done so much—as M. Guizot for clearing history of these impeding and misleading difficulties. He has accomplished this in his united capacity of statesman and historian, the one function aiding the other. He is a Protestant who has had to deal with Ultramontanists and Jesuits, a monarchist who has had to deal with republicans, a constitutional monarchist who has had to deal with divine-right legitimists and military despots. The spirit of his system of government is that tolerant one, not much esteemed among his countrymen—that the destinies of a nation will take a direction, and it is the work of a government to put things in order in that direction, not to stop it and force a people into a system. In France he is not a republican, but he thinks republican institutions may be good in their right place. He thinks centralisation good too in its place; he has rather encouraged it in France, but yet he admires us for doing with a small allowance of it.

This spirit brought into history is a solution of many difficulties. In estimating the merits of acts done in previous ages, the historian is neither approving nor condemning what is done by the politicians of his own day. The conditions of one period are not to be the rule for those of another. What was done might have been quite right in the days of Francis I. and quite wrong now. Such estimates are tempered by a constant tendency to treat with a certain respect any opinions, or even designs, held by great bodies of people or great governing powers who have secured the obedience of the people. They may be as antagonistic as possible to the writer's own views of what ought to be, but they are great things that have had great influences, and should be treated with a certain deference or decorum. There is something in this like a remnant of the old chivalry that trained the bitterest enemies who were seeking each other's life, in the usage of certain mutual courtesies. It is a deference to great facts that leaves perfect freedom for the estimate of conduct and actions. Where there had been cruel oppression or persecution—where blood had been drawn in the spirit of tyranny or revenge, such acts stand on their

own merits, whatever might have been the opinions or projects of those who perpetrated them. And if there were good proof otherwise that such acts were committed, they were not to be disbelieved on account of some speculative opinion that men entertaining the opinions of those charged with them must have been incapable of such deeds.

Both in his political career and in his contributions to historical literature, M. Guizot has been all his life faithful to the great truth so happily condensed by Burke into the well-known saying, that 'constitutions are not made—they grow.' To throw them forth full grown like the deity that sprang from the head of Jove was not within the power of a Siéyès or even of a Bentham. No doubt like other growths they are influenced by the hand of man, receiving from it culture, nourishment—sometimes thwarting and injury. Touches from a master's hand may, especially in their youth, give a direction to their growth, but still it is the political vitality that makes them become great in one shape or another. Our railway system, for instance, is a vast social growth, though it might have taken a different shape had Sir Robert Peel watched its beginnings and claimed it for the state. How essential to the development of a great history it is to keep this ever in view, may be seen in some of the commonplace puerilities that have fixed themselves in history when historians have been indolent and credulous instead of faithful and patient labourers. It is so much more easy to say that one man made an institution than to trace its growth. Hence Solon made the laws of Athens, Justinian made the laws of Rome, Charlemagne invented the feudal system, and King Alfred manufactured parishes and trials by jury. Since the examination of animal organisms, from the camel and the ostrich down even to the algæ in the gutter, is deemed a worthy pursuit of science, we may surely claim for the examination of the rise and progress of communities and empires a still higher place in the intellectual hierarchy.

It is an auspicious circumstance conferring a mighty boon on sound historical literature, that fifty years after it was uttered, the philosophy of history as announced by M. Guizot in his strong youth, should be applied by himself to a detailed narrative of the facts of history, and that the two should be found in entire harmony. There are occasionally arrogant intellects that in their meteoric flight profess to illuminate in their blaze the intricacies and obscurities that humble grubbers are toiling after in vain. If such pretensions generally lead to the exposure of some paltry quackery, it is true in history as

in other intellectual work that some are gifted with lucid instincts withheld from others, and are enabled rapidly to reach, or at least approach, the truth. Of this nature, for instance, were Voltaire and Hume. Their guesses at the truth in history are eminently sagacious, but they both shrank from the task of carefully testing their conclusions by minute inquiry. An acute scepticism capable of detecting the internal evidence of absurdity and fable was their great gift. They told the world conclusions rapidly reached, and then left them to stand or fall. M. Guizot on the other hand, though perhaps not less acute than these great men, has tested the accuracy of his conclusions by close study. Perhaps from their breadth and originality, and the immediate hold he saw them take on public opinion, his conscientious mind suggested that he ought ever to make his ground secure as he went. The originality and the eloquence of his first utterances not only brought crowds to his lectures, but gave them when printed an immediate hold in Britain, where his doctrines were likely to be even better appreciated than in his own country. In short, in the present work we have the fruit of more than fifty years of inquiry and thought enriched with the same power and vivacity that drew all Paris to the chair of the eloquent young orator. That after fifty years the same line of sentiment, and the same concurrence of historical effects and causes, should give its soul to a detailed narrative of events, is not a phenomenon to be confounded with the unity of purpose that may be found in a class of writers differing alike from the conscientious expounder of great truths, and the mere careless announcer of the superficial conditions of history. There are some who fix on an idea and find that all they ever read or think of afterwards concurs to give it an obstinate rooting in their intellects. Such are the champions of Catherine of Medici and Henry VIII., the vindicators of the burning of Servetus, the idolators who attribute the successful career of Napoleon or Cromwell to a divine beneficence of nature guided by a superhuman sagacity. Such are, supreme over all, the champions of the spotless innocence of Mary Queen of Scots—who, when one item of evidence arising after another makes even the friends who are less infatuated shake their heads—discover in each a providential contribution to the already piled up evidence of her innocence. There are reasons for all things, and the concurrence of sentiment between the full historic narrative and the long preceding announcement of the outlines and philosophy of European history has its effective cause. The teacher had made himself completely master of the details

before he announced the philosophy to be found in them, and hence when he came afterwards to set forth all the facts they fitted into the philosophy.

The life of French nationality has been aptly grouped by M. Guizot into certain comprehensive elements. These are the Municipalities, a bequest of the Roman constitution; the Feudalities that arose on the breaking up of the Roman Empire; the Church; and lastly, at the head of all, the King, giving unity and consistency to the whole. The municipalities were perhaps the greatest constitutional boon bequeathed by old Rome to the modern world. Framed on the model of republican Rome, they were republican in their form and constitution. Under the empire it is true that the soul of republicanism was crushed within them; and their internal powers were perverted to the purposes of autocratic oppression. They were valuable especially as a machine for taxation, and it was perhaps for this reason that their form was permitted to survive when their spirit was gone. But they revived with the fresh life of the middle ages, and the municipality was infinitely valuable in tempering and controlling the feudal institutions. To our Saxon population the municipality came as aptly as if it had been especially framed by them, as indeed we would naturally count it to have been had we not the historical assurance of its origin in old Rome. With us too its growth is a grand exemplification of M. Guizot's favourite doctrine of the adaptability of institutions to the nature of a people. Corporate action not only suggested the representation of the municipalities in Parliament, but no doubt suggested, or at least facilitated, the same method of action in country districts, and so completed the representative system in the House of Commons. Here and in feudalism we had powers that bridled the power of the sovereign, while he in his turn, as the fountain of justice, controlled the local tyranny of feudality by the appointment of independent and all-powerful courts of justice. That these courts should be the mere instruments of the monarch's despotic will, was the least formidable of the perils to which our constitution was liable, since Parliament in the power of supply, and in various other shapes, possessed remedies which were at last destined to work themselves into an effectual system of control. It has something of the exciting interest of watching the perils and distresses of others from a safe place, to follow our historian as he shows how, one by one, the constitutional elements of France were pressed out by the growing power of the Crown. The following description of one of the last in date of the extinctions of

these independent institutions, recalls to us some of the perils that our own country was carried safely through by the Long Parliament and the Revolution. The agent of destruction was Chancellor Duprat, carrying out the policy of Francis the First:—

'In him, under the name and equipments of the chief magistrate of the crown, the King had a servant in whom he speedily recognised and put to use qualities alike hardy and subtle. Irritated "in that many "not having privilege of chase take the beasts, red and black—as hares, "pheasants, partridges, and other game—depriving us of the pastime "we take in the chase," Francis I. issued in March 1516 an ordinance denouncing against poachers punishments the most rigorous, even unto death, and at the same time conceded "to all princes, seigneurs, and "gentlemen, possessing forests or warrens throughout the kingdom, the "right to enjoy the exclusive use of their chases through punishments "equally severe." The Parliament remonstrated against these excessive severities, and refused registration of the ordinance. The Chancellor, Duprat, pressed it with threats. "To the King only," he said, "belongs the right to regulate the administration of his state; obey, or "the King will look on you as rebels whom he will know how to "punish." For a whole year the Parliament stood out; but the Chancellor was all the more determined to gain his point, and the ordinance was registered on the 11th of February, 1517, under a formal order from the King, known by the name of "Lettres de Jussion." When the war for the conquest of the Milanais was begun money was wanting, and Francis the First hesitated to impose new taxes. To a practice long known but always discredited, and sometimes formally prohibited—the sale of offices—Duprat gave a scandalous extension. Not only did he create a crowd of offices, financial and administrative, the sale of which brought considerable sums to the treasury; but he carried the abuse to the heart of the judicial bench—the courts were overrun by new-made magistrates. The Estates of Languedoc remonstrated in vain. The Parliament of Paris was attacked in its turn. In 1521 three newly-appointed counsellors were convicted of having paid, one 3,800 livres, the other two 6,000 livres. The Parliament refused to receive them. Duprat denounced. The necessity of the State, he said, required the levying of taxes, and the King was free to select in his choice those who were the most devoted to his service. The Parliament persisted in resistance. Duprat determined to bring the affair to a crisis. An edict of the 31st January, 1522, added to the Parliament a fourth Chamber, consisting of eighteen counsellors and two presidents—all the appointments new and doubtless corrupt, though the edict dared not say so. Two great personages, the Archbishop of Aix and the Marshal of Montmorency, had the charge of presenting the edict to Parliament and demanding its registration. The Parliament demanded time for deliberation. For six months it kept silence, and then addressed the King's mother, endeavouring to make her understand what mischief such things did to the position of the bench and the government of her son. Louise appeared to be touched by these pleas, and

promised to press them on the King, "if the Parliament will be so good as to show me some other way of promptly raising 1,200,000 livres, which the King absolutely requires." The quarrel lasted until the Parliament declared that it could not without offence to God and outrage to conscience proceed with the registration; but if the King insisted at all hazards to be obeyed, he had only to depute his Chancellor or some other magnate, in the presence and at the requirement of whom the registration would be made. The Chancellor Duprat did not care personally to undertake this duty; it was committed to the Count of St. Poll, the Governor of Paris, and at the instance of the Count there was written under the warrant, "Read and proclaimed in the presence of the Count de Saint Poll, specially authorised to this effect, who verbally required in name of the King that this should be done."

'So in the most worthy of respect and most independent of the functions of government—in the administration of justice—there began to be established arbitrary power, not only in practice but as a fundamental maxim. "I go to court where I shall speak the truth—after this one must obey the King," said the first president Molé to Cardinal de Retz in the seventeenth century. If I am not mistaken the Chancellor Duprat is the first chief of the bench in France who used despotic language, not only casually, but on principle. The President Molé was merely the head of a body possessing in reference to the King the right of remonstrance and opposition. This right once exercised, he might without servility give up the point; the Chancellor Duprat was the delegate, the organ, the representative of the King, it was in the King's own name that he maintained the absoluteness of the royal power and the absolute duty of submission.' (Vol. iii. pp. 19-21.)

From first to last our author's dealing with the Church of the middle ages has been of transcendent merit, and of a merit so peculiar—so original as well as so just, that it deserves and courts a close acquaintance. It glows indeed with so much eloquence and picturesqueness, that a casual or careless reader might misunderstand the writer's feeling towards the object he is describing. As a Protestant it was not for him to bow to the discipline and doctrine of the Church of Rome. But as an impartial historian it was not becoming that he should dip his pen in theological gall, and do the work of the fanatical Huguenot pastor. What he did was exactly in harmony with the other parts of his historical structure. He looked at the Church as the workmanship of men's hands, and appreciated it accordingly. He saw the vastness, the power, the complicated and varied mechanism—nay also the beauty and the grandeur that the countless able and ardent natures engaged in its structure and adornment had conferred on it.

To make itself a structure of parts many and complex was the natural policy of an institution intending to leave no oppor-

tunity for the exercise of freedom of opinion. The Church contained within itself enough to exhaust the labours of the most ardent nature, leaving no opportunity to him who finds something for idle hands to do. To view and to admire the mere structure without reference to any questions about orthodoxy and inspiration, was akin to the artistic admiration that has arisen in our own age for the architectural triumphs of the Old Church. As in the hierarchy with its countless functions, ceremonials, and devotional duties, so here there is majesty, beauty, skill, and infinite variety. All this can be enjoyed by a mind gifted with the æsthetic faculty, who has not in him a particle of Romanism or ritualism. The accomplished English Protestant gentleman is infinitely more susceptible to the fine feeling of the whole, than the recumbent peasants huddled before the crucifix or the statue of the favourite saint. Indeed if there happens to be in a foreign church anything hideous, barbarous, and grotesque in the shape of a calvary or otherwise, it is there that you will see the real devotees, and it is for them and the exciting of their devotion that such abominable things are made. On the other hand, we can easily believe that Plato or Cicero, had either had the opportunity, would have gone with the puritan Milton

‘To walk the studious cloisters pale,
And love the high-embowed roof,
With antic pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.’

As testimony to the inexhaustible resources for mental work in this great structure, take one of its subsidiary departments, naturally suggested by architecture where it chiefly flourishes—take symbolisation. It lives not only in such prominent institutions as the deified host, the seven hours, the stone altar with its three crosses, the chalice, the paten, the purificator, the veil, the corporal, with many other established and customary symbols, but subsidises all nature to its service, for nothing exists that cannot be symbolised. In this universality it has a companion in heraldry, but the two are existences of a totally different character in the æsthetic sense. In heraldry all is hard and conventional. Heraldic art is not the rendering of pure and graceful nature. But in symbolisation the Church has tempted and employed all art to glean its riches from all nature. Symbolisation was a vast artistic manufacturing system, and the recording of its triumphs is a separate and complex science of the present day. This science has been fruitful in literature, much of it flighty and fugitive, but occasionally

endowed with gravity and learning, as in the 'Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne' of M. Guizot's countryman Didron. As each of the three kingdoms of nature has its votaries toiling in the revelation of their secrets, so has symbolisation, and like them it is capable of large subdivisions.

All this may be trivial enough, but like the minuter nerves and tissues traced by the anatomist, it speaks distinctly to the complexity and vastness of the institution of which it is a minute part. To hold up before us this system in all its stature and its vast influence on the destinies of Europe has been ever a prominent feature in M. Guizot's contributions to historical literature. This purely historical view of the Church as an invention of man has been made so familiar to us by himself and his followers, that we can scarcely realise the day when it was a thing as new and original as the first steam-ship or the first railway locomotive. At the time when M. Guizot's 'History of Civilisation' came forth to astonish and delight the world, the institutions of the Church of Rome were viewed as a mere battle-ground, not to be approached by peaceful men. As in war, nothing was of moment that was not serviceable for attack or defence. Zealous Protestants were afraid to possess a knowledge of anything else within the enemy's territory, lest they should be suspected as traitors in their own.

From all that has followed on them, in his own and other men's writings, the words that announced M. Guizot's view of the conditions attaching to the Church, and the true historic treatment of them, are momentous. After a rapid sketch of the lapse of the Republic into the Empire, and the Emperor's assumption of the Pontificate, he finds,—

'Upon one hand the municipal system, its habits, rules, precedents, the principles of freedom; on the other a general and uniform civil legislation, the idea of absolute power, of sacred majesty, of the Emperor, the principle of order and subjection.' 'But there was formed at the same time, in the heart of the Roman society, a society of a very different nature, founded upon totally different principles, animated by different sentiments, a society which was about to infuse into modern European society elements of a character wholly different—I speak of the *Christian Church*. I say the Christian Church and not Christianity. At the end of the fourth and at the beginning of the fifth century, Christianity was no longer an individual belief; it was an institution; it was constituted; it had its government, a clergy, a hierarchy calculated for the different functions of the clergy, revenues, means of independent action, rallying points suited for a great society; provincial, national, and general councils; and the custom of debating in common upon the affairs of the society. In fact, Christianity at

this epoch was not only a religion, it was also a church.' (*Hist. of Civilisation*, translated by Hazlitt, vol. i. p. 33.)

The reader is prepared for the grand and picturesque part assigned by M. Guizot to the Church in this detailed history of France by his announcement in his earlier work that he would take the character and career of the Church throughout Europe from the Church in France. We may depend on it that the man who has rendered so much solid homage to the significant features of our own history would not adopt this view in a spirit of undue nationality. The Gallican Church has a greater, a longer, and a more brilliant career than any other. It was full born in the fifth century of our era.

In our island, whatever may have been planted of Christianity by the Romans—and we scarcely know how much this was—was swept away by the invasion and occupation of the country by the heathen northern hordes generally called Saxons. The early British, or Welsh, saints must pair off with the heroes of the same race and age—with King Arthur and all his chivalry, departing together from the body of authentic history. Germany got a connexion with the Church when part of her soil was the chief territory of the Emperors who professed to succeed to the secular command of the world, while the Bishops of Rome claimed to engross its spiritual dominion. Yet, throughout all Germany, beyond the boundary of the Roman conquests, heathenism lingered until it was driven forth by the Teutonic knights in the thirteenth century. Italy, no doubt, was the place where the Church had its chief organisation and its high officers; but the Church in Italy was not more to be counted historically European than the country church with its parsonage and glebe are to be counted the parish. In Spain the Church took firm hold in the end, but down to times almost recent Islamism had a firmer hold—and, as appropriate to this, it was long ago pointed out by M. Guizot that there was a converse to it in the Christians having founded a power in Asia through the Crusades. A curious coincidence, but he warns us to consider it only in this view, and to use it only for the purpose of distinctly marking that while Asia was distributed among the inferior and degraded faiths, Europe became the domain of Christianity.

The soul of the Church's power, as expounded by M. Guizot, was in its mastership and exclusive possession of all knowledge and of the sources of knowledge. Through this power the human intellect was to prevail over the mere influence of brute force. But it became in time obvious that the power thus triumphant

would also set itself free from the service of one order among men, and would assert its right to free action. The clergy had at their disposal, as the ready tools for asserting their intellectual command, the learned languages. In what they could do to serve their purposes through the ancient Oriental tongue in which the sacred books of the old dispensation were hidden from the laity, they were left alone until a rival clergy entered into contest with them. But the two great classical languages served their higher intellectual purpose in conveying to those who could employ them the brilliant literature of pagan Greece and Rome, rather than in the service of the Church. When the Church became powerful and luxurious its intellectuality turned more to literature and art than to theology, and handed over the championship of its spirituality to those unwelcome gladiators, the Jesuits. There arose one by one the universities—a sublime institution where, as M. Guizot proudly tells us, France took the lead in the great University of Paris, the centre whereto the affections of all souls thirsting for knowledge gravitated. It is, and perhaps ever will remain, a mystery how far the eminent ecclesiastics who helped in creating these fountains of knowledge knew that they were destined to purify human knowledge from the corrupting elements brought into it to serve ecclesiastical purposes. All comers who thirsted after knowledge were welcomed to the Universities. The thesis and its disputation were the form taken by open learned debate. It was posted on the door, and any comer might dispute its purport with him who had posted it. The significance of such a stirring up of thoughts and knowledge was felt when one day in the year 1517, the Thesis on Indulgences was posted up at Wittemberg by Martin Luther.

In this, the ecclesiastical and literary portion of his enterprise, the author takes France as a centre of influence over all Europe, and the career of the French language justifies him in so doing. At the time when it was met and challenged by its great rivals, the English and the German, it promised to be the successor of the Latin as the language of all learning and civilisation. It took its technology from the Greek. From the Latin it took all that was to be found there for common purposes, and it went far beyond what Latin could accomplish in the two great qualities of language, flexibility and precision. As its absolute predominance in literature decayed it survived as the language of European diplomacy. In the diplomatics of the Treaty of Utrecht there are a few documents in the vernacular of other statés, but the final expression of everything

was in French, which ever since has been exclusively at the service of diplomacy.

In the course of this great history we find the author's principles of toleration and impartiality sharply tested. Besides the never-ceasing claims of the active political parties of each age to be justly estimated, two great affairs weighed heavily on the author of such a narrative—the 'hundred years' war,' as it has come to be called, between France and England, and the wars of religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In describing the long war from our side, there has sometimes been a vulgar propensity to treat the calamities of France as a question of gladiatorial prowess between Frenchmen and Englishmen, instead of being the evil fruit of certain unfortunate conditions internal to the state of France. We have required to seek a little charity and fairness in such a matter even on our own side. On the bald face of the common histories it came to pass some hundreds of years ago that a body of Frenchmen crossed the Channel, fought, and gained a battle, and subdued and enslaved the English nation. No doubt Hastings cleared the path for the conqueror. But like several other battles that preceded it the question was not national or constitutional, but rather a contest for the settlement of a disputed succession, each party bringing into the field such a force as he and his friends could supply. It was the peculiar character of the followers of Duke William, and of his relations towards them, that made his success a long calamity to England. He brought with him that principle unknown to Saxon monarchs which has been asserted and carried down almost to the present generation, 'the Royal prerogative,' now only employed for purposes of beneficence and the security of public rights against usurpation by powerful subjects. The conqueror's followers were thorough feudalists, versed in all the intricate machinery of feudalism, and they spread it as a network over all England. Yet it could be represented that this was a conquest of England by a mere province of France; and in this feeling it was a grand act of political quackery in Napoleon when he was organising the descent on our coast in 1803, to exhibit the Bayeux tapestry, as a hint that what had been done might be done again. In tracing the causes of this long and sanguinary struggle we can point out three distinct defects of title giving the kings of England their opportunity, and helping them to pursue it. That matter of the Salique law is unsatisfactory as to its origin, form, and exact limits, but practice tells us that it excluded women from the succession to the throne, since no queen has ruled in France,

and the two daughters of Philip V., and the one daughter of Charles IV., were excluded without dispute, making room for collaterals. A rule of succession to accomplish its purpose of precluding dispute must be so absolute and distinct that the genealogical process of pursuing it must be an exact science. The succession of the children, or other nearest in blood, male or female, would accomplish this requisite—our own rule to exhaust the males in their order in the first place, and then the females, is equally distinct—it can no more go wrong than the law of gravitation or hydraulic dynamics. It must be enforced in each case by the one great primary reason that has made it an absolute law; there must be no occasion for a reason in each case where it is applied. That must be an event befalling, be it right or wrong; if anything is left open for reasoning, it is also left open for fighting.

A reason was given for the Salique practice that it excluded from the throne women unable to lead armies for its protection. This reason did not apply to Edward III. as his opponents too surely found. He was the nephew of Louis X., being the son of his sister, while Charles of Valois was a cousin of Louis X., being the son of his uncle. It was not wonderful that such conditions gave an opportunity and found supporters for an ambitious combative king, when we remember that the wars of the Roses were fought on the question whether the nearest in blood of a younger stock superseded the line of the eldest.

Another point was the social and political position of the royal family. They were not, as in England, mere members of the highest social rank—the first among the aristocracy, but still ranking as subjects. They were a separate caste, very powerful and very troublesome, called the *sires des fleurs-de-lis*. When they obtained the apanages falling to the crown, as they frequently did, their conceded rank and arrogant assertions placed them nearer to the rank of sovereign princes than any subject was permitted to hold in England. Thus, in 1404, was founded the second dynasty of Burgundy in Philip, the son of John II. and the brother of Charles V. The new house obtained accession of territory unconnected with the crown of France, and stretching northward among the Flemings, who, as France played off the Scots against England, became the natural allies of England against France.

The third point is almost a corollary from such conditions. The separate principalities broke up the separate cohesive nationality of France, or may perhaps more justly be said to have kept the several parts from gravitating to a centre. After a succession of struggles and tragedies the Orleanists

and the Burgundians had a bitterer hatred of each other than any that existed between Frenchmen and Englishmen. It was part of the same unfortunate organisation that feudal tyranny was unchecked by anything like parliamentary action, where each one feudal lord had to answer for his conduct to the body collectively. Hence came a degraded impoverished peasantry with no heart for a warlike struggle. Their commanders, the chivalry of France, abounded in courage and high spirit. Du Guesclin, in the bare pages of history, is as great a hero as bard ever sang. But the strength of the English forces lay in a sturdy free peasantry who had something to live for. And on the whole, when the end came, and France was utterly freed of her foes, some reactionary efforts of good could be reasoned out of the whole. France saw where her enemies were and resolved herself into a compact nationality. On the other hand, it was well for the subsequent fate of England that her king was not also the undisputed monarch of France. A monarch so powerful would have been decidedly dangerous to the liberties of England, which he would have governed from France as the better suited for the farther extension of his dominions. Indeed, a natural step farther on for a monarchy so vast would have been the restoration of the old Empire with its central power reaching over all Europe.

M. Guizot gives us the history of this gloomy period candidly and distinctly, with little comment; it was evidently not a labour of love to him, but it had to be done. In one distinguishing part of it there arises a natural curiosity to discover his treatment—the career of the Maid of Orleans. To deal with this apparition is a sore trial to the earnest historian, be he a devotee of the Church of Rome, an attached member of any Protestant communion, or a philosopher at large. For this reason, perhaps, it is not one of the points on which our author has been in a position to give us the fruits of a separate exhaustive investigation. It was not possible that even in his long life he should thus exhaust every part, he had to make his choice of topics, and this was not one of them. At the same time it is not in his honest nature to profess to see more than he did see. His treatment is fair and simple—rather that of the statesman than of the archæologist. It is a good specimen of his courteous deference to any opinions or beliefs earnestly entertained by large communities, and a design to avoid treating them when so sanctioned either with scorn or derision. He tells the facts as they were apparent to the world, and these facts were of a large and significant kind. Whether or not she was inspired, and in accepted communication with the

unseen powers above us all, she was believed to be so, and a great nation acted under that belief. This enabled her to convince the people of two things—first, that the Dauphin was not illegitimate, but the real son of Charles VI.; and second, that it was the duty of all who spoke the language of France to gather round him and drive out of the land every Goddam—a curious testimony by the way to the antiquity of this favourite English form of private excommunication.

It would be all the more desirable to see this strange and grand episode in history ably and exhaustively investigated, that the author of another great history of France—a book with many merits of its own—has taken up the affair more like a Bollandist or a pilgrim to Saint Paray-le Monial than like a man of this world.* The affair has an interest beyond its bearing on the English wars. It was a battle with the churchmen ending in much damage and discouragement to the spiritual dominion of Rome in the Gallican Church. The spirit of reaction forced open the secrets of that inquest of heresy by which a person who had been offensive to the clergy was pronounced a heretic and handed over to the secular power to be put to death. The old Inquest, with its impenetrable mysteries, seemed to have settled the question between them; but the whole was revealed in the Rehabilitation, and this process has incalculable value in its exposure of a process that might otherwise have left no trace of the method in which it perpetrated its cruelties. And here it may be noted that our historian, if he did not undertake the desired investigation in his services to archæology, provided the means for its accomplishment by others, since the Process of Rehabilitation is one of the many precious volumes published by the Société de l'Histoire de France.†

On one point there is negative evidence that the priests were victorious. Though no other saint has been so fervently canonised by the acclamation of a great people, the name of the maid is not to be found within the sacred precincts of the calendar. There is a Joan of France there, but she was a queen—the wife of Louis XII. The day that should have been consecrated to the translation of Joan Virgin and Martyr—the 23rd of May, is shared by Desiderius of Langres and Desiderius of Vienne, male, in partnership with Julia, female.

As it was more from the quarrels of the French among

* See 'Edinburgh Review,' vol. xcv.

† Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc, publié par Jules Quicherat, five vols. 1841-9.

themselves than the contests with the English that all the misery of the Hundred Years' War arose, so it was not a new birth of native powers, but the reconciliation of the Burgundians with the Armagnacs that wrought the final liberation. Here is the account of the relief of Paris—one of the first incidents to announce that sunshine was returning to the troubled land. It was effected, and only could have been effected, by an emissary from the Burgundian camp:—

'The hapless city enslaved to the English was the realisation of devastation and ruin. According to an eye-witness "The wolves went about it at night, and there were twenty-four thousand empty houses." The Duke of Bedford, to keep out of sight these indications of misery, treated the Parisians with feasts and shows; but their recreations even were hideous and gloomy. In 1425 there was painted in the cemetery of the Innocents what is called the "Danse Macabré"—Death leering with his fleshless jaws takes all ranks of people, each in turn, by the hand and dances with them. In the Hôtel D'Armagnac, forfeited, like so many others, from its owners, an exhibition was made to amuse the people: "Four blind men, armed with staves, were shut along with a pig in a small enclosure. They were to see if they could kill the pig, but the more they thought they were assailing it the more they struck each other." The Constable determined to bring to an end this deplorable condition of the capital of France. In April 1436, when he came to arrange for himself a residence at St. Denis, he learned that the English had gone to enter the place and pillage the church. He ordered an immediate march. The Burgundians, who made nearly all his troop, would not mount until they had received their pay. Richemont undertook to see them paid, and they marched to St. Denis. "You are acquainted with the country," said the Constable to Marshal De l'Isle Adam. "Yes, my lord, and by my troth, in the part occupied by the English, you would do them no injury or annoyance, though you had ten thousand men." "Ah! but we shall try," said Richemont; "God will help us—march forward to the skirmish." He took St. Denis and chased out the English. When told of this success the population of Paris was roused and encouraged. A brave burgess of Paris, Michael Gaultier, a *maitre des comptes* it is said, notified to the Constable that they were ready—that they would open one of the gates of the city to him if he would engage in the name of the King for a general amnesty and the repression of all disorder. The Constable took in the King's name the desired engagement, and appeared next day—the 13th of April—with a selected force before the Porte St. Michel. The attempt was discovered. A man from the wall made a signal with his hat, crying out—"To the other gate—this won't open—they are at work for you in the Quartier des Halles." The force went along by the wall to the Port St. Jacques. "Who is there?" cried the burgesses who guarded it. "The Constable's men." He arrived presently on his great charger with a pleased and courteous air. It took time to open the gate, and a great ladder was let down. The Marshal De l'Isle Adam

mounted it the first, and planted on the wall the banner of France. The fastenings of the drawbridge were broken, and when it dropped the Constable made his entry on horseback, riding tranquilly down the Rue St. Jacques in the midst of a rejoicing and inspirited crowd.' (Vol. ii. pp. 543-4.)

The calamities that come out of happy strokes of statecraft are among the chief materials for moralising on the course of national events. The material external cause of all the miseries and humiliations of the Hundred Years' War arose out of that propitious union between Prince Edward of England and Isabel the daughter of Philip the Fair of France—a marriage hailed as the harbinger of union and tranquillity to the two nations. It was for strengthening the hand of the Holy Papal League against France and the unfaithful Gallican Church that Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., was wedded to a daughter of Spain—all the world knows how that union worked to results so signally the reverse of those anticipated.

In a history by a practical statesman we expect the interest to increase as he reaches those periods of fuller knowledge, when the working of individual hands is more distinctly revealed—and so it is. The portion of the history now before the world brings us down to the end of the wars of religion and the League with all their heavy burden of tragedies. It is well to have told, once for all, by so powerful a pen, a story that has been so lacerated by fanatical priests on the one part, and by equally fanatical Huguenot pastors on the other. The author does not conceal his sense of that absolutism of opinion that so often wrecked his countrymen. He admits that the Huguenots were fierce and intolerant as their oppressors were. They demanded not toleration for themselves, but the power to crush their opponents. But he points to a grand distinction between the two parties in that, while the leaders of the one suppressed and modified the ferocity of their followers, those of the other side roused it and used it for their own purposes. An estimate of the two causes is best made by looking at the leaders of both. On the one side we have Henry himself—Sully, Condé, Coligny, D'Aubigné, and Du Plessis Morney; on the other we have Catherine of Medici and her bloodhound son with all the Guises.

Our next extract shall be from the premonitions of the great tragedy of St. Bartholomew's Day. The Prince, afterwards Henry III., is cited as saying:—

'One day, just before the St. Bartholomew, setting out from my own apartments expressly to see the King, some one told me he was in his cabinet, whence immediately issued the Admiral, who had been a long

time closeted with him. I entered immediately as usual; but whenever the King my brother saw me he began to walk about furiously with great strides, casting side glances at me with a very wicked eye, putting his hand to his dagger with such looks of hatred, that I expected nothing else from him but to be collared and stabbed.'

When Coligny mounted to ride from Chatillon to Paris, a poor peasant woman threw herself before him bewailing—

"Ah sir—ah good master, I shall never see you more if once you go to Paris—you will perish there—you and all who go with you." At Paris, as St. Bartholomew's Day approached, the Admiral found that some of his gentlemen were leaving him. "They make too much of you here," said one of them—Langoiran—to him; "it is better to be safe among fools than be lost desiring to be thought over-wise." The Admiral was besieged by letters reminding him of the Queen-Mother's perfidy, and the detestable education of the King, trained to all ferocities and abominations, whose bible was Machiavelli, taught in bloodshed among beasts to shed the blood of men, and possessed with the maxim that a king is not bound by a law extorted by his subjects. To all these warnings Coligny made answer, either by assurances of the King's good faith, or by saying, "I would rather my dead body were trailed through the gutters of Paris than see civil war again." This majestic mighty soul had his hours, not of doubt in the faith of his adoption or of apprehension for his cause, but of profound sadness for the atrocities, the degrading spectacles, and the calamities, public and personal, that beset his path.'

'On Tuesday, the 22nd of August, 1572, Coligny returned on foot from the Louvre to the Rue des Fossés-Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, where he lived. He was reading a letter he had just received, when a shot fired from a window in the Cloister of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois shattered two fingers of his right hand and sent a ball into his left arm. He looked up, pointed with the maimed hand to the house whence the shot had come, and reached home on foot. Two of the gentlemen with him rushed on the assassin to seize him, but it was too late.'

'Coligny went to tell the King what had just occurred. "Behold," he said, "a specimen of the good faith in my agreement with the Duke of Guise!" "So there is no rest for me," said Charles, breaking the racket with which he was playing at tennis with the Duke of Guise and Téligny, the Admiral's son-in-law, and then retired to his chamber. Téligny immediately joined his father-in-law. He was attended by Ambrose Paré, who amputated the injured fingers.'

'A couple of hours after midday the King, the Queen-Mother, the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon, her two other sons, with many of the great courtiers in attendance, visited the Admiral. "My father," said the King to him on entering, "the wound may be for you, but the grief and the outrage are for me; but I shall take a vengeance that shall never be forgotten;" and this he asseverated with his usual oaths.'

'About midnight the Queen-Mother went down to the King with her son Henry and the four others in council. They found the King

more than ever disturbed. The conversation recommenced, and became a thorough assailing of the King. "The Guises," it was said, "will denounce the King himself, with his mother and his brother. The Huguenots will believe that the King is in league with them. They will compromise all the royal family. War is inevitable. Better gain a battle in Paris, where we hold all the heads, than risk a contest in the field." After a hour and a half of squabbling, Charles, vehemently excited, still hesitated. The Queen-Mother, dreading that if there were delay all would come out, exclaimed, "Allow me, Sire, along with your brother to retire into some part of the realm." Charles rose up. "By God's death," he cried, "since you wish it I agree that the Admiral be killed; but at the same time all the Huguenots in France, so that there shall not remain one to reproach me afterwards. Give the order instantly." He then retired.' (Vol. iii. pp. 547-55.)

Such were the preliminary mutterings of a tragedy of which it may safely be said, that within the bounds of authentic history there never was contributed in the doings of one night so much to influence its tenor. And terrible as the event was to France in the quantity of righteous blood shed, and the fear and hatred propagated among the survivors, it had an influence elsewhere not entirely sinister. In England it strengthened the hands of the Protestant Queen, and roused the spirit that scattered the Armada. In Scotland it blasted the hopes of Queen Mary. It threw the country, horrified at the cruelty and ferocity of its 'ancient ally,' into the arms of England, and cemented the friendship that placed a Scottish king upon the English throne, and made Britain one nation both in form and at heart.

There runs through this remarkable book a quality too subtle and too appropriate to its completeness to be represented in quoted fragments, and still more deficient when these fragments are translated. There is a unity and harmony in the narrative as it sweeps through events that in feebler hands would stand separate and alone. It is peculiarly developed where it is most valuable—in the approach to some great political storm or tragedy. The reader feels that it is coming. The air becomes 'thick with phantoms;' the mind is on the stretch of expectation, and is prepared for appreciating in full the weight and significance of the event. It is only to those who have gone deliberately through the book—or at least through the history of the quarrel between the Huguenots and the League—that this first shadowing of coming events is imparted in the approach to St. Bartholomew's Day.

Our next and concluding extract shall be on a matter of a different character, but momentous in its way, on that great blessing to the debating societies—the justification or con-

demnation of Henry's rendering himself over to the Church of Rome: --

'I am inclined to believe that before their conference Henry IV. had come much to the same opinion as Rosni. But it is a long step from an opinion to a determination. For all the breadth and liberality of his nature Henry was thoroughly perplexed. Far from being of one idea, or limiting his ambition to one achievement, he took account of the complex conditions surrounding him, and of the solution demanded by all and each. With a Protestant on the steps of the throne, he struggled for his political rights in the protection of his religion. But this religion did not come of conviction either seriously weighed or deeply rooted. It was a matter of truth and honour rather than of conscience; and on the other hand, the peace and prosperity—possibly the national existence of France—were bound to the political fortunes of the Bearnais. Even to his brethren in religion his triumph would be an assured blessing as the end of persecution and the first step to freedom. I pretend not to define what share ambition, self-interest, royal self-sufficiency may respectively have had in the religious abjuration of Henry IV. I do not pretend to deny the presence of such human infirmities; but I remain convinced that Patriotism was the ruling motive with Henry IV., and that the consideration of what as King he could do for France—a prey to all the miseries of war, both internal and foreign—was the prevailing motive to his resolution.' (Vol. iii. p. 467.)

It is unfortunate that this book bears a title which gives a very erroneous impression of its true character and importance. Because it is called '*L'Histoire de France racontée à mes petits-enfants*,' a supposition has gone forth that the book is written on the model of Scott's '*Tales of a Grandfather*.' If the whole tenor of the book did not contradict the analogy, it might get countenance from an English translation of it, blurred by certain puerilities and vulgar neologies, like the lisping and the softening of acerbities by which grown people sometimes attempt to make their conversation intelligible to children. The book that has been so translated is no doubt written with the dignified simplicity that has always worthily advanced its author; but it is a profound history where the harvest of learned research plays into the practical wisdom of the statesman, and is set forth with the attractive grace of the accomplished rhetorician. To be paralleled to the great name of Scott is not a fate that any man, however illustrious, would in the usual case be entitled to carp at. But there is some vulnerable part in every nature however great—some part that were its nature imparted to the whole man would make him little. So it is with the capacity of Scott to tell plain unadorned history. The '*Tales of a Grandfather*' have

often been commended as a better history of his country than that graver work prepared by him for Lardner's 'Cyclopædia,' when Mackintosh undertook England and Moore undertook Ireland. The book for boys is better than the book for men, because the author found that he might venture to take freedoms with his audience; he could adorn his narrative with some of the colouring in which he painted the narratives that fulfilled the mission of his genius. All this we must take with the understanding that very few, even of the greatest historians, saw through and through historical life as Scott did. He knew it all thoroughly; but he could only give life and brilliancy to the employment of this knowledge if he were allowed to select from it the parts that suited his taste, and to readjust them to his own fancy of the thoroughly picturesque. It was the perfect practical knowledge of actual historical conditions that made the romance worked out of them so charming. Of Scott's incapacity for pure history, the saddest testimony is his long *Life of Napoleon*. Its defects are rendered all the more distinct by the more recent efforts, especially in French literature, to tell the whole or portions of the history of that period. The tremulous feebleness in his *Life of Napoleon* might have seemed the confirmation of the forebodings expressed in that gloomy and touching truth that he 'had broken his magic wand.' M. Guizot's last great historical work, though produced at a far more advanced age, shows no signs of a similar weakness; and its only claim to be called a book for children, or young persons, is, that it cannot fail to attract them by its simplicity and graphic power.

We have noted above the harmony between this and its author's earlier historical works. History is one of the forms of intellectual triumph fortunately available to men of mature age. It may be said, indeed, to be a monopoly in their hands. It is not one of the commodities that youthful genius can extract from the depths of its own individuality. The fruits of fancy—poetry, romance, and the burlesque—are apt to ripen in the early years of life. There is much lamentation when some young man of genius is cut off in the midst, as it may seem, of his career. But those of the same order who live on to old age sometimes give reason for concurring in Wordsworth's view that the wiser mind 'mourns less for what time takes away than what he leaves behind.' The poet who has achieved an illustrious name within the first quarter of a century of his life has generally completed his part, and has no more laurels to win. But men in general are not content to enjoy the mellow lustre of past achievements. There is a

thirst after the exciting process of creating echoes of resounding fame day by day. Hence there is sometimes to be seen a certain weariness in the lives of men who have passed from the generation on which their fame burst in its full lustre, and have to cross half a century to recall those thrilling days when men turned round in the street to look at them.

But in some spheres of intellectual triumph, and especially in that of history, it is well when the beginning and the end are far apart from each other. The studies that are to bear fruit long afterwards cannot begin too soon. Whenever they have the elements of success in them they are seen in two separate but closely allied forms—a thirst for the reading of great existing histories, and an inquisitive searching after the vestiges that under the name of antiquities go to make up the archæological materials for new history. The longer the conclusive task of collecting and giving forth is deferred the better, so that there be still intellectual strength for its accomplishment. It would be a perilous resolution in general if one should defer the conclusion until he has reached his seventieth year. But it has been the rare fortune of the great Frenchman. He is now in his eighty-seventh year, and has passed beyond the middle of his great work with an intellect in full vigour; let us pray that so it may continue until the whole is completed.

But it is not merely the number of days vouchsafed to him, but the manner in which they have been passed that go to the fulfilment of his endowments. All good historians have been men of affairs. Even Hume, so nearly associated with the abstract and the reclusely studious, was an under secretary of state at home, and a secretary of legation at Paris, where he discussed with Turgot, D'Alembert, and Helvetius the symptoms of the coming storm. Raumer, generally reputed as a slave of the lamp, served in many political offices connected with diplomacy and finance. Those historians who have taken all their knowledge of mankind from the bookshelves and the lamp betray themselves by incompetency to deal distinctly and precisely with the political dynamics by which men are governed. Their political characters are like the stage kings who strut before the audience, ordering this courtier to be beheaded and that to be banished, or who declare in a bombastic sentence the liberation of a people from the bondage and the tribute imposed on them by their tyrannical predecessors.

If this view be admitted, that to have been a man of affairs, to have been practically acquainted with public business and the way in which the institutions of governments are adminis-

tered, goes far in the making of the historian, we might surely search the biographies of great historians through all ages without finding one who had qualified himself for his task by so wide an experience in the actual political work that becomes the object of historical narrative, as M. Guizot. Made an orphan by the guillotine in his childhood, the first revolution must have left indelible impressions on his heart. His illustrious place in politics from the Restoration to the catastrophe of 1848 is too well known everywhere to require repetition here. But a casual enumeration of but a few of the epochs of national development, and the critical events claiming the attention of an historian of France, within the compass of the three volumes now at hand, will suggest how fortunate it was that he who devoted himself to the task should have been trained for it by practical statesmanship. First, after the confusions of the breaking up of the Empire comes its readjustment by Charlemagne. Then the invasions and the settlements of the Normans. Then the rise of feudalism and of chivalry; the religious mania that realised itself in the crusades; the persecutions of the Albigenses; the Jacquerie and the reign of the Butchers in Paris; we have the dreary hundred years' war with its home tragedies—the slaughter of the marshals by Marcel, the provost, and his band so close to the poor young Dauphin that he was bespattered with the blood of his friends. Then the assassination of the Duke of Orleans in the streets of Paris, and the revenge when in the conference at the Bridge of Montereau Tanguy Duchatel lost his temper and stabbed the Duke of Burgundy. Then we have the wondrous tale of the fighting maiden—her celestial visions and her real conquests. The enemy is driven forth, and the wild career of Charles of Burgundy gives opportunity for the consolidation of the kingdom by the wily plotting monarch, who like some creeping thing eats away the roots of the old social institutions of the country, and makes a clearance where a king may see around him and govern. Then through the maze of European contests centring round Italy we are carried on to the reign of Francis I., with its glories and disasters; and thence we come upon the war of religion with the massacres of Vassy and St. Bartholomew. The first projects of the Guises come up with their slaughter, one by one, followed by the assassination of the cruel king, who had slain the last of them, making room for the favourite of all history, Henry the Great, destined, like so many others of his age and country, to an untimely end.

Besides the career of practical statesmanship that strengthened his hand for dealing with the statesmanship of the past,

Guizot performed other services eminently adapted to the task he is now at work with. It would appear that a good historian must have a training in archæology, just as a good physician has a training in surgery, anatomy, and chemistry, and an architect will benefit by knowing how to put his hand to the square, the axe, and the saw. If this be a truth, then Guizot's career is a signal example of it. He has done vast services to the archæology of France, and through France of mediæval Europe generally. It is not easy to over estimate the value of the thirty volumes that make up the 'Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France depuis la fondation de la monarchie Française jusqu'au 13^e siècle, avec une Introduction, des supplémens, des notices, et des notes: par M. Guizot, Professeur d'Histoire Moderne à l'Académie de Paris.'

This collection, along with that of Petitot and Buchon, made a great body of invaluable material for the students of the early history of France. These owe a heavy debt to Guizot, not only for what he did in his own collection but for the impulse that he gave to others, and the assistance he afforded them as a statesman. He was the founder of 'La Société de l'Histoire de France,' which has given to the world the riches of that country in chronicles and diplomatics; afterwards as Minister of Instruction he founded the project for printing the sources of French history under the sanction of, and at the cost of, the Government. France was the cradle of Record lore, and has ever held in high respect the gift she thus gave to the world. From the days of Mabillon, the great Benedictine, downward, 'Diplomatique' has ever been nourished in France as an important element in science; and worthy as much of what we can show in the same class of literature is, there is a nicety of finish in the work of Frenchmen scarcely yet attained by us. We are apt to associate the literary aspirations of the French with the sensational, the fierce, the paradoxical, the profane, and the licentious—with everything but the conscientiously laborious. But it is certain that there is in France—and especially in Paris—a large body of men given to skilled labours of various kinds in art and science, who are less dependent on material comforts, luxuries, and the satisfaction of social position than the same class among us—men whose hearts are in their work, and who are content with its daily pursuit as the chief enjoyment of life if it will but give to them a moderate sustenance.

To return, however, to M. Guizot. As he pursues the turbid, and sometimes sanguinary, course of the history of his country,

the quality which strikes us most forcibly is his invincible optimism, his unconquerable faith in the power of the French nation to rise superior to a thousand calamities and to work out the difficult problem of government by free institutions. The closing years of his honourable life have fallen on dark and evil days, which form a painful contrast to the triumphs of his youth and of his manhood. But, undismayed by these scenes, he traces with a firm hand the glorious record of the traditions of France, and he trusts that the country which rose superior to the Ligue and the Fronde will not fall a victim to the bigotry and anarchy of more vulgar enemies.

ART. VIII.—*An Icelandic-English Dictionary based on the MS. Collections of the late Richard Cleasby, enlarged and completed by GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON, M.A.; with an Introduction and Life of Richard Cleasby, by GEORGE WEBBE DASENT, D.C.L.* Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1874.

RICHARD CLEASBY, the consummate philologist and originator of the great work which stands at the head of this article, was bred to pursuits which might have seemed little likely to produce such a genius for the science of language. He was born on November 30, in the year 1797, the son of Stephen Cleasby, of Craig House, in Westmoreland, who at the time of Richard's birth was established in business in the city as a wealthy Russia broker. The father seems to have had no other desire than that his eldest son should be associated with him in the house which he had founded. No public school, and neither of our two great universities, can claim the merit of instilling into the mind of the lad those seeds of sound learning which afterwards shot up into such philological excellence. A private school in the neighbourhood of London gave him both a classical and commercial education, and at the age of fifteen Richard Cleasby entered his father's counting-house. There for a while he was entirely engrossed in learning the business; corn and hemp, tallow and linseed, timber and bristles, were the objects of his study; and of them, and indeed of all, the products of the North in which the Russia broker deals, the young clerk acquired a knowledge which in his after life we find curiously intermingled with his literary acquirements.

Stephen Cleasby the father was a fine old city merchant of the ancient type. He clung to business himself, was early in the city, and late in leaving it. As he had worked himself,

so he expected his sons to work; and there can be no doubt that the regular and industrious habits, and the indefatigable application which were Richard Cleasby's characteristics through life, were engrafted on him and his brothers by the example of their father, whom they loved and respected as sons were wont to love and respect them in that good old time. In due course from a clerk Richard became a partner in the firm, and his father no doubt looked forward with just pride to the day when Cleasby and Son would be greater than ever in the city by the skill and ability of the new partner. But this hope was not destined to be fulfilled. Some of our readers might exclaim, 'What a talent for business was thrown away, and what a golden opportunity for acquiring wealth lost, when 'Richard Cleasby retired from the firm in the year 1824!' But so it was to be. During those seven years of bondage in the city the seeds of classical learning which had been sown at that private school grew with his growth, and so soon as he realised enough out of the profits of the business to have an income of his own, he gave up his place at the desk to his second brother Stephen, and went abroad with the reluctant consent of his father, and with the determination to travel, to educate himself, and finally to devote himself to literary pursuits. How faithfully and successfully he carried out these intentions is amply shown by the full and particular diaries which he kept day by day from the year 1824. In them the very form and fashion of his life is detailed with a minuteness and accuracy which does not leave the reader one moment in doubt as to the energy and profit with which he followed the course which he had proposed to himself when he left his father's counting-house, first to see the world, and in seeing it to educate himself by severe study, and, when educated, to devote himself to some literary work which might benefit the world. In the following words Dr. Dasent has called attention to one point which rendered it possible for Cleasby to carry out his intentions to the letter:—

'One great advantage he had over many scholars. They are often tied and tethered, as it were, to one field, through want of means to change their abode, and so are apt to grow one-sided and undeveloped in all aspects but one. The case of Richard Cleasby was altogether different. He had both the power to roam and the will to make his flitting from one city or country to another a means, not of idle amusement, but of advancement in sound learning and fruitful study. He was not one of those butterflies which pass from flower to flower and gain nothing at the end of the day but death; but rather like the bee which seems to spend its time in the same way, and yet returns to the hive at eve laden with honey.'

In every age the world has far too few of such faithful workers. Who can regret therefore that Richard Cleasby abandoned the Russian trade to his father and his brother, and left England by the 'Camilla' steamer from Portsmouth for Havre, on September 14, 1824?

Though in his later days the tendencies of Richard Cleasby were altogether Northern, and though his business with Russia might well have attracted him thither at an earlier period, it is evident that his thoughts on first leaving England were all turned South. Perhaps it was that he had more than enough of the frozen North in his father's counting-house, and flew South by natural impulse as soon as he regained his liberty. Whatever the reason, so it was. The first years of his foreign pilgrimage were spent in Switzerland, where he learnt French at Geneva; and in Italy, where he studied Greek and Latin, and Italian; acquiring such mastery over the latter language as to speak and write it with fluency and elegance, as is shown by drafts of his letters which still exist among his correspondence. Up to the year 1826, and indeed to a far later period, his father seems to have cherished the hope that Richard could never find it in his heart altogether to abandon business, and to have considered his long absence on the Continent in the light of an extended vacation. On May 18 in that year we find the following entry in his diary:—'Wrote a very long letter to my father in answer to his, telling him that as far as my present feelings went, I had no idea of returning to business; that I was in a few days about to leave Florence for Carlsbad by the Tyrol . . . and that I should require a letter either on Dresden or Leipzig.' This first mention of Carlsbad in his diaries reveals another condition of Cleasby's existence which makes his indefatigable devotion to study still more remarkable. From the year 1826 down to the last day of his life, he was troubled with an obstinate affection of the liver which would yield to no other treatment than repeated visits to that famous Bohemian bath. Having crossed the Tyrol we find Cleasby on June 7, 1826, in Munich for the first time, and on the 16th at Carlsbad, consulting Dr. Leo, a famous physician, and amusingly confessing 'that the place would be much more agreeable if he could speak German.' After his course of water he visited Dresden, Berlin, and Leipzig, where on August 21 he attended a Latin lecture on Theocritus by the famous Greek Professor Hermann, on whom and his class he makes the following remarks:—'Hermann lectured in Latin, in which language indeed almost the whole business of the University of Leipzig

'is carried on. There were about seventy young men present, 'a sadly raffish-looking set. Hermann himself, with a stand-up collar, blue coat, and woollen winter-looking waistcoat, had 'all the appearance of a little mechanic—a man one would 'expect to see at a turning machine.' After that we find him on August 30, 1826, established at Tharandt, near Dresden, in the house of a charming clergyman named Prietsch, that he might learn German. There he remained till November 1, when he recrossed the Alps to Florence, where he stayed till April 5, 1827, receiving in the meantime the good news that his brother Anthony—now one of the Barons of the Exchequer—was second wrangler. In that spring he at last returned to England, moved by a false alarm that his mother's health was failing. He still suspected that there was a design in the family to decoy him back to business; and so, after spending two months with them, he 'took a feeling parting' from his parents, and left London for Bordeaux by way of Liverpool and Dublin. From Bordeaux he made his way back to Italy, visiting Naples and the South, and wintering in Rome, with which he was already well acquainted. On March 18, 1828, he and a friend left the great City 'in the carriage of a 'vetturino, in which were an actress, a dancer, a Bolognese 'mezzo-litterato, two canaries, a parcel, and at times a poodle-dog, though he was in general outside; and proceeded to 'Ronciglione, where we slept, and ought to have supped, if 'there had been anything to eat.' He was now on his way to Vienna *vid* Trieste and Pola. On April 12, he reached the Austrian capital, and on the 24th he was back in his old quarters with the clergyman at Tharandt, where he was shortly afterwards seized with a complicated attack of liver and rheumatism, which reduced him 'to an almost total privation of the use of his limbs, being unable to walk without 'a stick, in much pain, and scarcely able to stand upright.' This attack sent him of course to Carlsbad. In July he is cured and back in Dresden, diligently studying German, in which he is now a proficient. On the 30th of the month he set out for home, and travelling at his ease was in London on October 12.

Here it will occur to some that by this time Richard Cleasby, who left England aged twenty-seven in the year 1824, ought to have considered himself sufficiently educated at the end of 1828. 'When ever,' they will ask, 'is this course of education 'to end?' That this was not at all Cleasby's view is proved by the fact that the sole object of this return to England was that he might pass that winter in Edinburgh in the study of

Scotch Metaphysics, which again was only to be a preparation for a course of German Philosophy under Schelling, at Munich. In Edinburgh he remained till April 1, 1829, attending the lectures of Sir William Hamilton, as well as those of Professor Wilson, Dr. Chalmers, and Professors Pillans, Leslie, and Ritchie. Before he leaves he thus notes his experience in his diary:—

‘I cannot take leave of Edinburgh without the expression of my extreme satisfaction as to the manner in which I have passed this winter. My leading object was to attend the Moral Philosophy Class, and to get some insight into Scotch Philosophy and Metaphysics. Wilson, though a clever and amiable man, is not, I think, exactly calculated for the chair he fills. He has a great deal of talent, but it is of a poetical cast; his imagination seems to hold the reins. I cannot, however, but say that he made some very good and genuine observations, displaying considerable insight into human nature, especially as to the passions. His appearance is very commanding, and the index of his mind; it resembles more an Apollo than a Socrates. . . . As to Wilson’s political economy, I regret to say he had neglected to get up the subject; and certainly upon the whole cut but a poor figure, often coming before us quite unprepared. . . . Chalmers and Leslie seem to be the great lights. . . . I consider Edinburgh a most desirable residence; it has almost all the advantages of a capital without the follies and excesses.’

On April 2 he left Edinburgh with his friend Forbes, a son of Lord Medwyn, on a visit to Abbotsford. Need we say that he was delighted with the geniality of Sir Walter Scott? On the 11th of the month he was at home again in Cornwall Terrace, Regent’s Park, where his father lived; and on the 25th, fortified with his Scotch Metaphysics, he left England for Germany, though he does not seem at first to have taken to German Philosophy, but to have continued his classical studies, to which he now added German History. On March 11, 1830, he notes that he attended a lecture at Leipzig, on Philosophy, by Professor Krug, and ‘was not a little surprised to see him mount the desk in regular cavalry spurs, which rang so as he came in that I thought a dragoon had entered the room.’ On the same day he writes: ‘I also heard the animated little Greek Professor Hermann, who also lectured in spurs and a drab great coat. He speaks an easy clear Latin. The Agamemnon of Æschylus was the subject, and he appeared to illustrate it ably.’ There, too, he heard Wachsmuth, the author afterwards of that ‘Hellenische Alterthumskunde,’ which we remember with horror for its interminable sentences, in which the verb seems never likely to come to the bewildered reader’s relief.

Strange to say, Cleasby found the man whose written style is so hopelessly heavy, with a face full of smiles, and remarks full of wit, and so 'restless that he could scarce remain a minute in the same position.' During that visit to Leipzig he saw the 'Convict,' as it was called, an institution, we believe, which has since disappeared, where three or four hundred students, mostly theologians, were fed twice a day at government expense in an immense old hall. 'At mid-day,' he tells us, 'they get meat and vegetables;' and in the evening 'a soup, and what they call a *brei*, i.e., a sort of porridge, and a loaf each about the size of an English twopenny-loaf.' In the summer of 1830 Cleasby again returned to England, but the outbreak of the French Revolution shortly after made him take fresh flight for the Continent, on which we find him at Paris on August 17, surprised to see no traces of recent tumult or excitement. From Paris he found his way to Germany by Nancy and Strasburg, and reached Leipzig on September 4, just in time to see a little riot in the streets, in which, while the troops remained inactive, the populace entered and sacked the houses of obnoxious persons. On the 5th of the month he notes, 'The police establishment ceased yesterday to exist, and all military interference seems to be forbidden.' On the 6th he left Leipzig, and on the 12th reached Munich, which he ever after considered his head-quarters in Germany, and to which in his latest years he fondly imagined that he should return after he had finished his labours in the North. His first friend in the Bavarian capital seems to have been the eccentric Hoffmann, who showed him all the lions which he had not seen in his former visits, and introduced him to many literary men. By this time Richard Cleasby was, as may be supposed, a very good German scholar, and here, in company with his friend Henry Reeve, who, with Sir John Lefevre, is almost the last survivor of those who knew him at that early time, he faced German Philosophy in earnest, and began to attend diligently the lectures of the genial Schelling. On January 5, 1831, he notes: 'Dined with a large party of professors, who met to-day and celebrated Schelling's birthday; but *Deutscher Ernst* was too leading an ingredient in the assembly, and it went off heavily. He is fifty-six years old.' It was one of the miseries of Cleasby's existence that he was always trying some new remedy for his old ailment; and so in May 1831 we learn that his physician, Dr. Walther, had recommended a *kräuter-kur*, or herbal course of medicines, according to which he was to drink every morning before breakfast half-a-pint of a decoction of dandelion and other

herbs; but as Dr. Dasent observes, 'the end of this *kur*, as well as of all the *Molken* and *Trauben-kurs* which he afterwards underwent, was that he was again ordered to Carlsbad, at which king of baths we find him on the 12th of June, and noting that there were thirteen English there.' After his *kur* he returned to Munich, and wrote thence to his father that he had made up his mind to go to Greece with Professor Thiersch, for those were the days, it must be remembered, when all the world in Bavaria were mad to go with King Otho to his new kingdom. Difficulties of quarantine, however, arising out of the outbreak of the cholera, which Cleasby calls in good old fashion *cholera morbus*, prevented this expedition to Greece, a land which after his prolonged classical studies he longed to see. Had he then gone South, it is more than probable that he would never have undertaken those Northern labours on which his fame will rest, and the world would have still been without its Icelandic Dictionary. Though greatly disappointed at having to give up Greece, Cleasby consoled himself with a long tour in the Tyrol, Switzerland, and Upper Italy, returning to Munich on October 28, 1831. For some time longer, philosophy rather than philology was his favourite study, and his diaries are full of notices of Schelling's lectures, while on November 29, 1832, he notes: 'Schelling told me to-day that during the troubles of the war in Germany, when there was scarcely any telling what might be the result, he had formed a plan for going to England to give instruction in the Latin language, having excogitated a method by which to teach it in half the usual time.' But at the same time that he pursued his metaphysics, he found leisure to work at Old German with Professors Schmeller and Massmann, and these linguistic studies gradually gained ground in his favour until they became about the year 1833 the chief object of his care. On June 5 in that year he wrote to his father that he intended to return to England by way of Carlsbad, Dresden, Berlin, Westphalia, and Holland; and on the 10th of that month he took leave of his kind friends in Munich, and especially of Martius, Schelling, and Schmeller, of whom he notes: 'My excellent friend Schmeller was likewise there; a sterling character, of a sort at present rare in the extreme.' On the same day he left Munich, where he had now concluded those preparatory studies which he deemed necessary to repair a neglected education.

Up to that date, though he had been for some time an indefatigable student of the dialects of Germany, ancient and modern, over the latter of which he had acquired such mastery

as to arouse the wonder of philologers like Jacob Grimm, he had paid no attention to the languages and literature of the North; but during his annual visit to Carlsbad in 1833 he met the Swedish poet Tegner, who not only talked philosophy with him, but gave him an invitation to visit him next year in Sweden at his see in the town of Vexiö. As Cleasby and his master Schmeller had, it seems, discussed the Gothic versions of the Gospel during their Old German studies, and the necessity of a closer inspection of the *Codex Argenteus* at Upsala had been insisted on, this invitation of the Swedish bishop was particularly welcome, and to it, no doubt, we owe the origin of our Icelandic Dictionary. Before returning to England Cleasby again visited Berlin, where he was courteously received by Bockh, Von Raumer, Ehrenberg, Graff, and Ranke; leaving that magnificent city, however, with the impression that, as compared with his darling Munich, it was *vornehm und traurig*. Thence he turned to Göttingen to make the acquaintance of the Grimms, who were ever after his firm friends. On his way home he visited A. W. Schlegel at Bonn, with whom he was not so delighted, thinking him effeminate in his manner and fault-finding in his conversation. On September 19, 1833, what may be called the first period of Cleasby's pilgrimages abroad ended. He had travelled far and wide, and his preliminary education was finished. It now remained for him to determine to what special branch of learning he should devote the remainder of his life.

On that very day he makes the following most interesting entry in his diary:—

'After returning yesterday evening from the Continent with a view to make some lengthened stay in England after my long peregrinations, I got on the coach this morning at Dover, about eight o'clock, for London, and arrived about three p.m. at Cornwall Terrace, where I found my father, mother, and sister in excellent health. Stephen came from the City later in the evening with his accustomed steadiness of garb, and Anthony was in Yorkshire occupied as a revising barrister. I cannot say that I approached without some misgivings the overgrown metropolis, the head and centre of all ceaseless toiling after wealth and endless striving after rank and consequence, the matchless emporium of smoke and fog; for after the many quiet winters passed in philosophical research and the tranquillity of literary pursuit in the less aspiring circles of German capitals, I feared that the rush and bustle and ambitious contentings of the great city would be sadly at variance with the tendency of my feelings and the whole tenor of my mind.'

With such views of London life it was not likely that Richard Cleasby would ever remain long in what he calls the 'matchless emporium of smoke and fog;' but while he stays he is full of

literary and philosophical pursuits. Now he calls on his friend Reeve; now he writes to Schmeller and Martius at Munich, and begs the latter to tell Schelling that he cannot say 'the German school of philosophy makes rapid progress in England. "*Die Engländer begeben sich in das Transcendentale* " " *erstaunlich langsam.*"' In March, 1834, we find him at Oxford, accompanied by Benjamin Thorpe, busy in collating MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and at the end of the month he writes to Schmeller, 'Perhaps after all I may not be able to make my pilgrimage to Scandinavia this spring; in that case I should probably go to Carlsbad.' But this doubt was soon solved in the affirmative; on May 14 he left London by steamer for Hamburg, and on the 21st first saw Copenhagen, being much struck by the width of the streets and the spaciousness of the large open squares. On the 24th he was on his way for Stockholm, stopping at Vexjö only to find Bishop Tegner so depressed in spirits and suffering in body that he seemed to have forgotten all his promises. Arrived at Stockholm, he passed on, on June 8, to Upsala, and saw the great object of his journey, the Gothic Gospels of Uphilas. On this occasion there was no question of a collation of the venerable MS., and he could not help remarking the anxiety with which Professor Schröder, the chief librarian, received his request to be allowed to take it in his hand—an anxiety, we may remark, quite justified by the fact that at some period between the years 1821 and 1834, a sacrilegious hand had stolen no less than ten pages out of these Gothic Gospels. This theft had only just been detected when Cleasby paid his first visit to Upsala, and the writer well remembers that it was laid at the door of an imaginary English bibliomaniac, though with no reason, as Professor Schröder informed him. On July 10 Cleasby is back again in Copenhagen, having returned to that city by crossing Sweden into Norway. In Copenhagen, or the Danish Isles, Cleasby remained for nearly a year, only leaving the North for a month in the autumn of 1834 to take a grape-cure on the Rhine. In that space of time he learned both Danish and Swedish. On June 10, 1835, he left Copenhagen for his annual visit to Carlsbad, and, after his cure, was recalled to England by alarming accounts of his brother Stephen's health, who was threatened with consumption. Finding him in no immediate danger, he returned to Dresden in October; but on November 14 his brother died, to his great grief, and on December 15 we find him writing thus to Anthony:—

'The loss of such a brother cannot be repaired, but we must seek by

all possible unity and by clinging closely to each other, to close up as far as possible the cruel gap which the envious giant has made in our ranks; not unreminded by what has happened of the uncertainty of the period during which it may be granted to us to range in the already diminished space of fraternal love and friendship.'

The death of his brother gave his mind a very serious turn, and from the diaries it is plain that for some time Cleasby's chief study was theology. On January 4, 1836, he left Dresden for Leipzig, taking with him a young man named Stegmann to assist him 'in an attentive reading of the Bible.' That summer he went home again, only to return in August to Germany, where, on September 19, we find him again established in Munich; that town, he says, 'to which so many agreeable recollections are attached, as well as regards the acquisition of knowledge as that of sincere friends.' We pass rapidly over the time from 1836 to 1839, which he spent for the most part at Munich working hard at German philology with his friend Schmeller. His copies of 'Kemble's Beowulf,' which are before us as we write, show by the number and searching character of the notes which they contain, how far he had entered into the realms of Teutonic philology, in which Grimm and the lesser lights of his famous school now recognised in the indefatigable Englishman no longer a student but a master. On July 13, 1838, he was in England and present at a banquet at the Guildhall, given on the occasion of the Queen's coronation. There he sees

'The Duke de Nemours, a nice, amiable-looking, blonde youth; Sault, a broad tough-looking warrior, a good deal knocked about, but still hale and firm; Sebastiani's countenance is intelligent; Esterhazy, Schwartzberg, Stroganoff, Putbus, Spanish and Portuguese grandees, etc., excited less interest; but the splendid diamonds on the sabre of the first-mentioned could not escape notice. Wellington, Peel, Melbourne, Sir J. Graham, Stanley, Lord John Russell, and the massive pair, O'Connell and Hume, with numerous other contrasts, sat peaceably and apparently well pleased side by side.'

In 1839 Cleasby seems to have made up his mind to settle for some time in the North of Europe, and especially to revisit Upsala and collate the *Codex Argenteus*. Combined with this was a desire to see Petersburg and the Baltic Provinces. We must content ourselves with saying that he successfully accomplished both these objects, though he notes in his diary that at St. Petersburg the literary introductions he had 'were but coldly responded to.' With the collation of the *Codex Argenteus* he had better fortune, though even in Upsala his literary labours on more than one occasion were much thwarted

by the inability of the officials in the library to produce the key of the case in which the precious MS. was contained. Returning from Sweden across the Fells to Norway, which, on this occasion, he visited as far north as Drontheim, we find him back in Copenhagen on September 23. Thence an alarming account of his father's health, who had failed much after the death of his son and partner, took Cleasby back to England; but his fears were happily unfounded, and in November he was back in the Danish capital, which was for the future to be his head-quarters till the day of his death.

Richard Cleasby was now not only a student, but an accomplished scholar in all the Teutonic dialects but one. Gothic, Old High German, and Anglo-Saxon were, so to speak, at his fingers' ends. Wherever he turns his steps—at Halle, where the pugnacious but genial Leo lived; at Cassell, where the Grimms had found shelter after their expulsion from Göttingen by King Ernest; at Berlin, where Graff and Lachman were professors—the first thought of the ardent inquirer was for information on *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* and doubtful passages and readings in the Gothic Gospels, or the Hildebrands Lied, or Beowulf, or the Traveller's Song. Of all these languages he knew as much as the rest of the learned world, but of one and the most attractive of them, more especially in its interest for Englishmen, and for the richness of its literature, he was still profoundly ignorant. This we need hardly say was the Icelandic, the mother-tongue of those Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian dialects which he had already mastered so far as it is possible to master them when ignorant of the source from which they sprang. Richard Cleasby was not the man to be content with a derived rather than an original language; he had been pleased with Copenhagen on his former visits, and found there a literary life and a cultivated society which might put to shame the culture of far prouder capitals. He made up his mind, therefore, that in Copenhagen he could best complete his philological inquiries, and that the next step in his education must be the acquirement of Icelandic, which could be learnt nowhere else so well; and so in the winter of 1839 he took up his abode in that city. On November 5, we find the following entry in his diary:—'Four degrees of heat'—he was always most exact in noting the state of the weather—'began to read Icelandic, 'Sæmund's Edda, with a native Icelander, Giselsen.' This is the first mention of Konrad Gislason, and for some time longer he continues, 'Giselsen, and not Gislason in Cleasby's 'diaries.' With him he reads four times a week, but reading Icelandic in those days, and indeed almost down to this very

day, was 'to read a language without a dictionary, for that by Björn Haldorsen afforded little help.' As early as January 10, 1840, comes this entry in the diary:—'Talked with Rafn about editing an Icelandic Dictionary;' and on February 12, we find Cleasby writing to his friend Kemble, 'I am up to my chin in *Islandicis*, and doing what I can to promote the preparation of a good sound Old Northern Lexicon; and so get this, for so late in the 19th century, unaccountable and most scandalous blank filled up in this grand branch of Teutonic development.' On April 22, his design had taken actual shape: 'Sent three reams of paper to Konrad Giselsen, in preparation for the Dictionary of the Icelandic Language which I intend to edit.' And again: 'Paid Konrad Giselsen this day eight thalers for instruction this month, and fifty thalers for work, to be undertaken exclusively for me relative to an Icelandic Dictionary I intend to publish. The fifty thalers are regarded as a payment at the rate of fifty thalers per month, from this day, till the 1st of June, and he gave me an acknowledgment in writing,' which we may remark is still to be found amongst Cleasby's papers, together with many more from Gislason and other Icelandic amanuenses, down to the last sad entry of September 6, 1847, which records his final payment. As might be expected, as soon as he had embarked on this enterprise, Cleasby communicated it to his master Schmeller; and we translate from the German, as given in Cleasby's Life, the following extract from this letter:—

'The need of such a work seems to be so urgent, that I have almost made up my mind to make a Prose Icelandic Lexicon myself, not in the fashion of a Thesaurus, but of a manageable bulk, and embracing the Old Scandinavian Language, from its earliest monuments down to about the 14th century, with an English translation. A work the difficulty of which when properly done, and answering to the present standard of philology, is not concealed from me; but which, with honest determination and constant pains, I think might be completed in three years. It would give me great satisfaction if I, in return for the many, very many instructive, comforting, and pleasant hours which I have spent in the study of the German languages, and more particularly in Munich, could show my gratitude by, in my turn, contributing something sound and profitable to the same study, and supply a want which must every year be more and more felt. Pray tell me in a speedy letter what you think of this my beginning.'

To this letter Cleasby received, on June 24, 1840, what he calls 'a most agreeable letter from my valued friend Schmeller, 'in Munich.' That letter still exists, and from it we translate the following passage:—

'I need not tell you how much we all rejoice in what you are now

doing for the good of Northern Philology; but we shall be still more rejoiced if you will turn your strength and will to meet the demand for a really useful Prose Lexicon of the Older Language of the North, a demand which is every day more bitterly felt. The task, indeed, is no child's play; not only must all the existing attempts in the same line, but also the whole body of literature, printed or existing only in MS., be read through and methodically extracted. For this part of your work, however, you will find ready help from your amanuenses. To a clear, cautious, enduring spirit no task is too difficult. Should more than the three years pass by, I must console myself for continuing so long without catching sight of you again, though I desire it from the bottom of my heart, by my love for the same branch of literature.'

Richard Cleasby had at last found the work he had fitted himself by his education to do. In the interval between 1824 and 1840 he had become one of the most accomplished philologers of the day, and here in the North he had found an untilled field in which to work till he had made it bear fruit for the whole philological world. How he laboured in that field his diaries, from 1840 till the day of his death in 1847, abundantly prove. In spite of repeated visits to Carlsbad, and long absences from Copenhagen, enforced by the death of his mother and father, to which were added the claims of business when he became a wealthy man after the latter event, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction, that he never shrank from the great task which he had set himself to accomplish; that he worked at his Dictionary most indefatigably himself, and was unflagging in his exhortations to his Icelandic amanuenses to follow the example he so worthily set them. How the work grew under his hand, and how the term of three years, at which he had at first reckoned it, was necessarily extended, is well shown by his letters to the friends whose sympathy and interest encouraged him in these exhausting labours. Thus, on April 27, 1841, he writes to Kemble: 'I have been toiling very hard in the Icelandic field all this winter, and I am not a little exhausted. The further I get from the beginning the further I seem to be from the end; but in time I suppose the perspective will change;' and on the same day to Mr. John Shaw Lefevre:—

'As to the Icelandic Opus, I have been toiling incessantly since I wrote you last, grubbing away at the foundations; but it is a slow operation; indeed, the further I get from the beginning, the more I think the end seems to recede, a quality which at ten years of age one would doubtless have hailed with joy in a plum-cake, but which, in a pursuit like the one in question, is not so attractive; one is involuntarily reminded of the "will o' the wisp." To judge from the basement, of which portions here and there are beginning to be visible above

the ground, I fear the edifice, in point of extent, much exceeds what I at first expected. These Icelandic labours have exhausted me not a little, and I am looking to my departure from this place in two or three weeks for Germany.'

After a visit to Carlsbad, he returned to England for some months in the summer of 1841, where he had the melancholy satisfaction of being present at the death of his mother, who died on December 5, 'an excellent wife, a most affectionate mother, and a good, kind, upright woman.' At the same time his own health was very indifferent, in spite of Carlsbad, and at last the English physicians declared he was threatened with paralysis, for which they bled and cupped him, and dosed him with calomel. In spite of this drastic treatment, however, we find him in the spring of 1842 dining with friends like Reeve, running down to see Kemble at Addlestone, and even accompanying his father to the ancestral property in Westmoreland, which, what with leases and repairs and tithe squabbles, seems to have been a perpetual trouble. While there they searched 'the registers at the clergyman's, and found out that the family came over to Stainmoor from Yorkshire, somewhat before the middle of the seventeenth century.' And on their return by coach they saw 'about four miles from Darlington, on the Yorkshire side of the Tees, the little village of Cleasby, with its beautiful lands running down to the river, from which the family took its name.' After this long absence—during which his letters to his Icelandic amanuenses to be diligent in extracting passages for the Dictionary from specified MSS. had been incessant—he returned, at the end of April, 1842, to Copenhagen, only to leave it for Marienbad in a month, so constant were the demands which his perverse liver made on his leisure. In July he was back in Copenhagen hard at work, and on September 28 he wrote the following explicit statement of his intentions to Mr. John Shaw Lefevre, who had addressed him relating to a proposition of Laing, the English and Norwegian traveller, to publish a work on the Sagas.

'My first object,' he says, 'is to publish a Lexicon of the ancient Scandinavian language as preserved to us chiefly in Icelandic, but also in small part in Norwegian remains, with an English and Latin translation. Not an inconsiderable part of these remains have been printed and published, but generally not satisfactorily, and with a very uncritical treatment of the text, especially when regard is had to the position which this branch of philological study now occupies. A considerable portion exists only in MSS., and it is my intention to embrace all we possess from the earliest documents down to about the close of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, about which period the language ceases to retain its ancient form and texture, influenced

by the modern Danish and Norwegian dialects, which, as well as Swedish—though no doubt each had from olden time some dialectical peculiarities of its own—had long been more and more separating themselves from the common stock and forming a character proper to themselves. This period will embrace the laws civil and ecclesiastical, Snorro's History, the whole of the Sagas not of later origin than the said period, a considerable collection of legends, a number of writings of religious or ascetic character, the Younger Edda, some treatises of calendaric character, and a few pieces on other subjects. The very extensive and careful study necessary to such a compilation can scarcely have failed to make me intimately acquainted with the whole Sagaworld; and a future translation of some of them, not without commentary, has not been foreign to my intentions: indeed, I did think of giving two or three smaller ones last year, and commenced with the translation of one, but found the Lexicon extending into a work of such circumference that I saw if I divided my strength no moderate term would see it finished. Having said thus much, I cannot but add that I reserve to myself the liberty of dealing with the whole subject both as regards remarks and translation—anything that I did in the latter I should be especially desirous of accompanying with a critically correct text, as far as existing documents allow—in such a manner as may best accord with the future course of my studies; but I cannot at the same time for a moment on this account seek to interfere with Mr. Laing's entering the field, which is an open and public one, and elucidating the theme after his own views, which may possibly in some respects differ from mine, and very probably cast a new and valuable light on the subject, since he has been so successful in his treatment of modern Norway and Sweden.'

It would be difficult to state more precisely than Cleasby has done in this admirable letter the scope of the work which he had undertaken to fulfil. The longer he worked at it the wider his horizon seemed to become, and he might well feel that his labour would be herculean, though it were not mingled with other literary ventures. So the year 1843 passed away, during which his mass of materials immensely increased. Quite at the end of the year, however, he was suddenly recalled to England by the precarious state of his father's health, who had some time before this retired from business, which he felt himself unequal to carry on alone. Finding his father no worse, on March 5, 1844, he returned back to Copenhagen for a month. On the 29th of that month, he notes:—'Thorvaldsen died suddenly this evening at the theatre during the overture.' And on the 30th, 'Thorvaldsen's funeral took place to-day. The king, queen, and whole royal family attended at the service, and 7,000 or 8,000 persons, at least, followed in the procession. That may be said of him which can be said of few, that he has not left his "like behind him."' On May

10 he was back in England, only to find that the poor old man's days were numbered. On June 9, as Sir Benjamin Brodie said there was no immediate danger, Cleasby made a flying visit to Copenhagen to look after the Dictionary. He spent but a few days on this occasion in the Danish capital, and was back in London on July 8. On August 31 his father died, and for some time afterwards his eldest son was plunged in business and his time for Icelandic research cut short. Though he broke away to Copenhagen in October, he was back in London on January 4, 1845, and for the next three months was engrossed in business. On June 21 he was again in Copenhagen, but returned to London before August 31, the anniversary of his father's death. On October 12 we find him again in Copenhagen, where he worked steadily all through the winter and down to April 6, 1846, at his Dictionary, though with the New Year it was remarked that his health seemed to fail him. Added to this, his house property and land in England seemed to give him endless trouble, and to him, in truth, wealth, when it came, came saddled with care. In the autumn of that year, after a course of waters at Marienbad, he met most of his philological friends at a meeting of the Linguistic Association, at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Here he consulted with the Grimms and with Schmeller as to his Dictionary, which now, at last, promised to take shape. On October 4 he was back in Copenhagen, working steadily at the Dictionary, and there he remained till April 15, 1847. He then departed for England, taking a specimen of the Dictionary with him, which he had set up in Taylor's Printing Office, an event which he thus notes in his diary on May 10 :—

'Took back to-day to Taylor's the proof of the first four pages of my Icelandic Prose Dictionary which I had set up on trial. There was unfortunately a great deal to correct, their not understanding the language, making it impossible to know where words ought to be divided at the end of a line, and not being used to my writing also no doubt does something.' On the 16th he was off to Germany, to try a new bath at Homburg, only to find it did him little good. On June 16 he returned to England, for his last visit. Having settled his affairs, he left for Denmark, reaching Copenhagen on June 26. The next month Cleasby seems to have spent hopefully enough, full of the prospect that in a little while his Dictionary would be ready for the press. Jacob Grimm and Schmeller, to whom he had sent the specimen, were delighted at its appearance, and in a letter of July 22, 1847, the former calls it 'his beautiful work,' adding that both externally and internally everything

seemed to have been most excellently planned and executed. 'May Heaven prosper all your undertakings' were the cheering words with which the letter ended. That letter reached Cleasby on July 28, but on August 1 a great change in his health took place; he had now a constant cough and hoarseness, and was in fact threatened with consumption. But he still worked on all that month, though the remedies prescribed did him little good. On September 6 stands the last melancholy entry in his diary:—'Paid Fridriksson'—one of his amanuenses—'remaining ten dollars, making twenty for this month.' On the 7th he fell into a fever, at first supposed to be of a rheumatic character, but which, towards the end of the month, passed rapidly into a low typhoid type. On the 27th he dictated 'in a firm voice and collected manner' a letter to his brother, in which he said that he was in no danger, but that time was needful for his recovery. Immediately afterwards he grew much worse, and never rallied. On Wednesday, October 6, at ten A.M., he had finished his mortal course. His relations had no opportunity of being with him in his last moments, for they never heard of his danger till they received the intelligence of his death. On October 14 his remains were deposited in a vault below the Church of St. Peter, in Copenhagen, where they still remain.

'So,' says Dr. Dasent, 'passed away the spirit of Richard Cleasby, one of the most indefatigable students that ever lived. If he were fortunate in the circumstances of his life, he was surely most unhappy in his death—snatched away just as the mechanical part of his labours was drawing to a close, but before he could bring his philological powers to bear upon the mass of materials which he had collected. His methodical and yet poetic mind, his farsighted and yet microscopic eye, will no longer note day by day the last penny of his expenses and the very spot where he took his friends to dine, side by side with entries full of a lively interest in philology, literature, and art, and of delight at the smiling face of Nature, as she revives at the soft breath of spring. For him the first chaffinch will chirp in vain, the earliest swallow twitter, and the beech and willow burst out into tender green. He is gone, like Balder, to the realm of night, never to return. It is a poor compensation for the cessation of an existence so full of spirit and work to reflect that at the same time came rest and peace; that all that weary trouble which wealth brought with it was over for ever; that no letters on business from London or Westmoreland would now pursue him; that his lifelong chase after health at German baths was at an end; and that as he passed from city to city surgeons and physicians would no longer torture and torment him. These were but accidents, and though troublesome, Richard Cleasby bore them like a man, in the firm faith that the task which he had set himself to do would still be fulfilled. It

has been at last fulfilled, but not in the way which either Cleasby or his heirs at first proposed.'

As soon as the first shock caused by the sudden decease of a philologist, from whom so much was expected, had passed away, the question arose what was to be done with the Dictionary, which it was well known he considered almost ready for publication. After mature deliberation it was resolved that the MS. should be completed at Copenhagen under the care of a Committee of three, the literary direction of the work being undertaken by M. Konrad Gislason, Cleasby's first instructor in Icelandic and afterwards his chief amanuensis. 'For this purpose,' says Dr. Dasent, 'the heirs of Richard Cleasby devoted several hundred pounds to erect what they naturally regarded as the best monument to his memory.' In the meanwhile Dr. Dasent had succeeded in interesting the Delegates of the Oxford Press in favour of the work, which, when the MS. had been completed at Copenhagen, was to be edited by him and printed at the expense of the University. But when the MS. of the Dictionary was forwarded, after several years, from Copenhagen, it was found so far from being ready for publication, that after struggling with it for some years, Dr. Dasent found it necessary to call in other assistance to complete the work. This he was fortunate enough to find in M. Gudbrand Vigfusson, then one of the stipendiaries in the Arna-Magnæan Library at Copenhagen, and now beyond question the most profound Icelandic scholar of the age. After inspecting the materials thus placed at his disposal, M. Vigfusson found them so crude, and in such an unsatisfactory state that he resolved on rewriting and recasting the whole. This herculean labour he completed in seven years, during which he has worked with indefatigable industry at this Icelandic Dictionary. It is needless to refer at greater length to the literary history of the work, and to the shortcomings of the Copenhagen Committee, which will be found fully exposed in Dr. Dasent's Introduction to the work. 'The Dictionary as it now stands is far more the work of Vigfusson than of Cleasby.' This justice to the living, no less than to the dead, compels us to declare, and that this is so is due entirely to those who, instead of treating Cleasby's literary remains with pious reverence, suppressed and garbled them, while they forwarded to England ill-digested copies of the materials which he had collected. The death of Cleasby was no doubt an irreparable loss to the work when it snatched him away with all that store of philology in his brain which he

had not yet brought to bear on his vast undertaking, but the carelessness of those who were bound to complete what their master had so conscientiously begun, dealt the Dictionary a far heavier blow, from which it would never have recovered had it not been for the perseverance of Dr. Dasent and the indefatigable industry of M. Vigfusson.

And now, having fully considered the life of Richard Cleasby, and glanced at the treatment which his literary remains experienced, let us turn to a more pleasant subject, and look at the result of his labours as it lies before us in this Cleasby-Vigfusson Dictionary of the Icelandic language. To whomsoever the honour of the work is to be ascribed, whether to Richard Cleasby, as its originator, or Gudbrand Vigfusson as its finisher, it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that this Dictionary as it stands is the greatest help to Teutonic philology in general, which the world has seen in this generation, and as such, it should be a cause of rejoicing to all Englishmen that a monument of such European importance should have been published in the English language and by a great English University. Dr. Dasent has well shown in his Introduction that had this Dictionary been printed with Danish, Swedish, German, or French explanations of Icelandic words and idioms, none of those languages would have done as much justice to the language which they explained as the English; an advantage partly due to the 'natural and spiritual affinity' which exists between English and Icelandic, and partly to the flexibility of modern English, which enables us to make foreign words more thoroughly our own than any other language. 'The Danish, the Swedish, and the German,' says Dr. Dasent, 'if we may be allowed the expression, swallow many foreign words, but they seem to want the power to assimilate them. They remain, so to speak, sticking in their throats for ages, while the English has long since made them part and parcel of her own flesh and blood.' Nor should it be forgotten while considering this point, that no language, not even German itself, could supply the place of English as an exponent to the world at large of a language which, like the Icelandic, is worthy, both for its beauty and richness, of being known to the greatest possible number of readers. English is already the mother tongue of half the civilised earth, and in days to come will still further defy competition in the space which she fills on the surface of the globe, and in the number of her children. And so it is, and so it will be, that in India, in Australia, and though last not least, in America, wherever the English tongue is spoken, and the Anglo-Saxon race has taken

its stubborn root, it will be possible for scholars to avail themselves of this great treasure, 'a *Thesaurus* in every sense of 'the word,' which, had it appeared with explanations in a less wide-spread language, would have remained to all but a few a sealed book.

If we turn from this consideration of English as the language of the future, and its ultimate claim to universal supremacy, to that far closer and more intimate connexion which has for ages existed between the mother English of these British Isles and that dialect of the North which has existed with such little change and with such remarkable purity in Iceland, we shall see still further reason, as Englishmen, to welcome the publication of this Dictionary. There was a time indeed, and that not so very long ago, when it could be asked, without exciting ridicule in the mind of the hearer, whether there were any infusion of Northern words in the English language. That inquiry, at any rate, has been set at rest for ever by the evidence we shall here find. Not only was there a great infusion of Northern words and phrases into English, even in the Anglo-Saxon times, but the words so introduced, and which co-existed for ages with their old Anglo-Saxon equivalents, have in many cases at last played the part of the cuckoo in the hedge sparrow's nest, and fairly ousted and extinguished the native brood. What words, for instance, are more common than 'take' and 'call,' which we all of us use many times a day, yet they are both of pure Northern extraction, their Anglo-Saxon equivalents being 'nim' or 'nym' and 'clepe;' the first entirely obsolete, and the other only known by the poetic participle 'ycept,' and to readers of the 'Chaucerian Age.' Perhaps more remarkable still is the early extinction of the old Anglo-Saxon words for 'Law,' *æw*—akin to the German *Ehe*, and meaning originally any solemn contract, and not alone marriage—and 'dóm,' which even in the days of Edgar, as Dr. Dasent tells us, had begun to vanish before the 'law' or 'lög' of the Northern Vikings, who first applied it in the provinces they had torn from the Anglo-Saxons as expressing their own law by which they would be governed; and then, as they spread more and more over the face of the land, and at last established a dynasty of their own, made their 'law' supreme in word as well as in deed all over England, so that the Northern 'Law' in the days of Canute remained the sole expression, both for Anglo-Saxons and Northmen, in codes and charters for what the Anglo-Saxons in earlier days had called *æw* or *dóm*, in the one case as civil and the other as criminal law.

In other cases the two equivalents have maintained their stand

side by side. The pure Northern 'cast' is as common as the Saxon 'throw' and more common than 'hurl.' We say a 'cast' in preference to a throw of the dice; nets and anchors are 'cast' and not thrown; an animal is 'cast' when it lies on its back in a helpless position, and men and ships are 'cast away;' in most of which instances the use of the word in those seafaring pursuits in which the old Northmen were so skilful is worthy of notice. Another word of the same kind is 'skin,' which with 'skill' and other words beginning with *sk* or *sc* betrays at once its Northern derivation. Though 'skin' was introduced into England before the Conquest, there is no doubt that the 'scin' which we find in Anglo-Saxon documents is only an adaptation of the Northern 'skinn.' The true Anglo-Saxon word for what we now call 'skin' was 'fell' or 'hyd,' the first of which lingers in the compound 'fell-monger' for a hide or leather merchant. For a long time the two forms coexisted together in English, until about the Elizabethan age, when 'skin' won the day; so that in the passage in Job in the Authorised Version of the Scriptures, we now read, ch. ii. 4, 'Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath, will he give for his life;' while in the two Wycliffite versions of the Bible, published at the Clarendon Press in parallel columns—in one the words are 'fel for fel,' and in the other 'skyn for skyn.' At the present day 'skin' is supreme as applied to human beings and the lesser animals, while 'hide,'—which had its equivalent in the Icelandic 'hud,'—is only used of wild beasts and the greater domestic animals, and 'fell' has almost vanished from English speech. Entirely by itself stands 'skill,' which we took into English from the North, and then gradually developed till it has come to mean dexterity which springs from knowledge. Derived from the verb 'skilja,' to divide or separate, 'skill' originally meant the power of discrimination and discernment whether by eyesight or hearing; and this meaning we have seen in an early English version of the Bible, where, when in Judges, Jephthah held the fords of Jordan against the Ephraimites, and put the question 'Shibboleth' to them, and they said 'Sibboleth,' 'for they could not frame to pronounce it,' as the passage runs in the Authorised Version, that earlier one reads 'for they could not skill to pronounce it.' After that the word came to mean any precise knowledge, and in this sense we find it in the Authorised Version as a verb, Kings i. 6, 'for thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians.' In the same sense the term 'men of skill' is used in Ecclesiastes ix. 11 for men of understanding; and in Daniel i. 4, we find the

term, children 'skilful in all wisdom;' in all which passages it is rather knowledge and understanding than that technical dexterity which we now call 'skill' that is insisted on. Up to this point the Icelandic and the English uses of the word run parallel, and when Shakspeare uses the phrase, 'What skills it?' for 'what does it signify?' or 'what is the difference?' he is employing 'skill' very nearly in its original sense. In modern English we have gone a step further, and with us 'skill' is no longer discrimination or separation, or discernment or knowledge, but that certainty of producing results combined with dexterity which springs from the perfect knowledge of all the data required. Much in the same position as 'skill' stands 'score,' a pure Northern word which originally meant an incision, from the verb 'skora,' and which ought to be spelt 'skore,' if skin and skill are not to be spelled 'scin' or 'scill.' This verb has its Anglo-Saxon equivalent in 'sceran,' to cut, from which we have 'scar.' But when Scott writes—

'The sable score
Of fingers four,'

he is using the Northern and not the Anglo-Saxon form of the word, which we find out of poetry in the 'score' of the publican and the 'score' of the cricket-match, both originally kept, be it remembered, by notches cut on a wooden tally, so that the questions 'what is the score?' or 'how many notches?' are equivalent terms in the Eton and Harrow match. We need hardly add that from the same word comes, both in Icelandic and English, 'skor' or 'score,' used as denoting the number twenty, arising out of the practice of making a bigger notch on the tally when that amount of notches had been cut. We should scarcely be able to get along in modern English without the adjective 'same,' any more than without that invention of the seventeenth century 'its,' but it is a word which we owe altogether to the North and which was unknown to the Anglo-Saxons. The curious in philology may look for the history of the word to Grimm's Grammar, iii. 4, 5, and to Mr. Earle's 'Philology of the English Tongue.' In our opinion, the first meaning of the word is not absolute identity, but likeness; it is akin to the Latin *simul* and *similis*, as well as to the Greek *ἄμα* and *ὁμοίως*, and this view is borne out by the fact, that though the word 'same' stands alone in English, it belongs in the North to a large family of words compounded with 'sam,' in all which the first syllable means 'together.' Things were originally the 'same,' not when they were actually identical but when they were so like when put

side to side that they might be mistaken the one for the other; and out of this first meaning has sprung the modern use of the word in such passages as 'the same feelings,' or 'the same 'passions,' which certainly imply not so much similarity as identity of emotions.

These instances must suffice, out of a far greater number, to show how largely modern English is indebted to the North; but the intercourse of nations is never altogether one-sided, and the North, in her turn, has borrowed, though not nearly so largely, from the Anglo-Saxons. In ecclesiastical terms, as was natural, the Christians took the heathen language captive, and introduced such words as *biskop*, *klaustr*, *munkr*, *musteri* from *monasterium*, *prestr*, and *kirkja*, though the last may have come into the North from Germany. From the Anglo-Saxons, in all probability, the Northmen adopted a word of which they afterwards made great use. This was 'mangari,' from the Anglo-Saxon 'mangian' and 'mangere,' akin to 'mang' and 'ge-mang' and 'mauig,' the first of which still exists in the modern English 'a-mong,' and the last in 'many.' We do not believe that the Anglo-Saxons adopted the word from the Low Latin 'mangonus,' a dealer, but that it was formed from the 'mang' of the Teutons. What then do 'mangian,' the verb, and 'mangere' the substantive, mean? nothing more nor less than a dealer in odd \ddot{s} and ends, in goods such as hawkers and hucksters still carry about the country. The term was derived from the mixed and blended nature of the dealer's stock in trade; but if anyone imagines that the 'mangere' of his Anglo-Saxon forefathers is extinct in England, let him think of the 'monger' in 'cheesemonger' and 'scandal-monger,' and he will see that it still has vitality in modern English. Of Celtic Britain the influence on the Northmen is chiefly shown in the numerous proper names which we find transplanted from these islands to Iceland. From Scotland and Ireland came the many *Kjartans*, and *Njals*, and *Kormaks*, and *Kálmans*, and *Kathlins* which we find in the Icelandic Sagas. Of Celtic words we find at least two in the same writings. The first is the word 'bjannak,' which occurs in the remarkable passage in the *Ynglinga-Saga*, where Odin when sending out his messengers is described as laying his hands on them and giving them 'bjannak.' This has been commonly supposed to be a perversion of the Latin 'benedictio,' but we think Mr. Vigfusson is right in identifying it with the Scottish 'bannock,' from the Celtic 'banagh,' and in explaining its use in the passage in question to a confusion of ideas which ascribed the Christian Eucharist to the heathen god. The other Celtic word which

occurs to us in Icelandic is 'minthak' from the Gaelic 'min,' flour, which occurs in *Landnámæ*, as used of a dough kneaded by Irish slaves out of butter and flour, to quench their thirst when they fell short of water.

But to return to the influence of the North on the Anglo-Saxons, it is not in mere words alone that this Northern influence still shows itself in modern English. The names of old institutions which linger yet in England show how completely the social system of the Northmen had established itself in parts at least of these islands. The City of London, the very heart of the land, was in the first half of the eleventh century, virtually a free city, held by a strong Danish garrison—that famous Thingmanna-lid—a band of mercenary troops which the Danish dynasty maintained to overawe the Anglo-Saxon population. The '*Thing*,' which appears in the name of this band, was common to both the Anglo-Saxon and Northern dialects alike, in both of which it meant originally, as the word still means in English, a thing—*res, negotium*; in each dialect, too, the word had advanced from a mere common object; from '*anything*' in fact, to a thing solemnly pledged and taken in token, till it came to mean a pledge or compact, and so the '*Thingmanna-lid*' of the Danish kings in England would be understood by both races as denoting a body enlisted, as we should say, under certain terms. But after this point the development of the word ceased among the Anglo-Saxons while it advanced among the Northmen, until it became one of the most important and interesting words in their language. With the whole Scandinavian race from the sense of 'thing' or 'agreement,' 'Thing' became the legal term for an assembly of the people, for a court of law, and especially for what we should now call a Parliament gathered together for the purposes of legislation. In this way arose the three great '*Things*,' or Provincial Parliaments, in Norway, the renowned '*Althing*' in Iceland, and the '*Morar-Thing*,' or Great Assembly, of the Swedes near Upsala. Wherever the Scandinavian race existed in its original seats, and wherever it settled as colonists, it carried this idea of '*Thing*' with them as the place where freemen met together under the open heaven to deliberate and decide on solemn points of policy or law. Among the Anglo-Saxons the old word for such a gathering was '*mót*' or '*gemót*,' as in '*Witena-Gemót*,' 'the assembly of wise and prudent men,' where the notables and elders met in council. In the modern word '*meeting*,' which we have purposely hitherto abstained from using, we find oddly enough, by one of those reduplications of which languages afford so many examples, both the Saxon '*mót*'—which we may remark has its

equivalent in the Northern 'mót'—and the Northern 'Thing' rolled together into one word, for 'meeting' is only 'mót-thing.' Again, in the Court of Hustings of the City of London, and in the hustings at elections, we find the Northern 'Thing' used in its strict legal sense of a solemn meeting of freemen and householders, for the purpose of considering any matter of urgency. There can be no doubt that our hustings, whether for municipal or elective purposes, have come down to us in direct tradition from the Northmen established in the City of London, whose camp, be it remembered, was on that eminence outside the city walls on which they erected a church to St. Clement, after Saint Olaf, perhaps the most favourite saint of the North, and which we still know as St. Clement Danes. Of this 'Thing,' and its adoption as the name for an assembly or parliament wherever the Northmen established themselves in the British Isles, we need only to point to the well-known 'Tynwold,' properly *Thingwall*, of the Manxmen, and the many Thingwalls and Dingwalls which exist in Orkney, Shetland, and the North of Scotland, so long under Scandinavian rule. But if any reader wishes to see how thoroughly, both from an etymological and historical point of view, this fruitful word has been treated by Mr. Vigfusson in this Icelandic Dictionary, we must refer him to the word 'Thing,' as well as to 'mót,' and 'Husthing,' where he will find a complete literary history of the word and its derivatives. And here we may observe that it is just these literary histories of important words which makes the Cleasby-Vigfusson Dictionary unique in its kind, and renders it a book which, so far from being dry, leads the reader on to study the subject by such interesting discussions on words and phrases which have formed an epoch both in the history and the language of the North.

There is one other institution dear to every Englishman, which there is now little doubt can be traced to the Northmen and their settlement in England. This—let not the shade of Alfred be offended who did so much for England, but certainly not *this*—this was trial by jury. In the good old times, when everything excellent in English social or political life used to be ascribed to the great West-Saxon king, trial by jury fell to him by right, as well as the foundation of Oxford as an University, the primary education of the people, and many other fabulous things. There can be no doubt, of course, that a man like Alfred must have improved whatever forms of trial the Anglo-Saxons possessed, and we have his 'Dooms' among the Anglo-Saxon laws to answer for it; but neither in them, nor

indeed in any other of the many Anglo-Saxon codes, do we find anything that answers to our trial by jury. Anglo-Saxon legislation between man and man was based on what was no doubt originally the principle which lay at the bottom of the law of every Teutonic race, the principle that a freeman could not do any disgraceful thing; and that if he were accused of such a deed he might be allowed to clear himself by his own oath, and the oaths of the witnesses which he brought. Thus we may suppose in the days of Alfred, if a freeman were accused—not of manslaughter, for that he might atone for either by his own life or by composition with the relations of the slain, or, to use the term of the time, ‘he might either buy off the spear or ‘bear it’—not of manslaughter, but of murder, a crime which then consisted in killing a man and concealing the fact; ‘*mur-therare*,’ says the barbarous Latin, ‘*est clam occulture cadaver.*’ In this case the freeman accused would clear himself by what was called ‘compurgation;’ that is, by the oaths of a given number of freemen, who swore that they did not believe him capable of such a dastardly deed. On the other hand, the accusing party, the relatives of the murdered man, with whom the sacred duty of the blood feud rested, would bring as many or more freemen to swear that the accused was guilty of the base deed; and so this form of trial by compurgation went on until the court assumed the appearance of a modern patent case, where twelve experts on one side are met by the evidence of twenty-four on the other. Compurgation, in fact, was a form of trial suited only to the indignant innocence of very early times, and not unlike the ‘guilty, or not guilty, upon my honour,’ of a trial of a peer by his fellow peers. But in spite of its unfitness, this form of trial lingered long among all the Teutonic races, and nowhere with more life than in Norway itself, the cradle of the Icelandic race. But no sooner did the settlers in that lonely island make a code for themselves, than they introduced a principle of trial entirely different from that prevalent in their old home, but which exactly answers to our juries *de vicineto*, from which confessedly our modern form of trial by jury has been developed. How this form of trial, which, as soon as it took root in England, rapidly extinguished the system of compurgation which both the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans practised, came into Northern England no man can tell. It is like some of those foreign trees or plants well known not to be indigenous in these isles, but which yet are now found growing in every forest. It was a form of trial in Northern England, and in that great scramble of races, and languages, and laws, and institutions which took place in

England during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it took its chance with the rest, and survived, and at last won the day. Who can tell whether, between the beginning of the tenth and the end of the eleventh centuries, some Icelander, wise in the laws of his native island, may not have found a new abode in Northumbria, then so entirely Northern that the population lived under their own laws ruled by Northern kings, and so have planted the seed which, after a long struggle for supremacy, has won the day, as trial by jury? But however that may be, it is matter of fact that in no Scandinavian or Teutonic race do we find any method of trial that so nearly approaches trial by jury as we first recognise it in England than the Icelandic *kvidr*. Those who are careful to follow out the subject may peruse the curious trial of the Burners in the *Njál Saga*, where they will see besides the working of the *kvidr* in a criminal case, how many special demurrers the old Icelandic law allowed each side to put in; for the present we must content ourselves with explaining that this *kvidr* of the Icelanders in the tenth and eleventh centuries was a verdict of neighbours as to the fact whether the accused had committed the crime of which he was accused or not; they were not at all his friends who came to swear that he could not as a freeman have committed such a deed, but his neighbours, who were of course in the best position to know all the facts, who came to give evidence on oath whether he, their neighbour, were guilty of the deed or not; and this, no doubt, is the meaning of the old Icelandic proverb, though it has been otherwise explained, 'Perilous is the home-verdict, unless one gets a good one;' that is, the evidence of neighbours is a dangerous thing unless it goes in your favour. Still more in favour of the supposition that in the *kvidr* of the Icelanders we may recognise our jury, is the fact that one form, and that the most solemn of all the *kvidrs*, was the *tólftar-kvidr*, or jury of twelve, summoned by the *godi* or sheriff of the district, of which the sheriff himself became the foreman, and delivered the verdict of the whole twelve. This seems to have been rather what we should call a special jury, the common popular verdict being not necessarily the verdict of twelve but of nine, and sometimes even of so few as five neighbours, who were bound to be unanimous. In conclusion, we cannot do better than quote the end of Mr. Vigfusson's observations under the word *kvidr*, in which he says: 'From the analogy of the Icelandic customs it can be inferred with certainty that along with the invasion of the Danes and Norsemen, the judgment by verdict was also transplanted to English ground, for the settlers of Eng-

‘land were kith and kin to those of Iceland, carrying with them the same laws and customs; and lastly, after the Conquest, it became the law of the land, being naturalised in England, which came to be the classical land of trial by jury, while this old Scandinavian institution gradually died out at home.’

We have left to the last the great claim which the Icelandic language has on the attention of our readers. Besides its great affinity, both in word and spirit, to English and Englishmen, there is no language which so well repays the trouble taken to master it. There are languages so full in form and yet so barren in literature that when you have mastered their grammar you must be content with your philological triumph and pass on to new fields of conquest. Such, for instance, is the Lithuanian, which, with its forms and inflexions, is the closest of all to that Aryan root from which all our Indo-European tongues sprung, and yet has absolutely no written documents except a few popular tales. Nor are the Lapp and the Finnish, those splendid specimens of the Turanian or agglutinative stock, much better off in this respect. In *Kalevala*, the Finns, indeed, possess an epic of their own, but the exploits of *Wäinämöinen* soon satisfy the reader, and we sit down amazed at the pains spent in plucking so little literary fruit. Even if we turn to a language of the Teutonic family, and our own direct mother, the Anglo-Saxon, we shall find her rich in form, inflexion, and vocabulary, but poor and meagre in literature. When we have named a Biblical paraphrase, some legends of the Saints, *Beowulf*, the *Traveller's Song*, and the fine fragment on the *Battle of Brunanburg*, we have nearly exhausted the store of Anglo-Saxon poetry; all of it, except parts of *Cædmon* and the *Battle of Brunanburg*, and some of the grand poetic outbursts which occasionally greet us out of the dry bones of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, of a character that one may read for an antiquarian or philological interest, but assuredly not for any beauty of their own. Nor in its prose remains is the Anglo-Saxon much better off. The *Chronicle*, indeed, has a character of its own which makes it unique as the dry though contemporary record of events in Anglo-Saxon history which we can draw from no other source; but for literary interest, or any of that charm which draws a reader on in spite of himself, there is scarcely a trace in that venerable monument. We acquire the Anglo-Saxon as a language for its own sake, and we read *Beowulf* and the *Chronicle*, the one for its antiquarian, the other for its historic worth, but no one would read much Anglo-Saxon, either prose or poetry, for its

own sake. Far otherwise is it with the Icelandic. All our readers, we suppose, know that this noble language, which has remained for centuries nearly incorrupt in the remarkable island where it is still spoken, has continued the sole depository of literary treasures the common property of all the Scandinavian and Teutonic races, which would have perished had it not been for faithful Iceland, as they have perished in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, and England. Had Iceland and the learned scribes Ari the Learned and Sæmund the Wise, and the school they founded, not existed, Teutonic Europe would have known little of the history, and next to nothing of the mythology, of its forefathers. There was a time when every tribe of that great family could trace its royal race up to Woden, and when they one and all believed in the Æsir or gods, who dwelt in Asgard, the very centre of this 'middle earth.' In them they beheld the blessed divinities who ruled the universe, and were ever watchful, by Woden's good counsel and advice and Thor's crushing hammer, to shield man from the attacks of the Frost Giants, the Evil Powers who lived beyond the confines of the habitable world, and were always eager to injure gods and men. Of this mythology, which for heartiness and grandeur may hold its own against any that the world has known, all memory, as a systematic whole, has perished from the literature of mediæval Europe. With 'the introduction of Christianity the ancient gods of the Teutonic race had been deposed, and their places assigned to devils and witches.' Here and there a tradition, a popular tale, or a superstition lingered, to show how much had been lost; but even the matchless powers of reconstruction and restoration which the Grimms and their school brought to bear on the mythology of North-western Europe would have failed, had it not been that Iceland, in preserving through the dark ages the two Eddas, presented to us as in a mirror the very form of that belief which the early Teutons created for themselves. As Jacob Grimm well remarked, one grain of the Edda is worth a ton of theory and speculation. 'Any one, therefore,' says Dr. Dasent, 'that desires to see what manner of men his forefathers were, in their relation to the gods, how they conceived their theogony, how they imagined and constructed their cosmogony, must betake himself to the Eddas, as illustrated by the Sagas.' If we pass from mythology to the domain of history, we shall find the vernacular literature of Iceland no less attractive and instructive. First come the mythical Sagas, which deal with heroes, half gods and half men, who lived in times when the preternatural prevailed, and when the human was eked out with the divine.

These, we must confess, however valuable for mythological ends and as supplementing the Eddas, are not the most attractive. 'In these elevated regions,' says Dr. Dasent, 'respiration is impeded, and we only half live: the gods and heroes have it too much their own way, and we are amazed rather than sympathetic.' Next come the so-called historical Sagas—lives of the kings of Norway and Denmark, and of the great earls of Orkney and the North, which sometimes exist in several recensions, the most famous being the *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturluson, who aimed at a critical arrangement of the whole series. These Sagas tell of the great deeds of the kings of the North, as when Harold Hardrada invaded England only to fall with many thousands of his men at Stamford Bridge, and when Magnus called Barelegs because he wore the kilt, harried Scotland and Ireland only to be cut off in the county Down. But though kings and earls are the leading characters in these Sagas, the bold spirit of the freeman of the North runs through them like golden thread, and they are full of the outspoken utterances of the allodial franklins of Scandinavia, 'who did not scruple, if king or earl wronged them, to defy them and resist them to the death.'

Besides these, there is another series of Sagas, and those the most interesting because they are the most truthful of all. The genius of the Saga-writer has more power to charm as it approaches nearer to our common earth. These are the Sagas which relate the every-day life of the Icelanders at home and abroad; and it is in this class, as might be supposed, that we find the masterpieces of the literature. Putting the *Njal Saga* on one side as a work entirely by itself, and as the very flower of this wonderful Icelandic prose literature, we may ask where, in any vernacular literature of the Middle Ages, shall we find such a sharply-cut character as the energetic and yet law-skilled Glum, in the Saga which bears his name; or as the noble Gisli, the true brother and faithful friend; or as Snorri the Priest, the politic and yet resolute chief, in the *Eyrbyggja-Saga*, that man who was bold as a lion and yet was ever ready to eke out the hide of the king of beasts with the fox's skin. Where such women as Gudrun in *Laxdæla*, the woman who, according to her own account, 'was worst to him she loved best;' or Bergthora, *Njal's* loving wife; or, coming to bad women, as Hallgerda, the unforgiving hateful woman, who was wedded to the generous Gunnar, only to desert him at the hour of his greatest need. Nor, if we descend to the last age of Icelandic independence, shall we find the *Sturlunga*, that great Saga, which tells of the internecine feuds of the great

chiefs in the thirteenth century, which ruined their country, less full of noble characters and striking traits. We are therefore glad to find that the Delegates of the Oxford Press are about to follow up the good work which they have begun in this Dictionary by printing, under the editorship of Mr. Vigfusson, a critical text of this most important Saga from an excellent MS. in the British Museum. 'No other country in Europe,' says Dr. Dasent, 'possesses an ancient vernacular literature to be compared with this; and if to this be added the translations and adaptations from the cycle of Romance literature, and the homilies and works of religious edification, as well as those on physical and moral science, of which Iceland possesses her full share, we shall see that, whether in a literary or a philosophical point of view, no literature in Europe in the Middle Ages can compete with that of Iceland. It is not certainly in *formâ pauperis* that she appears at the bar of the tribunal of learning.'

Into this magnificent literature, which may be truly said to contain reading for a lifetime, it is that a door has been opened by the liberality of the Delegates of the Oxford Press. Let the reader not forget to honour those to whom honour is due, when he wanders through these fresh pastures. No better use can be conceived of the means, both pecuniary and mechanical, which the Oxford Press has at its disposal, than that it should devote a portion of them to a work like this Icelandic Dictionary, which may be said to contain the life-blood of Cleasby, for he died in its conception, and the best years of Mr. Vigfusson's life, who has worked so indefatigably at its completion, and been fortunate enough to see it appear in its full proportions, containing more than twice the matter and the references embodied in Cleasby's materials. In conclusion, let us hope that all who have been concerned in the publication of this great philological work will find their reward: the heirs of Richard Cleasby, in the consciousness that the labours of their illustrious relative have at last seen the light; the Delegates of the Oxford Press, in the conviction that they have fostered a work which is alike honourable to Oxford and to England; and, though last, not, certainly, least, Mr. Vigfusson, in the assurance that in this Dictionary he has raised an abiding monument to his own consummate scholarship, as well as to the memory of Richard Cleasby.

ART. IX.—*Journal of Henry Cockburn; being a Continuation of 'Memorials of his Time.'* 2 Vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1874.

IT is sixteen years ago since we reviewed in this Journal a posthumous work entitled 'Memorials of his Time, by Henry Cockburn.' The author was the judge of the Supreme Court of Scotland, well known under the title of Lord Cockburn. The book was full of freshness and vivacity, and gave a vivid and amusing picture of the manners and habits of society, the politics and the gossip, the distinguished men and the public events of the period of his youth and earlier manhood, in the northern portion of the island. It was written with considerable power and humour, and was a very pleasant and, as it proved, a very popular and successful autobiography.

In our former notice we took the opportunity of describing the general character of its author, who was a man, although not much known perhaps beyond the limits of Scotland, singularly well known within them. Apart altogether from his professional and forensic abilities, which were very considerable, his genial temper, kindly manners, and fund, which never failed, of humorous and lively thought and expression, made him a favourite with all classes, and with men of all shades of opinion. There were few men—indeed there were none, of note or distinction in Scotland during the period of which he wrote—with whom he had not lived on terms of intimacy. The friend of Scott and Jeffrey, Horner and Brougham, Playfair and Dugald Stewart; a scion of the house of Dundas, but a strong adherent of Fox and the Whigs—he had opportunities of observation, as well as personal experience, which imparted zest and colour to these desultory but lively reflections of the past. Terminating in 1830, the object of the book was to sketch, as it did with considerable brightness, a state of society which was then expiring, and which has now entirely passed away. It contained also a history of the early vicissitudes and struggles of the Whig leaders and party in Edinburgh; of the commencement of the 'Edinburgh Review,' and of the circle to whom it owed its birth, to which he himself belonged; of the gradual growth, and ultimate culmination and triumph, of the opinions which it asserted; and broke off just as the crisis was at hand, and the creed, so long in the shadow, was about to emerge into the sunshine.

The two volumes now before us, the title of which we have prefixed to this article, are a continuation of the 'Memorials,'

and embrace the period from 1830 down to 1854. The author seems to have jotted down, at pretty close intervals, his thoughts and views of passing events. These memoranda were continued till within a very few days of his death. We do not doubt, and these volumes indicate the fact pretty plainly, that there may have been among the original materials many reminiscences recorded which a prudent editor would be inclined to suppress, even after the comparatively long interval which has elapsed. We observe with pleasure that the editing of the work deserves all commendation. It is laudably and exceptionally free from faults too common in such publications. The selection contains nothing approaching to a violation of private confidence; nor have the editors been tempted, for the sake of point or pungency, to include anything which could justly wound the feelings or the reputation of the living. Some passages occur, of strength and vigour, in regard to the actions and character of public men; but they never transgress or even approach the boundaries of fair and honourable criticism. There is no egotism—no affectation—nothing which does not breathe the kindly taste and affectionate spirit of the man.

How much Cockburn himself would have shrunk from such posthumous treachery as is not unusual in the present day, may be gathered from the following extract from his Journal in 1845 :—

‘I have all my life had a bad habit of preserving letters, and of keeping them all arranged and docqueted; but seeing the future use that is often made of papers, especially by *friendly* biographers who rarely hesitate to sacrifice confidence and delicacy to the promotion of sale or excitement, I have long resolved to send them all up the chimney in the form of smoke; and yesterday the sentence was executed. I have kept Richardson’s and Jeffrey’s, and some correspondence I had during important passages of our Scotch progress; but the rest, amounting to several thousands, can now, thank God, enable no venality to publish sacred secrets, or to stain fair reputations by plausible mistakes. Yet old friends cannot be parted with without a pang. The sight of even the outsides of letters of fifty years recalls a part of the interest with which each was received in its day, and their annihilation makes one start, as if one had suddenly reached the age of final oblivion. Nevertheless as packet after packet smothered the fire with its ashes, and gradually disappeared in dim vapour, I reflected that my correspondents were safe, and I was pleased.’ (Vol. ii. p. 103.)

It was not to be expected that as Cockburn’s notes approached more nearly to the times of the present generation, they should retain the charm which distance lent to his retrospect, or the quaint and picturesque effect which was produced by his recollections of less familiar habits. Since 1830 everything in the

kingdom has been gravitating to the metropolis, and the force operates in an increasing ratio every year. Distinctive and traditional manners and customs are necessarily rubbed off and ground down by the friction produced by constant inter-communication. The old ways are lost, although the new may not become familiar; the characteristics of a separate nation vanish, and only leave those of a province in their place. Cockburn, who was greatly attached to the traditions of Scottish society, saw and much lamented the accelerated pace at which they were in the course of disappearing. He speculates thus in 1836, as to the probable effect of more rapid intercourse with London, and his anticipations have proved within the mark:—

‘In twenty years London will probably be within fifteen hours by land of Edinburgh, and every other place will be shaking hands, without making a long arm, with its neighbour of only a county or two off. This will add to our wealth, and in many respects to our ease. But is not seclusion often a blessing? Difficulty of being reached has its advantages. Our separate provincial characters will be lost in the general mass where London will predominate; just as the picturesque peculiarities of the old personal characters of individuals are now all melted in the fusion of common society.’ ‘Geneva,’ he says, ‘could not have been Geneva near Paris, nor Edinburgh, Edinburgh near London.’

This process of attrition and levelling is of course in constant operation. Long as Scotland may retain the substance of her ancient institutions, or laws, or habits, or religion, or language, yet still the process of fusion goes on insensibly, to the injury of the distinctive and picturesque, and the creation of a uniform standard in which individuality is lost in the mass. The old Scots philosophers,—the strong, coarse, powerful, tyrannical Scottish Bench—the drinking, roistering, shrewd, and humorous lairds—who were familiar to Cockburn’s youth, had not only departed, but had become impossible in 1830. They could not have lived in the altered atmosphere. Probably the group to which our author belonged—not undistinguished when it numbered Brougham, Scott, Wilson, Jeffrey, and Horner in its ranks, and which has now left not one of its number behind, is not likely again to find its counterpart in the society of the present generation, although Edinburgh still contains more than one circle distinguished by intellect, learning, and accomplishment.

Another gloomy element which oppresses our author, is the increasing amount of daily business—the larger exactions of life on our time and leisure. Doubtless we should all be much the better for a little more idleness—the not unwholesome medicine

of the mind. How much of the glorious and the beautiful of existence, and how much of the lofty thought and conception which they engender, are not lost by our meritorious representatives who spend their summer days in committee rooms, and their nights in debate, and breathe the fresh air only as they walk dismally home at sunrise in June? So it is through all ranks and occupations. The world moves too fast to wait for the elaborate or the grand. Thus Cockburn bewails the curtailment of the holidays of the Court of Session:—

‘What signifies this,’ he says, ‘or the law, or the public? Our vacation is encroached upon; our two months in spring, and the long glories of the four months in summer and autumn are no more secure. We may be left some part of them, but their comfortable security is gone. We live in a fright. And what vacations they were! How opportune for the place called London for those who liked it in spring, for the Continent in autumn, for study, for the country, for the general refreshment of the soul! O my spring flowers! My roses! The endless succession of birds and of bloom, from the early half-chilled March snowdrops, to the late lingering November carnation! The vernal blackbird, the summer evening, the utter cessation of business, the long truce, the mind’s recovery of itself, the relapse into natural voluntary habits. People talk of the surcease of justice—what a mercy for suitors. What a proportion of our eminent men have been trained in this scene. But had they been worked out by nearly constant professional toil, or expectations, or vulgarised by law being the chief object of their lives, they would have contributed no more to the glory of Edinburgh or of Scotland than any other body of legal practitioners.’

The intense love of Nature, whom he certainly worshipped and revered much more than Themis, was strongly developed in our author’s mind. He chafed and rebelled against the chain which kept him to the oar. This strain comes out strongly in these volumes, and imparts a fresh and breezy atmosphere to his thoughts. Some of his descriptions of scenes now well known, but not so familiar then, are sketched with a bold and powerful hand. He encountered them mainly in his Circuit wanderings, between the assizes at the different towns in the North and West. The uppermost thought in his mind, however, ever was, when should he escape to the Pentland hills? and the days were counted from his leaving them until his return.

‘Why, amidst all the beauty,’ he exclaims, ‘which surrounds Edinburgh have we never had a single English hedge alehouse, or English country inn? Whisky no doubt is a devil; but why has this devil so many worshippers? Chiefly because exclusion, with its horror of open sunny recreation, will give the people no deity to follow. Nice, well placed, Auburn inns would certainly succeed. But we must be able to

get to them through green fields, happy with white lambs, and fragrant with fresh mown hay, or rich with heavy grain. We shall then be trained to sit without being stared or laughed at, on clean chairs, set out on the garden turf; to be sober, though merry; and well-bred and at ease although other parties, equally happy, should be near us. Would that our dun sky could borrow some of the Italian blue; but much of the coarseness of our climate would be abated, if we turned the good that is in it to better account.' (Vol. ii. p. 106.)

What Sir Wilfrid Lawson would say to this praise of an English alehouse we cannot tell. The picture is doubtless a pleasant one—but then that dun sky, the pitiless easterly blast, the dank grass, the soaking shower, would sadly spoil its Arcadian beauty. Scotland must have an English climate before such scenes as Morland painted can be reproduced across the border.

His appreciation of natural beauty led him to constitute himself the guardian and protector of the picturesque features of his native city, which ingenuity has done much to destroy. One of the latest of his productions was a pamphlet which he quaintly entitled 'A Letter to the Lord Provost on the best way of spoiling the Beauties of Edinburgh'; but although he accomplished some things in this direction, more fatal outrages succeeded in spite of his remonstrances. The beautiful valley which lies, or rather lay to the North of the Castle Rock and the Old Town, is now a railway station, and every traveller enters the city over ground from which Cockburn long struggled to exclude him. Retribution has followed the offence, for it is the worst railway station in the kingdom. The public of Edinburgh have not forgotten these exertions of their popular and good-humoured citizen, and a new quarter of the town, recently opened, close to some of the scenes in which he took the greatest interest, has since been called by his name. Nor were his sympathies confined to Edinburgh. He wails over the destruction which has overtaken St. Andrews, and which, when he wrote, was impending over Glasgow University, and has since befallen it. Of the latter, among other ancient relics, he commemorates one, which he thus describes:—

'There is a grey stone image, something like a leopard, perched on one of the pillars of the great outer stair leading up to the hall. It has sat there with its four legs up, and its pleased countenance smiling graciously on many generations of teachers, and students, and strangers. *The head of this single creature is better worth preserving and consulting than the heads of all the living Professors.*'

While these volumes, however, possess less of that distinc

tive interest which marked their predecessor, they are full of attraction to those who are familiar with the course of social and political events in Scotland forty years ago, and bring out the character of the writer in a light exceedingly creditable to his sagacity and power. For the first time we see him as a man of political action: bold, resolute, and prudent; capable as we think of greater efforts than he ever was called on to make, and as sound in council as he had shown himself able in discussion. The former volume represented him as a barrister working his way up against the tide, contributing occasionally to the pages of this Review, and taking his part with ready and persuasive eloquence in the political demonstrations against what he thought the misrule and oppression of the times, and in favour of all which was liberal, philanthropic, and just. But, like the rest of that circle, he had never before had his part in the actual conduct of affairs. He sketched out Reform Bills for the benefit of his parliamentary friends, did what he could to promote improvements in the summoning of juries and the administration of the criminal law, and sneered at close burghs and Commissioners of Supply, the autocrats of the counties of Scotland. But the first of these volumes draws up the curtain on a very different scene. The French Revolution has come and gone; the King has been unable from popular excitement to dine with the city of London; the Duke of Wellington's Government has resigned; Lord Grey has been sent for and formed his Administration; after twenty-four years of exile, the Whigs are once more in power; Jeffrey is Lord Advocate, and Cockburn is Solicitor-General. The first sentence in the book is characteristic. 'The circumstance that excites the greatest horror in the Tory mind is the spectacle of Brougham sitting on the Woolsack.'

The story of the birth and fortunes of the first Reform Bill—little did Cockburn dream of the second, or of the quarter from which it was to come—is told with great effect from the point of view from which our author saw them. That point of view was one of responsibility, anxiety, and peculiar knowledge. Cockburn was entrusted with the preparation of the Reform Bill for Scotland; and it must have been a subject of singular satisfaction to him that after a long life spent in promoting the struggle for popular rights, his should have been the hand to give them Parliamentary and in the end statutory expression. 'It is giving us,' he says, 'a political constitution for the first time. The Revolution did not do more for England.' It is indeed hard to believe that five and forty years

ago no such thing as popular representation existed in Scotland; that the county members were elected by a small knot of landed gentry termed freeholders, aided by a limited number of paper qualifications, and the members for the burghs by town-councils not popularly chosen, but self-elected.

Cockburn tells us that he was early in the secret of the intentions of the Government, and in fact had his draft prepared before the end of the year; and he observes on the remarkable fact that although the Government plan was known to about twenty persons, not a whisper of it ever reached the public until the memorable day when Lord John Russell startled the House of Commons, and took away the breath of the country gentlemen, by what seemed then the cool audacity of the Bill. Honourable as it was, Cockburn seems to have felt his position as one of extreme difficulty and responsibility. Jeffrey was in London: he was forbidden to communicate with anyone else, and he was obliged to prepare his draft without assistance or consultation from any quarter. The work, however, was thoroughly done; and although of course the details suffered considerable change in the subsequent stages of the measure, the Act stands to this day on the broad and firm lines on which his hand at first designed it. 'The main defect in the Bill,' he says—and probably the main alteration made on his original proposals—'consists in not extinguishing more districts of towns, and throwing the burghs into the counties, even though this had led to giving some counties two members.' The question thus raised has not been set at rest, even by the second Reform Bill.

But stormy days were at hand: and they were days of deep anxiety to Cockburn, placed as Solicitor-General as the sole representative of the Executive in Scotland, amid scenes of unexampled popular commotion. Strong as the feeling in favour of the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill was in England, in Scotland, which had everything to gain by it, it was probably still more intense. Those who recollect those exciting alternations between hope and fear, safety and imminent peril, which preceded the passing of the Reform Bill in August 1832, will know how difficult it is, by mere description, to convey an idea of the agitation of the public mind during the changes and vicissitudes of the interval. But the pages of this record, expressing as they do the impressions of the writer from week to week, reproduce something of the effect of present events. It was indeed a great crisis: how great the solution of it prevents us from ever fully realising.

But even in the midst of it there were junctures when the boldest held his breath for a time. It was thus that it struck Cockburn in May 1832, on Lord Grey's resignation:—

‘I never before actually felt the immediate presence of a great popular crisis. I advise nobody to create it. The fearful part of it was the absence of riot. There was nothing to distract the attention, or to break the terrible silence—nothing but grave looks and orderly public proceedings, unconquerable resolution, and the absolute certainty that if any accident had made resistance begin anywhere, it would have run like an electric shock in a moment. A feeling of personal painfulness was given to the public alarm by the conduct of those who were hostile to Reform, and who, seeing their destruction in this Bill, gave themselves up to fury and despair—feelings not unnatural in their situation, but which took away from the struggle the ordinary character of a party contest. The political atmosphere was calm, but heavy and oppressed with the lurid sulphury feeling of a coming storm.’

On the passing of the Bill he says:—

‘The regeneration of Scotland is now secured! At present, I scarcely expect above three, perhaps only two, of the Radical party to be returned to next Parliament from Scotland, and not many Tories. The future effect of the rise of the people remains to be seen. Much will depend on the state of France. Good order there will probably lead to it here; but if a republic—the favourite project of the wrong-headed there—were to prevail, the rise of the people here would acquire a new aspect.’

The spirit of political prophecy is seldom to be trusted when exercised in the centre of a political whirlwind: nor are Cockburn's anticipations an exception to the remark. He does indeed credit himself justly with one prediction which was actually fulfilled. He says under date December 12, 1832:—

‘The most extraordinary of these (the election preparations) is the rise of the hustings at the Cross. Edinburgh has rarely seen a sight so striking, so full of recollections and prospects, as what is implied in these raw planks. People are staring at them as if they were looking at the ark, cursing or blessing according to their opinions. I should like to hear what the ghosts of the old freeholders are saying. About eleven years ago I happened to predict at one of the Fox dinners that if we stood firm and agitated, we should see the hustings at the Cross in ten years. This rhetorical flourish was taken up seriously, and never forgotten, and I have received great credit as a prophet.’ (Vol. i. p. 40.)

Of the first nomination at the Cross of Edinburgh, he says, ‘I never saw a show of hands before, nor was I ever more struck than at the effect of men's hands being twice as numer-

'ous as their heads—it makes a flash.' But the flash will never be seen at the Cross again.

One element however, in common with our rulers of that day; Cockburn overlooked in his prognostics. He did not allow for the recoil: a serious element in heavy artillery. It was forgotten that the long and severe tension of the minds of men would inevitably cause a rebound. In a country like this, which moves to change very slowly, and which bows to tradition and custom and old opinion much more than it chooses to confess, no great alteration can be made in any of its institutions without a struggle, nor can the struggle prevail without instant reaction. It was a result as certain as any mathematical consequence, that the many who were averse to change, but yet bent to receive what they could not avoid, would resist any repetition of the effort they had so painfully made. It was also certain that the fever heat of the multitude could not be, and should not be, sustained when the combat was over: that weariness and lassitude would succeed to excitement, and that the old battle-cry would for a season lose its magic. This was sure to be the instinct, not only of those who followed perhaps unwillingly in the train of the more advanced and ardent of the party, but of the country itself. It would have been the true policy of the Liberal party of that day to have waited for the subsiding of the waters, before fresh schemes were put in agitation, or before they gave an indirect but timid countenance to the agitation of others. When Cockburn prophesies the extinction of the Tory party, he is right only in part, but in the main he is wrong. The old watchwords were doubtless at an end, but the party, as experience has shown, was not then, and is not now by any means in the forlorn condition in which he expected to find it. The account which Cockburn gives of the gradual waning of the popularity of the Liberal Government, is well worthy study as a mere historical illustration of how rulers ought to act after some great organic and constitutional transmutation, and of the inevitable dangers which await them.

The account of the Reform Bill substantially concludes the political part of the work. The author was raised to the Bench in 1833, and although there are some political reflections scattered over his Journal, he substantially takes his leave of these thorny paths. We turn to other matters.

There are continued in these volumes some sketches of contemporary character such as those which made the former work so interesting. Brougham's name is often mentioned; but never with praise. In one elaborate analysis of his character

Cockburn does ample justice to his extraordinary power; but in regard to the man he is severe, if not bitter. In a note he has these not flattering remarks:—

‘Sir James Mackintosh says in his “Memoirs” :—“The address and insinuation of Brougham are so great, that nothing but the bad temper, which he cannot always hide, could hinder him from mastering everybody as he does Romilly. He leads others to his opinions. He generally appears at first to concur with theirs, and never more than half opposes at once. This management is helped by an air of easy frankness that would lay suspicion himself asleep.” * If this be so, there must be two Broughams in the world; for scarcely an air of insinuation, leading, or frankness, ever came into, or came out of, the composition of the one I know. He has management and address, I know—if by this is meant plotting; but he is, and cannot avoid being, alarming and repulsive. But, to be sure, I never saw him when his genius happened to be rebuked by Romilly. His voice is singularly sweet, no doubt, and the mere manner is often pleasant; but when this is known to be accompanied by tyranny and snarling, by savage sarcasm, by boundless confidence, and above all by the unsparing and wanton sacrifice of friends and their feelings, any occasional gentleness of exterior, instead of being a charm, only increases the fearful character of the strange man.’

The truth seems to be that the two men were singularly uncongenial. They were old familiars, but they were not friends. Brougham’s rough arrogance and boisterous power was distasteful to Cockburn’s finer sensibilities. His paragon was Jeffrey; and over Jeffrey Brougham lorded it with a certain supercilious arrogance which was, not unnaturally, offensive. But, however much it may be the fashion to decry the uprightness of that extraordinary man, it is not in these pages that hard measure should be dealt him. On his strong shoulders devolved in the earlier days of this Review much of the labour, and to them was due much of the power and popularity of our efforts. He was a man of strong feeling, and judged intensely of others. He would act and speak with so much vehemence on some prejudice or unfounded surmise as to lead to the appearance, and sometimes the reality, of unfriendliness to his friends. There was in his mercurial temperament a certain restless instability which seemed inseparable from his character, and from all which he did. But where we think that justice has not been rendered him by his later critics is in the unquestionable kindness of his disposition, the honesty, fervour and breadth of his views, the noble ambition which he cherished, and the ardent love for his country which

* Vol. ii. p. 345.

he did so much to serve and improve. When we read these reflections on him, we cannot forget that they refer to one who for many years did more to raise the intellectual level of his countrymen than all our other public men united. Earnestness and enthusiasm are not qualities so common that we can afford to slight or sneer at them when developed in so large and brilliant a manner as they were in the career of Henry Brougham. He had his littlenesses, and we may lament them; but who in some degree has them not, and where again shall we find them combined with such unmatched power, versatility, and energy?

With Scott, Cockburn lived on terms of the greatest friendship. He knew him well, and has some pleasant recollections of him. Speaking of Lockhart's biography, he says that it is Scott to the life:—

'Whether the publication of this portrait will do any good to his memory is a different matter. It has greatly dispelled the fascination connected with his name in the minds of those who only knew him through his works and his fame. They thought him a purely literary man. They have now been taught how much he was a tradesman, even in the exercise of his genius; and to what extent his taste for those feudal times, which form the charm of some of his finest works, was united with the practical obeisance of a vassal to his superior, and how very narrow and shallow were all his public views; and how much less he valued fame and literature than those results of them which enabled him to exercise an intellectual and splendid hospitality.'

And on page 177 he continues:—

'Dear Scott! When he was among us we thought we worshipped him, at least as much as his modesty would permit. And now that he is gone we feel as if we had not enjoyed or cherished him half enough. How would we cling to him were he to reappear! It is a pleasure which the next generation may envy, that I still hear his voice and see his form. I see him in the court, and on the street, in company, and by the Tweed. The plain dress, the guttural burred voice, the lame walk, the thoughtful heavy face with its mantling smile, the honest hearty manner, the joyous laugh, the sing-song feeling recitation, the graphic story—they are all before me a hundred times a day.'

Of Macaulay he did not know much; he says:—

'He is strong in all valuable points; a great talker, a deep original thinker, a striking writer, an eloquent speaker, a good scholar, with vast knowledge, which his industry is regularly increasing, the utmost purity, and steadfastness of principle and of public objects, and with a taste for fame and usefulness so just and lofty that, though qualified to captivate and enlighten any audience or to advise any cabinet, he holds this perishable power as insignificant when compared with the perma-

ment glory of literature or philosophy. He is not intellectual in his outward appearance. In manner his defect is that he is heavy and lumbering, though not big, and has an air of vulgarity. His conversation, of which however I have yet heard very little, is good, but with the usual defect of professed talkers, it is a great deal too abundant, and is not easy. He utters with great rapidity, and with a panting anxiety. Though the matter of his conversation, therefore, is always admirable, the style is not pleasing. Sydney Smith, an enormous talker, complains of Macaulay never letting him get in a word. Smith once said to him, "Now, Macaulay, when I am gone you'll be 'sorry that you never heard me speak.'"

The volume contains many interesting sketches of less noted men. For instance, this sketch of old Lord Lynedoch:—

'At the age of about eighty-eight his mind and body are both perfectly entire. He is still a great horseman, drives to London night and day in an open carriage, eats and drinks like an ordinary person, hears as well as others, sees well enough, after being operated upon, for all practical purposes, reading included, has the gallantry and politeness of an old soldier, enjoys and enlivens every company, especially where there are ladies, by a plain, manly, sensible, well-bred manner, and a conversation rich in his strong judgment, and with a memory full of the most interesting scenes and people of the last seventy years. Large in bone and feature, his head is finer than Jupiter's. It is like a grey, solid, war-worn castle. He did not enter the army, I believe, till he was past forty, and then, beginning as a sort of sagacious, brave, voluntary adviser at the siege of Toulon, early in the Revolution, and proceeding in the same capacity, but recognised by the British Government at Napoleon's siege of Mantua, he was afterwards in Egypt, and then had a command under his friend Moore, at whose dying request his full rank was conceded; after which he shone in every transaction in the Peninsula, and his assault on Antwerp (gallantly conducted, but unsuccessful,) was, if I recollect right, the last military event in the war which ended in 1814. Nor has it only been in the affairs of war that his manly chivalrous spirit has made him be admired and loved. He has always taken a decided part in politics, on the popular side, and is one of the old Whigs who find nothing good prevailing now but what he fought for and anticipated long ago. He is one of the men who make old age lovely.'

Here is a paragraph concerning a person of some celebrity, whose name is still green in every book catalogue which is published at the present day:—

'Dr. Dibdin, the bibliomaniac, was here for a few days last year and saw very little, on the strength of which little he has published what he calls a "Northern Tour;" a mass of nonsense, for which, however, he has had the sense to make his foolish subscribers pay several guineas each. He did not see, or try to see, the libraries at New Hailes, or Barskimming, or Aberdeen, or Arniston, or Minto, or at many other places where they are far better than many Scotch ones which he praises. His

time was wasted in courting and receiving low flattery. His account of the Edinburgh bookworms is ludicrous, and affords a fair test of his other expensive and splendid tours. He says that Macvey Napier's tablecloth was so beautiful that it might justly be "the boast of the "British Linen Company!" My name stands "high in the annals "of humanity" for my generosity to the family of Burns! to no part of which family had I ever an opportunity of doing any, even the very slightest good; not even by a kind word. And my brother-in-law, Thomas Maitland, is the author, it seems, of a work upon Pawnbroking! But every paragraph is equally asinine. He says that it is difficult to find any horse in Edinburgh except a grey one.'

One more quotation descriptive of as genial and honourable a man, and as pleasant and accomplished a companion, as ever lived—Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, of Fountainhall, who, in those days of Reform meetings and party processions, was an intense favourite of the mob in all its ranks:—

'The very sight of his blue carriage makes their soles itch to become the horses. He is one of the persons whose Whiggism is so liberal that it enables him to keep the Radicals in some order. The chief part of his influence, indeed, is owing to his being very much one of themselves; but besides there is something even in the outward air of this representative of old Fountainhall very captivating to any populace. A flow of rambling natural talk; ready jokes; the twinkle of a mild laughing eye; a profusion of grey grizzly hair tossed over head, face, and throat; a bludgeon ludicrously huge for civil life, especially in his powerful though gentle hand; raiment half fashionable, half agrestic; a tall, gentleman-like, Quixotic figure; and a general picturesqueness of appearance. But these things, though it is these by which he is commonly best known, are insignificant. He is in more substantial matters a very accomplished gentleman. His published works, particularly his account of the "Floods in Morayshire," and of the "Parallel Roads of Glen Roy," attest his science and his skill in composition; and he has a general accomplishment in several difficult things. Lauder could make his way in the world as a player, or a ballad-singer, or a street-fiddler, or a geologist, or a civil engineer, or a surveyor, and easily and eminently as an artist or a layer out of ground.'

This genial spirit once made his way across the border to one of the elections at Cockermonth, where, in a couple of days, he enthralled the Cumberland mob, who shouted for Sir Thomas *Lowther* as stoutly as their northern brethren.

Cockburn seldom went to London, and indeed, excepting at the time at which he was Solicitor-General, there is little in these volumes of London politicians or society. He at that time came in contact with most of the great men of his party, and speaks with great respect of their power and devotion to business. Lord Althorp was the minister of whom he saw

most, and he was greatly struck with his ability. The oratory of the House of Commons did not impress him with respect. He said he heard a 'very great deal of excellent conversational speaking, and very little good speaking of a higher class—certainly not three hours out of the whole twenty-seven. Macaulay's was by far the best, chiefly from its deep thought and extensive views; but there was nothing, not even from him, which gave me any idea of noble eloquence—nothing which realised or tended to realise the sublimity of minds overpowered by words. Chalmers would be a thunderbolt among them.' Cockburn was a great orator, and a great judge of oratory. In his own line he had few equals. Nevertheless, eloquence must be judged by its audience. Chalmers in his own way was unquestionably a very great orator, and a great debater also, and had a power and fire and enthusiasm which enchained and captivated the audiences whom he was wont to address. But the conversational style, or the absence of the ecstatic or excited style, which Cockburn here laments, truly arises from the fact that the former is the style best adapted to the atmosphere of Parliament. It is true that few men of modern times have been able within those walls to make the pulse beat faster, or the audience hang entranced on the accents of the speaker. Bright in his greatest mood, and Gladstone occasionally, may have risen to this height. But oratory, after all, is nothing but the art of swaying the minds of men by spoken words, and those who best accomplish the end are the greatest masters of the art. Cockburn heard Chalmers make a great oration in 1833, in proposing what was called the Veto Law in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. He thus describes his style of oratory:—

'Chalmers, in proposing the veto, raised himself above most modern orators by a great speech. It was longer than his usually are, and more argumentative, and all his views and statements blazed with the fire of his volcanic imagination. Yet his, after all, is chiefly the triumph of intensity of manner; for this speech, like many others of his, might be read and even studied without emotion. It is only when his feelings are brought out in his emphasis, in his views, in his curious sentences, in his lofty objects, and in the general look and air of the speaking man, that his oratory can be understood. How he burns! I shed more tears of pure admiration than I have done since they were forced from me by the magnificence of Mrs. Siddons. And every syllable written in his condensed shorthand. I was sitting next him, and stole the adjoining page of his notes from which he spoke with intense eloquence for about twenty minutes. When he was done, and began to collect his material, he missed this page, and upset all the hats and

made all the pockets near him be emptied in search of it. I was obliged to confess the theft, when he allowed me to keep the trophy.'

This leads us to take notice of a subject which occupies the largest proportion of these volumes, and which will probably give to them their greatest historical permanency and importance. The controversies in the Church of Scotland on the subject of Patronage, and the disruption of the Church in which they terminated, excited great interest in Cockburn's mind. He was far from being an ardent theologian; and the Evangelical party in the Church, with whom his sympathies went in the struggle, receive, under the denomination of 'The Wild,' many lashes from his caustic pen. He writes as a bystander; but his opinions as a constitutional lawyer, and his sympathies as a Scotchman, led him strongly to the side which, in one sense, was worsted in the struggle.

The controversy between the courts of the Church and the civil tribunals, which led to results so singular and important, commenced in 1838, and terminated by the disruption of the Church in 1843. Its stages are marked in Cockburn's *Journal* as they occurred, from first to last; and as the Bill for the Abolition of Patronage in Scotland has directed the attention of the public to this subject in a more than usual degree, our readers may find it interesting to have placed before them concisely the true causes and nature of these remarkable events, as they are told by our author, and which in England, and even in Scotland, are but little understood. The apathy with which they were regarded at the time, and the ignorance which prevails on the subject now, in English society is the more remarkable, that the questions which were agitated during the contest, and the principles which they involved, bear most directly on some of the important and, indeed, momentous issues which are rapidly ripening in the Church of England. There is probably not a well-educated man in any Protestant community on the Continent of Europe who would not be ashamed to profess himself unacquainted with the general outline of these memorable events.

As Lord Cockburn says, the nature of the topics involved, and of the events which happened, insensibly pointed back to the seventeenth century, and revived old controversies and produced the collision of opinions which one had thought long adjusted, if not buried. It is out of the question for us, within the limits of the present article, to give anything like a comprehensive view of these really interesting events, but they are given in this work with considerable dramatic vivacity and power. Extending, as the struggle did, over nearly ten years,

the crisis always approaching and growing nearer and nearer, and detailed as its progress is year by year, and sometimes week by week, until at last the final catastrophe is reached, the story becomes one of exceeding interest from the epic dress in which it is presented, apart from some picturesque and romantic elements of its own.

To understand the real question at issue it is necessary to have a correct appreciation of the constitution and creed of the Church of Scotland. The Reformation in that country was a very thorough piece of work. The Church of the Scottish Reformers was no assemblage of ecclesiastics, but a pure democracy; and its government by Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies placed the power in representative courts, in which the lay element was equal to the clerical. The minister and the lay elders form the Church Court of the parish; the clergy of the district, with representative lay elders, form the Presbytery; the members of the General Assembly, clerical and lay, are elected by the Presbytery, the burghs also sending representative lay elders to that body. Thus Church power does not mean clerical power in that country, in theory at least. It means popular power; and framed for a community in which every man was assumed to belong to the Established Church, it may be easily understood how such a constitution would operate had such been or continued to be the case.

Its creed may be shortly stated to be that of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; that is to say, that of England under the Long Parliament. It is apt to be forgotten, when we hear of the Confession of Faith and the Shorter Catechism, that the Confession is an English Confession, which was ratified by Parliament in 1648, and the Catechism is an English manual, prepared by some of the most learned divines England ever produced. To the theory of Church government, and the doctrinal tenets, of the Genevese Reformer, the people have always been devoted. They have marked to a large extent the character of the nation, and have fostered among all ranks, and especially among the lower ranks, a taste for logical disquisition and dogmatic preaching which has even intellectually left a distinctive mark on the national character. It remains as strong at this day, among the middle and lower classes, as it was in the days of Knox, or Henderson, or Carstairs.

The Church so constituted and so established was founded on the principle that in matters spiritual these Church Courts were supreme, and were not liable to be controlled, within their appropriate functions, by the Civil Courts. Of the ac-

knowledge of the abstract principle there never was any question. The limits between the civil and spiritual region were never very precisely defined, but it never was doubted that there was a boundary line; and these principles were embodied in the Acts of Parliament ratifying the Church as established. But there had been from the first a certain debateable territory; and that consisting of the ground lying between the right of lay patrons to present to the benefice, and the right of the Church and people to form the pastoral tie between the presentee and his flock. The patron had the right to present to the temporal benefits; but these could only be reached if the people called the presentee to be their minister, and the Presbytery ordained him to the cure. The call gradually degenerated into a form; but the ordination by the Presbytery remained essential.

When Presbyterian Church government was settled in 1690, lay patronage was abolished, and the appointment of the clergy was vested in the hands of the heritors or landed proprietors, and the elders or lay members of the parish vestry, called the kirk session. Probably, had this Act been left undisturbed, it would have been well for the ecclesiastical peace of Scotland. But in 1712 the government of Harley and Bolingbroke, who unquestionably contemplated the restoration of the exiled family, repealed the Act, and restored lay patronage; and thereby, in fact, prevented the fair trial of the experiment, which otherwise bade fair enough to be successful, of a Church supreme within its appropriate borders.

Under the restored right of patronage the clergy began, during the last century, to drift away from the old Evangelical teaching, and discipline became more lax. The consequence was that more than one secession took place, and by the end of the century many of the people had left the communion and sought in the ranks of dissent what they thought the more orthodox teaching which they did not find within her pale. In the General Assembly the Moderate, or what might be called the Broad Church party, were supreme. For the most part, at this time, Moderation in Church politics was identical with Tory principles in State politics; and, as a rule, the laymen who found their way, into the General Assembly, as it was at that time the fashion for men of rank and eminence to do, took their places on the Moderate, or the Evangelical, benches exactly as their secular politics ranged. There were exceptions to this rule, but such was the rule.

When the sceptical opinions of the French Revolution, and the fearful scenes in which they had culminated, startled

Europe out of its security, these events were not without their effect on the minds of the patrons of the livings in Scotland. They began insensibly to desire to procure for the people more earnest instruction, and by slow but sure degrees the Church became leavened with earnest men, the people came back to its standard, the majorities in the General Assembly began to diminish, and just at the time when popular principles began to have ascendancy in Parliament, the Evangelical party found themselves on a level with their antagonists in the General Assembly.

It was not unnatural that the first use which they made of their victory should have been to take precautions against the recurrence of the evils which they had vanquished, and the dangers which they had averted. There were within the ranks of the Evangelical party some men of great distinction and power—Chalmers, Andrew Thomson, Candlish, Cunningham, Guthrie, whose names are known beyond the boundaries of their church, or the confines of Scotland. Some of these were anxious for the repeal of the Act of 1712; but the greater number were not prepared to try the experiment of popular election, and preferred the safer plan of putting such control on the exercise of the patrons' patronage as should prevent the intrusion of an unwelcome presentee into a parish, contrary to the will of the people, while it gave the latter no direct voice in the choice of their pastor. It was in introducing this proposition that Chalmers made the oration to which Cockburn refers. The substance of Chalmers' proposition was that the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families, in a congregation, being communicants, should exclude the presentee from the parish, leaving to the patron to present again. This measure was unsuccessful in 1833, but it was renewed with success by Lord Moncreiff in 1834, and ultimately became the law of the Church in 1835, as far as the Church Courts had power to give it authority.

For three years this measure worked reasonably well. There were but few instances in which the power of veto was exercised by the people—Lord Cockburn tells us not above nine or ten. Nor does it appear from his account that the instances in which it was exercised were capricious. During that period there was immense vitality and activity in the Church itself. Headed by Chalmers, it succeeded in adding to its communion 200 new churches, and procuring for them reasonable endowment by voluntary contribution. Great exertions were made in the spread of education, and it certainly may be safely said that in 1838 the Church of Scotland

embraced within its bounds a larger proportion of the population of the country, and was composed of a more earnest and zealous laity, than any Established Church in Europe.

But in this interval clouds began to accumulate on the horizon. The mind of Chalmers was essentially conservative, and in his most meritorious crusade in favour of church extension, not receiving from the Liberal Government the support which he expected, he had thrown himself and a very large proportion of the Evangelical clergy into the arms of the Conservatives; so much so that Lord Cockburn says that in the election of 1837 only one of the Established clergy voted for the popular side in one of the counties. The result was that when the day of battle came, those who considered that they had been maintaining the cause of the people, found but little favour with those in power, while the Liberal party held the reins.

But there was another section to settle with, and these were the defeated ecclesiastical party. They had always intimated a disposition to question the legality of the proceedings of the General Assembly in passing the *Veto* law, and at last, in 1838, Lord Kinnoull on the occasion of a presentation to the parish of Auchterarder, in which the people exercised their right of veto, raised an action before the Court of Session for the purpose of trying this question.

Writing five-and-twenty years ago, in a review of an early work of the Duke of Argyll on the subject of the Established Church, we said, in the pages of the 'Edinburgh Review':—

'In an evil hour the patrons were advised to question the power of the Church courts to interpose this barrier between a presentee and the benefice. It was a short-sighted and ill-considered step, as the result has conspicuously proved. The precise line of demarcation between the spiritual and the civil function, in the admission of ministers, had, in former times, been left purposely indefinite. Each had its function—the Church to ordain to the cure, the civil power to confer the benefice. When Andrew Melville and his contemporaries adjusted the statutory basis of Presbytery in 1592, this question was waived by tacit consent on both sides. It had remained unadjusted ever since—one which sagacious leaders did not care to press to a settlement. Knowing, as the patrons did, that the proceedings of the General Assembly in 1834, by which the dissent of congregations was held sufficient to exclude a presentee from his cure, were but indications of a desire on the part of many within the Church for far more thorough changes, and as, practically, the rule thus adopted was not found to operate injuriously to the rights of patronage, it is certainly to be regretted that so great a game should have been commenced with a move so insignificant, and for a stake so paltry.'

Events since have thoroughly justified these remarks. The courts of law in Scotland decided, and the decision was confirmed by the House of Lords, that the Church courts had no power to interpose this barrier between the patron and the induction of the presentee. Lord Cockburn was one of five judges who differed from the judgment. But even after that judgment was pronounced, there remained a considerable difficulty as to the mode of giving it effect; for as we have explained, the benefice could only be reached through ordination, and the Church courts refused to ordain. For more than four years the combat raged between the civil courts and the Church courts; and as was natural, it grew hotter as the contest proceeded. There is no existing record of these proceedings so graphic, or indeed so complete, as Cockburn's account, detailed at the time, of the varying fortunes of this singular duel. It carries us back almost to mediæval times. Before the close he tells us that there were no less than twenty-seven actions in Court, arising out of these disputed settlements. He describes the most important of them. In one, some of the most respected of the clergy were summoned to the bar of the civil court, for contempt. In another, the Church courts having been ordered to induct a presentee, to whom the people had dissented, prohibited the Presbytery from obeying, and deposed certain members of the Presbytery who had obeyed the civil court, and inducted the presentee. The Court of Session set aside the deposition, and granted an injunction against anyone preaching in the parish by the orders of the General Assembly. On this, the injunction was violated Sunday after Sunday, by the most eminent men in the Church, officiating in the fields, or under any shelter which could be obtained. In a third case, the civil courts prohibited the people from recording their dissents. In a fourth, the civil courts prohibited the clergy of the new parishes from acting as members of the Church courts. We cannot, within any reasonable limits, even sketch the ramifications into which the dispute spread, and much less express any opinion on the combatants; but although patronage was the question at the beginning, it was far from being the question at the end. The question which the General Assembly raised was whether the civil authority, in order to vindicate what the civil courts found to be a patrimonial or secular right, had the power of enjoining or prohibiting the exercise of the spiritual functions of the Church in the administration of ordinances, the preaching of the Word, the laying on of hands, and the imposition of Church censures. These were the things which in their view

were brought into issue, and for long it had been foreseen that unless the Government stepped in to solve this knot, the end must either be the relinquishment of principle or the relinquishment of their benefices, by those who formed the majority of the Church courts. But the Government would not interfere. The Liberal Government, alienated as they had been by the animosity of the clergy, were not magnanimous enough to face the question, or to solve it. The advice which they received came mainly from the ranks of voluntary dissent, and these ranks were altogether hostile to both sections of the Church.

The Liberal Government resigned in 1841, and Sir Robert Peel succeeded, but the new Government followed the same passive course. No one believed that, however hot these ecclesiastics might be, they would in any number stand the test of the actual relinquishment of the endowments of their parishes. To quote again from the article to which we have already referred:—

‘Those in authority, and those who advised them, had no more conception of what was going on below than the inhabitants of Lisbon who walked their accustomed streets on the day before the earthquake which was to lay them in ruins. They mistook what was truly a deep popular emotion, for a weak and ostentatious trick of priestcraft, that would quail and become contemptible before the firmness of mere apathy. When the critical day drew near, the result was prophesied with contemptuous confidence. A few men, a dozen or so, might be so far committed as to be forced to go, the Church would only be weeded of its more turbulent spirits, they would sink in the darkness and be forgotten.’

At last the crisis did come; nor do we reach it until we are in the second volume of Lord Cockburn’s Journal. He thus describes the singular scene in which it culminated. Under date June 8, 1843, he writes:—

‘The crash is over. The event that has taken place was announced so far back as November, when the Convocation proclaimed that their adhering to the Church would depend entirely on the success of the ~~last~~ appeal they meant to waste upon Government and Parliament. These appeals had failed, and all subsequent occurrences flowed towards the announced result. On the two Sundays preceding the Assembly hundreds of congregations all over the country had been saddened by farewell sermons from pastors to whom they were attached. The general belief that there would be an extraordinary move, combined with the uncertainty as to its exact time and form and amount, had crowded Edinburgh with clergymen, and had produced an anxiety far beyond what usually preceded the Annual Assemblies of the Church. If the *quoad sacra* objection could have been disregarded in examining com-

missions, it is believed that the Moderate party would have still been in the minority; and in reference to this state of matters there was much speculation with respect to what was to happen. Will the Commissioner (the Marquis of Bute) attempt to dissolve the Assembly? Or will he recognise the minority as the Assembly? Or will interdicts against the *quoad sacra* ministers taking their seats be enforced by the police? Such conjectures deepened expectation; but they were all speedily set at rest.

‘Dr. Welsh, Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh, having been Moderator last year, began the proceedings by preaching a sermon before his Grace the Commissioner in the High Church, in which what was going to happen was announced and defended. The Commissioner then proceeded to St. Andrew’s Church, where the Assembly was to be held. The streets, especially those near the place of meeting, were filled, not so much with the boys who usually gaze at the annual show, as by grave and well-dressed grown people of the middle rank. According to custom, Welsh took the chair of the Assembly. Their very first act ought to have been to constitute the Assembly of this year by electing a new Moderator. But before this was done, Welsh rose and announced that he and others who had been returned as members held this not to be a Free Assembly—that, therefore, they declined to acknowledge it as a Court of the Church—that they meant to leave the very place, and as a consequence of this, to abandon the Establishment. In explanation of the grounds of this step he then read a full and clear protest. It was read as impressively as a weak voice would allow, and was listened to in silence by as large an audience as the church could contain. Whether from joy at the prospect of getting rid of their troublesome brethren anyhow—which they professed, or from being alarmed—which to a great degree was the truth, the Moderate party, though they might have objected to any paper being read even from the chair at that time, attempted no interruption, which they now regret. The protest resolved into this, that the civil court had subverted what had ever been understood to be the Church, that its new principles were enforced by ruinous penalties, and that in this situation they were constrained to abandon an Establishment which, as recently explained, they felt repugnant to their vows and to their consciences.

‘As soon as it was read, Dr. Welsh handed the paper to the clerk, quitted the chair, and walked away. Instantly, what appeared to be the whole left side of the house rose to follow. Some applause broke from the spectators, but it checked itself in a moment. 193 members moved off, of whom about 123 were ministers and about 70 elders. Among these were many upon whose figures the public eye had been long accustomed to rest in reverence. They all withdrew slowly and regularly amidst perfect silence, till that side of the house was left nearly empty. They were joined outside by a large body of adherents, among whom were about 300 clergymen. As soon as Welsh, who wore his Moderator’s dress, appeared on the street, and people saw that principle had really triumphed over interest, he and his followers were received with the loudest acclamations. They walked in procession

down Hanover Street to Canonmills, where they had secured an excellent hall, through an unbroken mass of cheering people, and beneath innumerable handkerchiefs waving from the windows. But amidst this exultation there was much sadness and many a tear, many a grave face and fearful thought; for no one could doubt that it was with sore hearts that these ministers left the Church, and no thinking man could look on the unexampled scene and behold that the temple was rent without pain and sad forebodings. No spectacle since the Revolution reminded one so forcibly of the Covenanters.'

Such were the causes which rent the Church of Scotland in twain. But the Free Church, to the amazement of all, grew and flourished. They went out some 400 strong; their clergy now number nearly a thousand. They have built manses and schools in almost every parish in the country; they now collect annually 150,000*l.* for the support of their clergy, and their whole annual income, which is spent within the year, is about half a million. Looking back, it was hardly worth while, for any object they could have in view, for those who set this stone a rolling, to have been the instruments of giving to the world such an example of what voluntary zeal could effect in a poor country like Scotland. But the memory of the remarkable sacrifice, the testimony of true and earnest devotion which the exodus of these men gave to the world, has not been and never will be forgotten in Scotland while its history lasts. The history of the petty persecution which some of the seceding ministers and their people endured from a few—fortunately very few—landowners in refusing them sites for their churches, is the least dignified part of the history. After the disruption, Lord Cockburn tells us that the ministers of the county of Sutherland, who had suffered much for want of ground whereon to build a house,—

'were each asked lately to say whether there was anything, and what, in his circumstances which gave him a claim for consideration in the distribution of the Sustentation Fund. There is nothing more honourable to Scotland, and little more honourable to human nature, than the magnanimous answers by every one of those brave men. Not one of them made any claim. Each abjured it. One of them stated that though he had been turned out of a hovel he had got into last winter, and had been obliged to walk about thirty miles over snow, beside the cart which conveyed his wife and children to another district, and had nothing, he was perfectly happy, and had no doubt that many of his brethren were far better entitled to favour than he was. These are the men to make churches!'

The late Lord Moncreiff, who had proposed the Veto Act in 1834, and who formed one of the minority in the Auchter-

order Case in the Court of Session, thus concluded the judgment which he delivered:—

‘ Only permit me to say, in conclusion, that as I have expressed my opinion, and hitherto acted upon it to the utmost of my humble ability for preserving the rights of patronage, though within the limits which I think attach to them by law, and entirely repudiating anything like *ambages* in that matter, I earnestly trust that it may not in the end be found that they who so consulted for the patrons and the people together had not taken the least considerate view of the real interests of each.’ (*Robertson’s Report*, vol. ii. p. 354.)

Thirty years have come and gone. Patronage has ceased to be property worth retaining; and now, from the same camp which equipped the army which fought in its support, comes a flag of unreserved and unconditional surrender. A Bill, introduced by the Government, and promoted by the Established Church, for the entire abolition of patronage, has passed the Upper House, and is making its way through the Lower.

Seeing that the patrons and the Established Church are at one on this long-disputed topic, it would, we think, be folly to lose the opportunity of adjusting it. It is no reason for resisting the change, but the best reason for supporting it, that if some had said the same things, or had not said the reverse, thirty years ago, a great institution would have been saved from dismemberment. Whatever opinions may be formed of the consistency of its promoters, the abolition of a system which Scotland now unanimously condemns, cannot but be right. The repentance may be tardy, but it is complete; and it would be the path of wisdom for those whose principles have gained this signal, although tardy, triumph, to welcome rather than to disparage, the admission of former error.

It is a mistake to suppose that the leaders of the Evangelical party were, at the date when this convulsion took place, by any means opposed to the existence of patronage. However little they admired the Act on which it rested, they thought that it formed to some extent a barrier against unreasonable popular excitement, and that, with the restriction to the *veto*, it was perhaps the best existing mode under which ministers could be appointed. But after the disruption had taken place, the unlucky statute called Lord Aberdeen’s Act passed, which permitted the people to state specific objections to the qualifications of any person presented to a living. The result has been, in many instances, to bring the whole matter into ridicule. Cockburn gives some amusing examples of the kind of objections which sometimes were made; and indeed hardly a case occurred under the statute which was not more or less tinged with ab-

sardity. It was impossible for the Church to go on under this system, and probably they have judged wisely, at all events for present usefulness, in resolving, as they have done, to part with patronage altogether, if Parliament will interpose its authority. We do not coincide with the objections which have been raised outside as far as the substance of this measure is concerned; for even for those who do not disapprove of patronage with or without restrictions, it is entirely vain to maintain their views when patrons, church, and parishioners are all agreed upon the subject.

What, however, is to be the effect of the new measure is a different question. It was found too easy to sever the Church of Scotland, but it will be difficult, if not impossible, to re-unite it. During the thirty years that have passed the Free Church have tasted the fresh air of freedom and enjoyed the popularity and renown of success. Even if those who remained behind in the Church, or have succeeded to the places which the retiring clergy left vacant, had approached their brethren with a frank and generous admission of former error, and an invitation to co-operate in renewing the old and venerable fabric of the Church on what might be thought a just and sound foundation, union would probably have been impossible, although much might have been done in the way of cordiality and good feeling. As it is, however, the Free Church has unfortunately been roused to take up a position, which is, for them, both new and inconsistent, of hostility to the existence of the Establishment. One cannot wonder that after so much labour and money has been expended in extending the boundaries of their emancipated institution, they should be somewhat in love with the liberty which they have gained and little regardful even of the chance of regaining the endowments which they surrendered. Thirty years have consolidated the framework of a great voluntary association maintained and supported by a large and very earnest and zealous portion of the people. It is not to be expected that the Free Church ministers will desert their people, or that their people will desert their ministers; and we rather fear that if any contrary notion has possessed the minds of those who are promoting the legislation of this year, it will be found another instance of the want of sound information as to the real feeling and tendency of the people themselves. They adhered to the Free Church mainly from their devotion to the old Evangelical teaching in which they had been trained, and because in the surrender which their clergy made of those things for which men generally strive, and the unreserved demonstration which they had

just made of the entire sincerity of their views, they had a guarantee for their earnestness and devotion to the cause which it is impossible to eradicate from their minds.

The ultimate effect of the abolition of patronage it would be difficult to prophesy. One result, we fear, it may have, and that is a tendency to increase the operation of causes which have ever since 1843 been raising an additional barrier between the landed proprietors and the middle class in Scotland. Scotland is not less Presbyterian than it was two hundred years ago, but the landowners are rapidly drifting towards Episcopacy. The laird no longer meets his tenants in the old churchyard, or chats with them 'between sermons,' or has the means of forming the kindly and confidential relations with them which the weekly gathering at the parish church produced. These things are disappearing as rapidly as the manners and customs of Scotland, described by our author, in the beginning of the century, and apparently, though more unfortunately, it is equally inevitable.

But the main cause which renders it impossible that in present circumstances the abolition of patronage can lead to a reunion of the two sections of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, are the rival claims between the civil and the Church courts. It is quite true that it was out of the exercise of patronage that this particular conflict arose, and were it for no other reason, it is right that patronage should be abolished, that such a conflict may not arise again, it is also true—which renders the catastrophe which has happened the more to be regretted—that whatever may be said as to the abstract principle on which the jurisdiction of the Church rested, it never had come into collision with the civil power, excepting on this question of patronage. But still the decisions of the civil court remain as the law of the land. They have been decided by competent authority, and those against whom the decision was pronounced, as well as those who invoked their interference, have acknowledged them to be law. It would be very difficult in these days to reconstruct such a constitution as the Church thought it possessed before these questions came into question. That which rested on tradition was a far safer basis than any new enactment could be, even if it could have been procured. Where the counsels of the Church were guided by wisdom and prudence, abstract questions, however important, could always be avoided. But the issue once joined, it is impossible now to recur to first principles without raising collateral questions of the deepest moment, and in the present ecclesiastical state of England, where the Church and those

at its head are struggling to obtain through the medium of a civil officer, the power of executing its own decrees, it is hard to see that it would be possible even to propose in Parliament any measure which had for its object to assert the claims which the civil courts disregarded. It does not follow that these claims were in themselves incompatible with good government or with civil liberty. On the contrary, they lay at the foundation of one of the most symmetrical church establishments in Europe. But in the present state of the public mind we do not think it within even reasonable calculation that this barrier can at this time, if ever, be removed out of the way. The Established Church and the Free Church have full scope as it is, and so we are afraid for the present they must be left.

Turning back to Cockburn's book from this digression, we have but little more to say to recommend it to our readers. Before the end of the volumes one after another of the old friends whose names adorn it have dropped off. Scott has gone, so has Chalmers, so has Jeffrey. He says:—

'There were four men who in my time have made Scotland illustrious—Dugald Stewart, Walter Scott, Thomas Chalmers, and Francis Jeffrey. The last of them is now gone, and I fear we have no great man among us. Jeffrey's was a happy life. He chose the most difficult spheres in which talent could be exerted, and excelled in them all. He rose, by his own merits, and by always taking sound views of practical life, from obscurity and dependence to affluence and renown. His temperament was cheerful and his health generally good. His head had become grizzly grey, and his countenance dark pale, but his eye retained its brilliancy, and his lip its energy unquenched, and his step was light and springy, and well-walked to the last. He reached the age of seventy-seven; and after being at his Court on the Tuesday, he died at home next Saturday evening, without pain, and in such entire possession of his faculties that, within a few hours of his departure, he dictated a long and singular letter, giving a striking description of his feebleness and probable expiring feelings. What better does this life yield!'

And we also must take our leave of this cheerful companion, whose memory lives so green in the hearts of his countrymen. He had a happy life; indeed in one passage he mentions that there was only one year in which anything like sorrow overtook him. This *Journal*, commenced in times and amidst scenes so different, was completed in April 1854—at least April 11 is the last date. He died in his seventy-fifth year, on the 26th of the same month, having just returned from the Ayr circuit. He had sentenced a man to death for murder, and the Judge had gone to his long home before the sentence was executed. He will long be remembered with affection by

those who knew him, with his pleasant smile, his Doric speech, and polished, dignified, and frank address, as the type of the old generation of Scottish gentlemen. To those who knew him not, the pages of this book will convey a true picture of the man; and that country and society is fortunate whose thoughts, habits, and associations are moulded by minds so well balanced, sunny, and genial as that which pervades these volumes of pleasant recollections.

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ART. I.—*Das Leben des Generals Von Scharnhorst.* Von
G. H. KLIPPEL. Leipsic: 1870.

PRUSSIA, as all the world admits, exhibits the strongest types of statesmanship and strategy that our age has produced; and statesman and strategist have combined their powers to raise her from a second-class kingdom to be the foremost military Power in Europe. But Bismarck's sagacity and Von Moltke's science might have been in vain had they not possessed, in the national organisation for war, the mightiest engine the world has ever seen framed. And Prussia does not forget the obligation she owes to the great man—a Prussian only by adoption, a German above all—who founded her military system, and who in doing so prepared those victories of the War of Independence in 1813–14, which he was not spared to share, yet which but for him would hardly have been won. Herr Klippel's great work has not the less been read because it appeared at a new crisis in the world's history, when his hero's country was seen to rise again as one man under arms against the hereditary foe for whose first overthrow the weapon was forged by Scharnhorst sixty years before.

Yet Scharnhorst himself, who came from Hanover to be the tutor of the Prussian nation, was but the pupil of an earlier teacher in a principality yet smaller than the Electorate which gave him birth. No fact is brought out more clearly than this in Herr Klippel's volumes; and before passing to his own career, it is but just to dwell on the memory of the instructor to whom the regenerator of the Prussian service owed so much. Those too, who imagine that military science is but the fancy of a day, and owes its study rather to men's immediate needs than to one of the deeper instincts of the race,

may study profitably the history of Count William of Lippe and the school which he founded. For there Scharnhorst in a time of settled peace imbibed the knowledge which was long after to fructify, in the days when Prussia, under his sage teaching, drew strength out of disaster, and honour out of humiliation.

Little loved by, and loving little the aristocracy of his island kingdom, George II. was ever ready to show favour to the sons of the small German princes with whom he felt a real kinship. His near neighbour in the Empire, and the faithful ally of Hanover, the Sovereign Count of Schaumburg-Lippe, had no difficulty in obtaining a commission in the British Guards for his second son, Count William, a boy of striking quickness and intelligence, who from his earliest childhood had evinced his passion for a soldier's life. The young ensign had received his first education in England, where his parents had spent much of their time as guests of George I., and is said to have spoken English as well as French fluently when he returned to London to carry the colours of his battalion. The sudden death of his elder brother whilst he was yet under age made him heir to the petty principality, and he resigned his commission at his father's call; but only to serve soon after in the field under the sovereign whose uniform he had put off. The claim of Maria Theresa to the throne of Austria threw all Europe into a blaze. As France supported her rival, the Elector of Bavaria, England naturally espoused the cause of the brave young Queen of Hungary; and George II. took the field on the Main at the head of a large force composed chiefly of English and Hanoverians, but having in it a Dutch contingent commanded by the Count of Lippe, whose son gained permission to see service by his father's side. The British monarch, though a brave man himself, was a poor strategist, and had scarce been in command a week when his army was in imminent danger of having its supplies altogether cut off by Noailles, who was operating against it with a superior force of French on the other side of the Main. Fortunately for the king, his movement of retreat from a very awkward position did not discourage his own troops, whilst it led to a sudden passage of the stream by the French, and a rash attempt to intercept his army altogether, which brought on the battle of Dettingen. Never was the value of the old advice to build a bridge of gold for the retiring enemy more strikingly illustrated than when Noailles, instead of allowing his adversary to commence his retreat, and then pushing his rear through the defiles to the north by which he must escape, resolved to intercept

The narrow front of the action which ensued on the bank proved more favourable to the steadiness with which the British received the attack than to the impetuosity which the French delivered it. The young Count learnt what may be a practical lesson in the advantage of good discipline under fire, which dwelt with him during the rest of a long and varied military career. Here too he showed the same contempt for danger which caused Count Schulemburg, under whom he afterwards served in Italy, to send him off on detachment before a general action, lest he should get himself killed to no purpose; and which, later, made his name a proverb for daring in the first part of the Seven Years' War.

That great conflict had not long been engaged when Portugal was drawn into it, on the side of her already old ally, the King of Great Britain and of Frederick the Great with whom his sympathies were engaged. As has invariably been found in like cases, the Portuguese army, on coming out of peace, was quite unfit for the field; and the little kingdom was in danger of being crushed by Spanish arms guided by France. Help was sought from England, and sent in the person of Count de la Lippe, now holding a commission as Hanoverian general, who was soon on his way to Lisbon with a staff of trained officers. Here his duties were those which Beresford was sent two generations later to repeat; and so successfully was the task performed, that to his exertions it was universally acknowledged the safety of the kingdom was due. The grateful king would willingly have retained him at his post of commander-in-chief when the war was over. But the Count had now succeeded to his father's sovereignty, and returned to Germany to devote himself to its duties with as much energy as though his few thousands of subjects had been as many millions. Although he saw war no more, he counted among the chief duties of a ruler the keeping his people thoroughly prepared for its event. The maxim he himself was never weary of teaching was, that since man has a natural inclination for war, this should be taken as the basis of national education, and properly directed. 'The study of military science,' so ran his favourite canon, 'is not the melancholy trade of discovering more skilful means of murder, but is the rendering a true service to humanity. For the more perfectly military science is studied, the more dangerous will it be found to commence a war, and the more rare consequently will war be; and when it does occur, the more removed from useless murder. The misuse of this higher art would carry us down to the level from whence it raised us. No war but a defensive one is justifiable, as the wantonly

‘offensive is utterly beneath the dignity of the just man. The preparation of means of defence will tend to limit war, inasmuch as they will constantly increase the obstacles that are put in the way of the invader.’ Words these which have a sound truth in them, that is illustrated by the general course of history, none the less surely, that national animosities or dynastic ambitions from time to time prove so strong as to outweigh all caution and defy all restraint.

True to his maxims, Count William carried them out to the full in his own dominions, and in his general devotion to the wellbeing of his subjects never forgot the supposed necessity of their military training. His means for an army were indeed limited. To maintain the single battalion of foot, squadron of horse, and battery of guns which formed his establishment, and which it was his pride to make models for all Germany, might not have been too heavy a tax on the adults of the principality, and its money resources. But if their complement of men was always full, it would yet exclude, as in other German states was then excluded, a great part of the males able to bear arms. The old Teuton law had prescribed that there should be no exemption from the defence of the country; but this had long fallen into disuse, and the system of standing armies of long service which had grown up all over Germany in its place, was too suited to the absolutist notions of the age to be lightly shaken. It was reserved for this sovereign of an obscure and petty principality, in his zeal for carrying out his theory of complete defence, to revive the old notion that the army of a state should be the people of the state in arms. And in pressing earnestly after his object, he was the first to solve the problem which now engages the attention of great empires, of achieving this maximum of warlike power with the least possible expense. The method taken for this end was that by which alone it has been anywhere accomplished. He insisted on each adult fit for arms serving long enough in the ranks to acquire a thorough knowledge of the arm to which he was assigned, and this attained, dismissed him from the colours, but under the liability to rejoin in case of war. Gneisenau, the ‘brains’ of the victorious army of Blücher in after days, and the most trusted soldier of Prussia when fate robbed her of Scharnhorst, felt and acknowledged to the full the obligation Germany owed to the memory of the man who had bequeathed her the secret of her sudden rise from abject prostration.

‘You have praised the Count of Lippe highly,’ he wrote to Varnhagen von Ense, ‘yet not as befits his merit. He was far greater than you re-

present him. I formerly stayed some time at his capital of Bückeberg, and read his manuscripts in the archives there. All our system of national armament, with its Landwehr and Landsturm, the whole modern method of making war, this man had thoroughly marked out; in its greatest conceptions and least particulars, he had known and practically taught it. Just think what sort of a man that must have been whose spirit could conceive thus far beforehand the vastest ideas of war, so that their realisation in later days actually shattered the whole power of Napoleon himself.'

It was not at his court residence of Bückeberg that the Count laboured to work his problems out by personal exertion in teaching those he desired to make perfect soldiers. The very interest which he always gave when there to the civil government of the state, and his intense devotion to a childless yet adored wife, would have hampered him in his task of instructing individually the staff and recruits of his model force. In the long plain through which the Weser works its sluggish way to the ocean, there are moors and waste lands better suited for such a purpose than for agriculture; and none more so than that surrounding the Steinhuder Lake, one of the large shallow inland waters of north-western Germany. The southern shore of this belonged to the principality, whose inhabitants had from time immemorial claimed the sole right of fishing in its waters, a claim in rougher days often supported by force of arms against their opposite neighbours who were subjects of Hanover. Here then, soon after his return from Portugal, the Count began large works, intended at once to carry out his favourite vision of a perfect military academy, and to supply an additional fortress for the defence of the empire. Foundations were carried out into the lake; fortifications and buildings rose upon them; and a few years of patient toil soon erected in the waste a strong place of arms, with ample storehouses and barracks, and above all, spacious apartments to serve as the lecture-room, chapel, and library of a great military school. Paintings expressive of discipline and instruction adorned the walls, and on them the Count himself wrote, in large characters, his favourite motto, 'The palm belongs not to the victor, but to the victor who wins it nobly.' Once erected, the new academy was supplied with teachers brought from all parts of Germany, and even of France, and with instruments and models of all sorts needed for the pupils. A section devoted to the artillery and engineering studies, which were then in comparative infancy, was watched over by the Count with especial care. He himself undertook the mathematical lectures necessary; and no branch of study that the best taught officers of scientific corps follow at the present

day was omitted in the instruction of the cadets of Wilhelmstein under this ardent military reformer of a hundred years ago. If Germany was the first of great nations to direct the use of military history for scientific ends; to insist on the military engineer being thoroughly acquainted with civil architecture, the artilleryman with the higher laws of projectiles, and the staff officer with topography and modern languages; she owes it, as she owes the early development of her system of national armament, to Count William of Lippe and the school of thoughtful soldiers he reared in days of profound peace on the remote Steinhuder Lake. And of these the most distinguished, the subject of this memoir, who more than any other of his pupils profited by the teaching of the Count, bore special testimony, long after, that his devotion to military science was never suffered to interfere with his duties as ruler.

'Seldom have there been united,' wrote Scharnhorst of his old preceptor soon after his death, 'such entire goodness of heart with so many great qualities of spirit. He never left the distressed without succour, nor the widow and orphan without care for their condition. Every expense of his small court was cut down that he might enjoy the one happiness of making others happy. Towards those about him he was ever pleasant and courteous. In his school he was at once organiser, inspector, benefactor, and friend. He made many a young man happy, and his lessons are already bearing fruit.'

In these last words Scharnhorst modestly indicated other men then better known than himself, but they were prophetic above all as applied to the great part the writer was destined to play in the regeneration of Germany.

Gerhard Scharnhorst was not a subject of the Count's to whose teaching he owed so much. His father, a humble yeoman of Hanover, had inherited a small property in the neighbourhood of the Steinhuder Lake, which was not however handed over to him until a series of lawsuits had been waged that extended over ten years and a half, during which his family were growing up. Often on the point of obtaining possession of this estate, and often disappointed, he sought to give his eldest son an education better fitted for his prospects than his present position, and Gerhard's first instruction in the village school was aided by lessons from a half-pay captain living near, one of the many veterans whom the close of the Seven Years' War had sent into private life. Distinguished early for bodily strength and activity, the boy showed equal aptitude for his books, and soon mastered the moderate course of mathematics which it was in the power of his tutor to impart. His father's coming into possession of the long-expected estate brought the

family into the vicinity of the academy Count William watched over so carefully. The zeal and diligence with which the elder Scharnhorst was seen to be restoring the value of the property, neglected during the long lawsuit, brought him to the notice of the Count, who was only less devoted to agricultural improvements than to military science: and the acquaintance once made, the step was natural that offered his eldest son, then a youth of eighteen, and inspired by his old teacher with earnest longing to be a soldier, a place in the cadet corps gathered at Wilhelmstein. The favour was gladly accepted by young Gerhard, with his father's approval, and thenceforward his path in life was marked out. Nature had gifted him with every quality of mind and body the soldier can desire, and it only needed opportunity to make him eminent in the profession for which no youth of that generation could have had a better training. Before the close of 1773, the second year of his father's possession of his property, young Scharnhorst was fairly enrolled on the Wilhelmstein establishment, and had begun his new career.

The times were eminently peaceful. Exhausted by the terrible struggle of the Seven Years' War, Europe was passing through one of those periods of tranquillity when dreamers believe that the nature of the race is wholly changing, and the sword about to be beaten for ever into a pruning hook. Frederick's own last campaign had been a mere parade into Bohemia, ended by him abruptly in a peace, without measuring his strength in a single battle. At such times it is forgotten that nations have passions fierce as those of individuals and far less controllable, and that the experience of past suffering is no more, in one case than the other, a guarantee for perfect abstinence from quarrels in the future. At such times too, ordinary rulers are apt to neglect that very military art by which they have seen nations made great or preserved free: for it needs special devotion to it for its own sake to prevent the arm from rusting for which there seems no possibility of present use. Count William, however, was not one of these. From year to year he steadily pursued his design of training up such a band of perfect officers as might leaven the whole services of Germany; and among his favourite cadets was naturally young Scharnhorst, whose manly bearing and quick parts had attracted special notice soon after his admission to the classes. The Count watched over each step in his career with interest, took an early opportunity of promoting him to an acting commission as a sub-lieutenant of engineers, and lost no opportunity of encouraging him to enter

thoroughly on the highest studies that his profession offered. But ere Scharnhorst's course was complete according to the high standard fixed by the founder of Wilhelmstein, an unexpected change came over the busy little school. The sudden death in 1776 of the wife to whom Count William was attached with all the fervour of his nature, the sharer of all his interests and the companion of the adventurous career of his youth, fairly broke that strong heart in the truest sense of the word. He gave himself up to uncontrolled and absorbing grief; took no further care of his favourite pursuits, his people, or his school; and shutting himself off from all occupation or society, in a very few months followed to the grave the woman without whom life was for him not worth the living. His sovereignty passed to a distant relative who cared for none of his predecessor's designs, and the cadets of Wilhelmstein were dispersed to their homes, to make their own way in the world as they could. Scharnhorst's college reputation stood so high that he had no difficulty in obtaining his first request, a commission in the Hanoverian service; and in 1778 his commission from George III. came over, and he found himself a cornet in the Eighth Dragoons. Here, however, an unexpected obstacle arose. The new sovereign of Schaumburg-Lippe, as soon as he heard of the nomination, showed an unexpected desire to retain the young officer Count William had favoured, and positively refused him permission to resign his engineer's commission in the army that now only existed on paper. General Estorff, the colonel of his new regiment, took up Scharnhorst's cause in vain, the Count receiving all applications in obstinate silence. It needed higher intervention to free him from his temporary allegiance; and this came at last from Field Marshal von Hardenberg, who commanded King George's German forces. A very plain statement of the circumstances was laid before this veteran by General Estorff, showing that young Scharnhorst was by birth a Hanoverian, and by the fact of the dissolution of the Bückeberg school and the dismissal of its staff, restored legally to his proper sovereign; and the Marshal addressed at once a very strong remonstrance to the new Count, which procured the required official discharge, with a certificate added that Scharnhorst had borne an unblemished character during his five years' training under the late sovereign of the principality. The soldier to whom Germany was hereafter to owe so much donned the uniform of a Hanoverian cornet in October 1778, and took up his new duties with a detachment at Nordheim, not far from his father's estate.

For some years his life in his new service might well have been as little interesting as that of other cornets. Young officers fresh from the work of a military college are apt to give their brains a very full rest when entering on the comparatively free life of the regiment. But Scharnhorst never throughout life lost an opportunity of improving his own military knowledge and that of those around him, and he had not long joined the Eighth Dragoons when General Estorff, an officer devoted to his regiment, found in him the very man he had long looked for to conduct a school established by himself for the instruction of the younger officers and corporals. The aim in this was of necessity of a humble character, corresponding to the moderate attainments of the pupils. Of one cornet it stands recorded that when he applied for an exchange into the Prussian service, it was endorsed on his letter by the commanding officer through whom it passed, that the candidate had resorted to the village schoolmaster to prepare it, 'being unaccustomed to write in 'his own hand.' This was in the year before Scharnhorst joined the regiment. Space would fail us if we attempted to describe how the regimental instruction once placed under him, supported as his efforts were by the influence of General Estorff, became not only a wholesome reality, but a model for other corps, and made his name, though but that of a young subaltern, familiar throughout the Hanoverian service. When it was resolved a few years later to establish at Hanover a finishing artillery school, the teaching of which was avowedly to follow that of the deceased Count of Lippe's Academy, Colonel Trew, to whom the task was confided, sought and obtained the assistance of the Count's favourite pupil, and Scharnhorst was transferred to the new establishment, with a fresh commission as sub-lieutenant of artillery. This was in 1782, and for the ten years that followed his life was devoted to the task of utilising for the Hanoverian service the teachings of Wilhelmstein, enlarged by his own constant course of professional studies. These led him naturally into military literature, and his incessant activity in this new field is shown by the list of his works during this period. His 'Hand-Book for Officers,' a work held as a classic of the profession in German armies, was followed by a 'History of the Siege of Gibraltar,' a 'Commentary on Gustavus Adolphus's Military System,' a 'Military Pocket-Book for Use in the Field,' and the well-known 'Instructions of the King of Prussia to his Generals,' which have been translated into all the chief European languages, and form a portion of every standard military library. These more serious undertakings of his ten years' professor-

ship never interfered with his regular course of teaching. A vast mass of original lectures are recorded as having been delivered by him during his tenure of office, comprising not only the details of artillery, and of its sister service of engineering, but entering into every part of tactics, and into the moral elements in war. Every now and then he introduced a skilful defence of the advantages of that scientific training, which in every military body to which it has been attempted to apply it, has found detractors. Such opponents human nature has raised to the Scharnhorsts of all armies, from the time of that which gathered before Troy, if we may take the authority of the highest genius that has portrayed the failings of our race. Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Ulysses the old complaint against such adversaries of science :—

‘ They tax our policy, and call it cowardice ;
 Count wisdom as no member of the war ;
 Forestall prescience, and esteem no act
 But that of hand : the still and mental parts,
 That do contrive how many hands shall strike,
 When fitness calls them on, and know by measure
 Of their observant toil the enemies' weight,—
 Why, this hath not a finger's dignity :
 They call this bed-work, mappery, closet-war.’

No subject connected with his profession was left out of sight by the restless ability of the young professor ; and this too without ever preventing him from maintaining his own separate course of study, or diminishing his literary activity. Never was there a better illustration of the profound saying that only busy men find time to study. Under his care the Artillery School at Hanover not only surpassed all others in Europe in the thoroughness of its teaching ; but voluntary classes of from twenty to thirty officers of other branches regularly attending it, attested the popularity of the lecturer, and the desire then entertained, as now, by the best class of soldiers for the acquisition of professional knowledge.

Scharnhorst, however, with all his devotion to theory, would probably have been as little pleased as any soldier that ever lived to pass his whole life in mere instruction ; and it is fair to believe that he hailed the opening of a new career, when the War of the French Revolution terminated the interval of peace in which Germany had slumbered, her general tranquillity being little disturbed by the distant contest in America, in which France and Spain had as of old taken part against England. It would be beside our purpose to follow the course of events that led to the first coalition against France, and

caused the King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover to take a leading part in it. From the first it was evident that the well-trained troops of the Electorate would be among the earliest sent into the field. The contingent with whose teaching Scharnhorst had been so long largely entrusted, was ordered to march into the Netherlands, and join the force coming from England in detachments under the Duke of York. At his own request, for he burnt to prove his fitness for the field duties he had hitherto shared only in summer exercises, went the ex-professor of the Artillery School, posted as senior lieutenant of the single troop of horse artillery which the Hanoverian general, Count Wallmoden, took with him.

Did we stay here to compare the two portions of King George's army which met under York on the French frontier, the examination would be little flattering to English pride. Von Sybel's cold and severe pages show but too faithfully the undisciplined state of the English regiments that were hastily sent over, the reckless dissipation which their officers carried into camp life, and the want of sympathy between them and their men. Those who doubt a foreign writer's criticisms on such a subject, may satisfy themselves that the picture drawn by the German professor was not too severe, by a perusal of Sir Robert Wilson's Memoirs. A glance at his narrative of the campaign in Flanders will convince the most incredulous how completely the discipline of Fontenoy and Dettingen and Minden had vanished for the time from our service. It seemed as though the traditions of the orderly armies of William and Marlborough had vanished under the influence of American disasters. Those who knew not the latent fighting power of the island soldiery, must have expected little enough from a force in which the carelessness of the officers and recklessness of the soldiery was only matched by the ignorance of the staff and the incompleteness of the equipments. Like the other branches, the artillery was far behind in the latter, and the raw drivers assigned it were hardly fit to accompany a waggon train into the field. It is not surprising therefore to learn that the noble service of to-day owes much to the example of the batteries that came from Hanover, an influence acknowledged, though but scantily, in Major Duncan's recent 'History of the Royal Artillery.'

The armies joined on the French frontier entered it with ease, for the crushing defeat suffered by Dumouriez at Neerwinden had cleared Belgium of the invaders as completely as Waterloo did twenty-two years later; and for a time all seemed favourable to the coalition. Scharnhorst's history for a brief

space seems lost in that of the crowd of allies who were driving back the armies of the Convention, and investing the French fortresses. But his opportunity for personal distinction soon came. In the attack on the camp of Famars, in May 1793, a contest chiefly of artillery, the Hanoverian horse battery contributed specially to the success of the allies by the rapidity and boldness with which it dashed forward to take the French guns in flank. And when the Duke of York made his single display of generalship in the not less successful turning of the new French position at Cæsar's Camp, near Valenciennes, in August, the same skill and boldness was shown in the pursuit by the 'Grey Gunners,' as Houchard's soldiers had named these active enemies from the colour of their tunics. Scharnhorst's energy and skill, and the important services of his battery, were recognised at once by his receiving the brevet rank of captain, soon converted into a more genuine commission on Wallmoden's application; and he was assigned the command of a second troop of horse artillery which was ordered to be formed forthwith in the field.

In his new position he had soon the opportunity in which a regimental officer can best show high qualities for war, a personal share in the covering a retreat. The tide began to turn against the allies. Why this change occurred towards the close of 1793; how far the division of councils among the allies, due mainly to the tortuous policy of Austria in her Belgian possessions, and her unwillingness to be dictated to by England as to their future, contributed to the result; how far the increased energy of France under pressure of the Committee of Public Safety, guided by Carnot's strategic insight; or whether the Duke of Brunswick was not bribed to make his extraordinary retreat; these are questions we cannot stay to discuss. Disasters now began to fall on the allies in their turn, and the new phase of affairs was first marked by the Battle of Hondschoote. The brunt of the affair fell on Count Wallmoden's corps, and in the retreat that followed Scharnhorst's ubiquitous battery was so conspicuously active that the lasting favour of the old Hanoverian general was thenceforward conferred on its commander.

The pause that succeeded before the more decided successes of the French in 1794, was spent by Scharnhorst chiefly in the vicinity of the small fortress of Menin, and led to a feat of arms the most brilliant of its kind in modern, perhaps in any history. It stands out, this subsequent exploit of his, conspicuous as a striking proof that no officer, in time of war especially, should neglect that important part of his profession, the study

of the country in which he is engaged. His station and rank were not so high at this time as to impose on him any special responsibility; but he used his time with all the diligence that was natural to him, and mastered the details of every possible problem that the surrounding circumstances, and the district occupied, the Valley of the Lys, could offer for solution. His studies were soon put to a severe and practical test, when Pichegru in April concentrated the bulk of his forces in the district to the south of the Lys, and advanced into West Flanders to break through the allied line of defence. Wallmoden had been stripped of a part of his command not long before, in order to strengthen that of the Austrian General, Clairfayt. He had in vain reported to the King the dangerous extension of his line, which the mistaken strategy of covering every little town imposed. He was forced to fall back abruptly; the allied line was broken; and the process went on under which the largest armies of that time when in retreat rapidly dissolved, of throwing detachments into all the fortified places near. It was the conventional habit to do this, leaving them to be invested; and it was the conventional habit also for those thus abandoned to stand a certain amount of siege attack before surrendering, thus serving certainly to delay somewhat the enemy's pursuit. Thus one immediate result of Wallmoden's retreat was to leave a Hanoverian force of 2,000 men under Major-general Hammerstein shut up in Menin, with Scharnhorst for their chief of artillery.

The place as a fortress was insignificant. Such strength as it possessed was due to the diligence with which Scharnhorst had laboured to extend the works during the spring. It gives a curious view of the feebleness with which this war was conducted by those most concerned, to learn that it had required representations to be made through Wallmoden to the authorities at London and Vienna, before leave could be obtained to take possession of a small hill outside, on which Scharnhorst judged it was essential to place an earthwork; so careful were the allies of the feelings of the Belgians. War carried on in this fashion against the vigorous generals of the Republic, the famous Moreau himself being in command of Pichegru's advance, was conducted at long odds; and Hammerstein and his chief of artillery were not long in making up their minds that all hope of relief from outside was gone, and a prolonged defence impossible. Thirteen thousand men were placed in position for the investment, and heavy guns brought up. Ammunition within the place was scanty, notwithstanding that urgent demands for it had been repeated for months past. The first day's

bombardment showed the vast superiority of the enemy's fire, and made the end certain, however brave the resistance might prove. The third day brought a summons which was sternly repelled. The night of the fourth, April 29th, found General Hammerstein, after a brief address to his chief officers, forming his little force under cover of the darkness, to cut his way out. The task was all the more difficult since an inundation of the Lys, formed to protect a part of the enceinte, made egress only possible on one side, on which the bulk of the investing force was naturally concentrated. But the general was by nature a brave man; his troops were loyal to him; he had under him, too, a body of four hundred French emigrants in British pay, to whom capture meant death; and, above all, in this undertaking he placed implicit reliance on the guidance of Scharnhorst, who literally knew the country so that he could have crossed it blindfold, and who never left his commander's side.

Into the details of this night march we do not purpose to enter. It became all the more difficult to execute when the first attempt to sally out was met and repulsed; and the column, when it tried another opening, was encumbered by some field guns, which it was judged absolutely necessary to bring, in case the foe had barricaded the few roads. The fighting was sharp, and the confusion of course terrible; but the attempt in the end completely succeeded, and by four in the morning Hammerstein was calling the roll of his force in the market-place of Rouselaer, a village far beyond the French lines, and despatching a hasty line to Wallmoden to report his success.

The garrison of Menin had done its first duty in delaying Moreau and his troops sufficiently. It had been looked on at the allied head-quarters as a rearguard purposely sacrificed for a special object. The weakness of the place was so notorious that it was generally believed the French would carry it by storm, and put its defenders to the sword. And hence the news that they had cut their way out of the midst of the foe with trifling loss, came as a real ray of light in the gloom spread by the general movement of retreat which presaged but too surely a long train of disasters to follow. Honours and compliments flowed in on Hammerstein. Clairfayt, by far the best of the Allied commanders, who the following year redeemed the discredit of the Austrian abandonment of Belgium to Jourdan and Pichegru, by a splendid triumph over their united armies on the Rhine, was the first to write his formal congratulations to the Major-general. The Emperor Francis, who was then in the Netherlands, promptly followed with his

own in an autographic letter. And when Wallmoden's report reached St. James's, with the pertinent comment of the veteran that no such deed of arms had been performed for fifty years before, King George's own thanks were sent to the brave commander, and a special postscript in the reply to the official despatch named Scharnhorst, 'whose talents, activity, and presence of mind' Hammerstein had declared he could not sufficiently praise, a major by special brevet, a very rare honour in those days, and appointed him to the general staff of the army, as assistant quarter-master general of the Hanoverian Contingent.

The separation of the Allied armies had now begun which followed too certainly their continued movement rearward. Austria, wearied as she said of sacrifices made for the ungrateful Belgians, resolved to abandon the Low Countries, and began to draw her forces eastwards to the Rhine. The Duke of York on his side, anxious not to be severed from the sea, the natural base of a British force upon the Continent, and willing to protect Holland as long as possible, fell back northward on that country. Thus the Allied line was soon stretched until it parted. The Republicans poured into the gap those hordes which a single defeat like that of Neerwinden would have dissolved once more, but which were formidable enough when in unchecked advance. Vigour and superior numbers now atoned with them for many military deficiencies. On either side they thrust their parted adversaries back, and whilst Jourdan was forcing the Austrians towards the Rhine, Pichegru followed York into Holland, and began to wrest it from him. Long dark hours of retreat followed for the Anglo-Hanoverians, broken by sharp skirmishes, and marked by acts of bravery and scenes of suffering, as natural the one to the courage of the British, as the other to their ill discipline. In one of the sharpest of these rear-guard affairs, the action of Boxtel, Arthur Wellesley, then colonel of the 33rd, first became known as an officer of singular readiness and courage, and proved thus early in his career what gallant stuff the British infantry have in them when well led, be their circumstances ever so depressing.

Wearied of his hopeless task, their royal commander-in-chief at last resigned his charge to Wallmoden, and left for England, the retreat still continuing towards the eastern frontier of Holland. But with all the *élan* that the French began to show under the influence of continued advance, they never seriously entangled their retreating foes, nor obtained any one striking success. That the retreat was thus honourable, that the strategy of the Allied force was so accurately studied that no point of vantage was ever won in their oft-

changed line, those who study the reports of Scharnhorst brought to light by Herr Klippel's industry will fully acknowledge to have been due to the unremitting energy and correct *coup d'œil* of the Hanoverian Major commissioned by King George, whom many a worthy Prussian to this day believes to have been born and bred his countryman, and trained solely in the great army which he inspired with new life in his later years.

The period of peace that followed is a dark blot on the history of Prussian policy. Never did a great Power stoop so low to purchase neutrality. Never did neutrality prove more ruinous. But if the dishonour fell on the kingdom ruled by Frederick William and his counsellors, the trial was not less that of Hanover, whose fate was of necessity bound up with that of her more powerful neighbour. Protected at first by Prussian guarantee, she was later occupied forcibly by Prussian troops under the pretence of reprisals for the high-handed dealings of Great Britain with neutral ships. This hostile attitude ceased however on the death of the Emperor Paul, whose change of the policy of St. Petersburg in favour of the First Consul had forced on that of Berlin this quarrel with Prussia's ancient ally. Meanwhile Scharnhorst, now a colonel and at the head of the Quartermaster-General's staff, had full room to gratify his favourite desire of educating those on whom the little army must depend hereafter; and to his personal training was due the excellence of the framework on which was built the King's German Legion, which in later years did such splendid service under Wellington. But as the ever-advancing frontier of France extended across the Rhine, and her master began more and more to rule the policy of the German states, the situation of Hanover, threatened constantly by the unceasing advances of Napoleon, and dependent for freedom on the shifting protection of Prussia, became more and more intolerable. All thoughtful men in her service could see that the time must come when French annexation or French occupation in some shape would be her fate. They could see too that the truckling policy of Frederick William could hardly keep Prussia for ever from her natural part of champion of Germany. Her present imbecility could not wholly obscure the memory of the proud position the kingdom had held under Frederick the Great, nor of the checks her arms then administered to French ambition. And the Court of Berlin, whilst as anxious to avoid hostilities with the Consulate as with the Republic it had superseded, was not wholly blind to the necessity of providing against future attack. So that it

is not surprising that Scharnhorst, now as distinguished for practical skill in the field as for his educational powers, received pressing invitations to transfer his services to the Prussian staff. These offers came as early as 1797; but it was not until four years had passed, and all hope of the Hanoverian army taking the field again as an independent force was extinct, that he asked for the necessary permission, and with Wallmoden's sanction left the work he had so long been engaged in for a larger sphere at Berlin. 'His teaching,' wrote Sir Julius Hartmann, one of his favourite pupils, many years after, 'was based on a simple and sound knowledge of men. In opposition to the wanton exuberance of such theorists as Bülow, he brought facts into full clear light, and drew from them plain rules for practice. Thoroughly acquainted with the highest results of technical art, he ever regarded them as only so far useful as they could be made to accord with the necessities of war. Soundness, sobriety, and coolness were his leading characteristics, as those of all his instruction of the Hanoverian body of officers. These led him to the high practical powers that he displayed in his own great career, as his pupils owe to them such distinction as they gained in the English service.' Such was the future guide which the course of circumstances was to give the Prussian army, though it needed the bitter teachings of adversity to prepare the way for the acceptance of his lessons.

In his new service Scharnhorst soon discovered how paralysed the efforts of the military reformer are in time of peace by the dead weight of routine and prejudice resting on the traditions of the past. We have seen of late, in the fall of a neighbouring empire, the same story closely repeated that may be found in Prussian history during the first six years of this century. No warning that Scharnhorst, or others who thought with him, gave, could have been more full of truth than those that Trochu, Ducrot, Stoffel, poured into the deaf ears of the men that ruled France under the Second Empire. But in all countries the instinctive conservatism that hates change suggested by a foreign model is intensified by the members of every profession, and above all in the military caste. Frederick himself began no reforms until he had fled away ingloriously from Mollwitz under the belief that his first great battle was lost. And those who ruled at Berlin seventy years since, as those who governed France but recently, in answer to all warnings that a foreign Power was steadily advancing in the art of war to the danger of her rivals, thought it enough to say, 'Did we not beat these Frenchmen (or these Germans) with

' ease in our old era of victory? Why should we trouble ourselves to imitate their new-fangled ideas now?' Frederick the Great's campaigns proved in fact to his successors in the years before Jena, what Napoleon the Great's were to the Second Empire: why should we not add, what the Peninsula and Waterloo have often threatened to be to ourselves? So Scharnhorst, though soon entrusted with the teaching of a small section of the Berlin staff, had no practical power over it for good beyond the effect of his personal influence on a few pupils during the five years that followed his arrival at the head-quarters of the Prussian army. Then at last came the crisis which was in the end to make him not merely the regenerator of the service of his adoption, but one of the truest founders of the modern German Empire. If not made wholly by 'blood and iron,' at least it will be confessed that this great monarchy could hardly have come into being without them; and the sword that triumphed at Sadowa and Sedan was sharpened by his hand in that hour of Prussia's direst need which followed her overthrow at Jena.

It was our task some years ago to write in these pages* the story of the campaign of 1806, and to explain the collapse of that system which had served Frederick so admirably before the shock of the new tactics. He had framed it in advance of the ideas of his age: his successors pleaded his memory as their excuse for preserving it unimproved. The great king whom they professed to make their model would have been the last man to be thus taken at a disadvantage. But the military guides of Prussia under Frederick William III. were no wiser than her political leaders. And as the latter, in what seemed a fit of national imbecility, allowed the favourable moment to go by when the kingdom might have entered the lists against the French Empire with some hope of success, before Austria was subjugated and Russia driven from the field, so the Berlin War Office took no note of the means which had made French strategy so successful for invasion, and French tactics so rapid in their blows. Not that these things escaped Scharnhorst's keen view. But his influence, when he was removed to Berlin, proved, as has been already stated, hardly greater than that his writings had gained for him when he was at a distance from the vacillating court. Personal jealousy indeed now stood greatly in his way. The fact of his transfer into the Prussian artillery with his rank of lieutenant-colonel roused animosity against him on the part of those he was said to supersede, for Frederick

* *Edin. Review*, Jan. 1866, 'Recent Changes in the Art of War.'

William's field officers were as little tolerant of such an act of their sovereign as though they had belonged to a constitutionally governed army in the reign of Queen Victoria. Many years after Scharnhorst's death, when the nation acknowledged his services with heartfelt gratitude, and the name of the Hanoverian officer was enrolled with the most distinguished in Prussian annals, veterans were heard to murmur that so unprecedented an act had never been known in their service as the violation of routine that accompanied his entrance in her army list. And far from finding sympathy among the higher officers who were not thus personally affected, Scharnhorst had to experience their coldness, varied often by open hostility. The provincial accent which testified to his rural birth, the stoop which long labour at the desk had imparted to his sinewy frame, his zeal for enlarging theoretical knowledge in the service which knew no practice but that of peace; all these were made charges against the new comer. Pedant they called him, and would-be schoolmaster, these chiefs of an army which had been learning nothing, and yet believed there was nothing for it to learn. His very studies were a reproach to the mass who regarded their profession as one to which Prussian officers had an hereditary key that those of no other nationality could turn, and her army as a finished machine that no mortal could improve on without risking sacrilege. Frederick the Great's worst enemies could have desired no better revenge for their defeats than to know that a new generation of Prussian soldiers would allow the weight of his authority to clog all progress when he had passed away. It would seem, in short, as if at that time the spirit ruled supreme over Berlin military administration which is apt to beset that of any nation, however glorious its former annals, when peace is chosen for safety's sake without care for honour; a dull belief among those in high places that after all an army is chiefly an official ornament of state, a creature for parades and shows, a toy to please the prince's eye or the people's, rather than a rough instrument wherewith to work out the policy, or defend the life, of the country. Of such an error France is now paying the penalty, as Prussia paid it during Scharnhorst's life. But it springs from causes that lie in human nature, and its workings may be traced in other capitals than Paris and Berlin.

Frederick William was wiser than those who would have advised him in this matter. As he had himself sought to gain Scharnhorst for his army, so he favoured him as much, and gave him as much opportunity for influence, as the conventional trammels that surrounded Prussian royalty allowed. Placed

soon after his arrival in Berlin in charge of part of the instruction at the War Academy for young officers, he devoted himself more and more to it as he found his efforts as a reformer of his own special arm, the artillery, shattered against the obstinacy of the senior officers of that branch; a body as conservative in their way as those of our own time at Berlin or Woolwich notoriously are. It may seem strange that a service that has so much concern with theory should be found of all the most opposed to change. But the reason is simple enough. The very pains bestowed on the training of artillery officers in all modern armies are apt to make commonplace men think that they and the service they belong to have reached the acme of professional skill, and hence to resent any proposal for improvement as an insult to their own knowledge. Against the objections of Tempelhof, whose own literary fame only made him the more envious, it is said, of the Hanoverian essayist, and of others at the head of the artillery regiments, Scharnhorst's schemes had no prospect of success. But the teaching power which he developed at the War Academy in what had been at first but a secondary duty gradually won its acceptance there, and led to his being first recognised as the chief instructor, and soon afterwards made its director. Frederick William was not content with merely having brought the Hanoverian writer and teacher to Berlin. Scharnhorst's calm but earnest devotion to the duties that were assigned him, made the king who watched it feel his superiority to the bigots that sneered at his innovations; and in 1804, when he had been three years in Prussia, the royal approval was given to his scheme for the complete remodelling of the instruction of young officers, and a grant made to carry it out. General Geusau, the veteran Quarter-Master-General, one of those of his profession who regarded the Hanoverian reformer very much as a peer of ancient family looks on a Red Republican, had the nominal charge of the institution. To him it fell therefore to receive with ill grace enough the royal rescript which stated the high appreciation the king entertained of the plans of Scharnhorst, and directed that they should be absolutely adopted. Another mark of Frederick William's regard which had been shown some time before by a patent enrolling him among the Prussian order of nobility, had served but to increase the envy with which his exceptional position among the officers of artillery was regarded by the seniors of that arm. This led at last to his soliciting in a personal audience his transfer from it; and the king's reply was a brevet which conferred on him the rank of colonel on the staff, and assigned him the post of

Deputy Quarter-Master-General of the army, an honour which was the more appropriate as conferred just at the time when the little force to the improvement of which he had devoted the earlier years of his life was dissolved, on the seizure of Hanover by the French, and his former comrades had to resign their military calling, or to seek a distant revenge for the humiliation of the electorate by offering their services in the German Legion which England took the occasion to raise. Thenceforward Scharnhorst was bound to Frederick William by a personal tie of gratitude such as only natures of warm impulse and generous feelings can know. He looked on Prussia as the country of his adoption, and gave her monarch the full treasures of a loyal heart. And during the dark days that followed, country and king had no more patriotic servant than the son of the Hanoverian yeoman, whose first honours had been won when following the British standard.

During the brief interval of peace that followed his promotion, Scharnhorst had under his care a third part of the general staff of the army, and did what in him lay to awaken in it that farsighted prescience which in our time all recognise as the guiding spirit of the Prussian service. But his seniors in the department under Geusau, Colonels Phull and Massenbach, historical characters for their respective failures in the campaigns that followed, had the ear of their chief, and were in their several ways hostile to his efforts. Theorists both, they objected to any theories but their own, and especially to Scharnhorst's favourite view of war, which was that the ideal can never be applied to it without large allowances for human fallibility, and for the friction of the most complicated machine that man employs. But if in the staff itself his influence was therefore necessarily limited, his activity found a constant field in working for the Military Society, an association of officers for mutual improvement, which he had founded when in the artillery, with the express object of studying for every branch of the service the just limits of theory and practice, and which, despite much opposition from the conservatives of the army, flourished from year to year until it numbered nearly two hundred members when the war with France came that hurried them into the field. To write for this as well as for the War Academy gave constant occupation to Scharnhorst's busy pen; and thus although this portion of his life was less marked than that spent at Hanover by works of standard value, it has bequeathed to the Prussian service a mass of occasional papers remarkable not less for their historical research than their brilliant illustration of sound principles. To give but one instance:

the view of Napoleon uttered long afterwards, that good strategy consists in 'dividing to move and concentrating to strike,' is to be found laid down with a clearness of proof to which it is difficult to add, in Scharnhorst's review of the famous essay of Bülow on Marengo, published in the Proceedings of the Military Society for 1802.

The interest with which theory was then debated in military circles at Berlin was but a symptom of the uneasiness with which the profession regarded the rapid progress of French arms on the continent. The power which soldiers of the old school had been brought up to despise; which had been crushed by Germans following the invincible standard of Marlborough; which was shamefully beaten by Prussia herself at Rosbach in their fathers' days within sight of that historic plain round Leipsic where Gustavus first taught the Protestant warriors of Northern Europe to conquer, now seemed, in the new life given her by revolution, to find no equal anywhere. Switzerland, the Low Countries, Italy, the Rhine Valley, had become one after the other absorbed in her growing frontier. Her arm extending into Hanover threatened Prussia on the western border; and now advancing into the heart of Southern Germany under her new Emperor, more boldly than Moreau had dared even after his greatest victory, she was threatening to overrun Austria, undismayed by the fact that the unknown strength of the Muscovite was arrayed on the side of the invaded monarchy. Meanwhile Prussia, under the blind leadership of such timeserving statesmen as Haugwitz, was swayed forwards and backwards in her counsels, as fear of Napoleon alternated with the desire to strike in against him by the side of her bolder neighbours. In vain had Alexander himself visited Berlin, and at dead of night embraced in the king's presence the sarcophagus that held the remains of the Great Frederick. In vain had Francis despatched his brother on a special mission to implore Frederick William to forget the traditional jealousies of Berlin and Vienna and unite with him in one decisive blow against the Gaul. Nothing could serve to bring the Prussian court to decision. Uneasily observant and yet motionless, it had seen the violent occupation of Hanover by French troops, followed by the ominous arming of the frontier fortress of Hameln, which could serve against no other power but its own. It now stooped to receive the meagre compensation of six thousand pounds sterling offered by Napoleon for the violation of Prussian territory by Bernadotte's corps, when that general swept round towards the Danube in the movement that en-

closed Mack's army as with a net. It sent Haugwitz at last to promise help to the allies, an ambassador who purposely delayed on his way until the fate of the campaign he was to have influenced was decided. Under the pretence of keeping his own person in security, this miserable betrayer of German interests passed on from the French head-quarters in Moravia to Vienna; and the fate of Austria was sealed four days later by the battle of Austerlitz, which left him to treat alone with the victor, for the alliance that Prussia had too late resolved to join was now severed by the sword. With scarcely concealed contempt Napoleon signed a provisional treaty with the envoy which gave his master Hanover as the bait for a French alliance; and after much hesitation the king confirmed the shameful compact, the avowed object of which was to shut Prussia's old ally out of the whole North of Europe, and its price the spoliation of her king's hereditary dominions. In vain did Fox protest in indignant tones against this act of treachery and cowardice, and declare that Great Britain never would consent to the transfer of the people of Hanover from one master to another like a flock of sheep. The deed of shame was consummated. Prussia once more occupied with armed force the soil she had promised to protect, and Napoleon, just then bent on finishing his work with Austria, received Frederick William's acquiescence with such show of friendliness that the blinded envoy who had brought his master into the snare wrote from Paris that all danger from France was past. So great was the influence of Haugwitz, or so strong the pressure for economy at Berlin, that this news was the signal for the abandonment of all the preparations made for national defence, or for a share in the struggle of Europe against French domination. The army was reduced to forty-eight battalions, nearly half of which garrisoned Hanover, and the strengthening and victualling of the fortresses was abruptly suspended.

This was in January 1806, scarcely two months after Austerlitz had decided Prussia's wavering policy. The king seems at this time to have sincerely trusted to Napoleon's good faith, and the people acquiesced unwillingly in their ruler's choice. But when a little later the dictator of Europe threw off the mask, and cynically offered in new negotiations with England to give her back the very electorate with which he had bribed Prussia against her, the shameful truth stood plainly revealed. The nation, which still prided itself in the memories of victory won against banded Europe; which half a century before had counted France as but one of many opponents defied and overthrown; now found itself, without striking

a blow, treated as the mere vassal of a French monarch. King and people alike gave way to a burst of passionate indignation. Frederick William decided at once for war, for such hesitation as may yet have lingered in his breast vanished in the excitement of seeing his people cry as one man for vengeance on the insulter. To have stayed any longer the national passion that flamed out all the fiercer for long restraint, would have been as dangerous to his crown as the worst peril war could bring; and 'war at any cost' was the response his proclamation gave to the universal call for action. Prussia, despite the obvious danger that faced her, for a brief space was as convulsed with joy as though certain victory was in her grasp. The theatres were thronged with crowds that stayed the performance of Schiller's 'Jungfrau von Orleans' with their vociferous plaudits of each patriotic verse. The army, confident in proud traditions, and sure of the goodness of the cause in which it was to strike, was in a phrenzy of delight at the prospect of taking the field. But there were those among it who knew it for what it was, the mere dry bones of Frederick's invincible host. And Scharnhorst, above all, clear in his military vision, and viewing things round him with less prejudice than any born Prussian could, measured its exact worth for the struggle with painful truth.

'You write me,' were the despondent words he addressed to his son (who after the Jena catastrophe escaped to England to take service there against the French), not long before war became certain, 'you cannot stifle the wish to fight with us. The feeling is honourable to your spirit and patriotism. But learn, my son, to conquer these virtues in your early years. They have constantly, and especially at the present moment, been to me the very heaviest of burdens. For the rest, it is not my wish that you should take service as a soldier. You would find little satisfaction here. You would not like to serve the French. The other armies are for the most part in such condition that there is little honour to be reaped with any of them. On the one side are age, weakness, imbecility, ignorance, and want of dash; on the other all is activity and determination. It is true that the Prussian army is animated by a fine spirit, nor does it fail in courage or careful training. But it will not, it cannot, handled as it is and will be, do anything great or decisive. That is my conviction, which I would not reveal to you, a young man, did I not in writing this, conjure up before me the image of the son I most dearly love, whom I would willingly guide safely in his career.'

When such a soldier wrote thus: when such another as Gneisenau (Pertz's *Leben*, I. 114) declared about the same time, 'as I view the unsoldierly spirit of officers and men, 'their want of aptitude for war, their faith in antiquated

'evolutions, their struggles against necessary reforms, and their unwillingness to follow the spirit of the age, I can foretell well enough what the end will be ;' it is hardly necessary to look more deeply for the causes of the ruin that befell those who went forth trusting in the prestige bequeathed by Frederick to encounter one greater far as a master of war than Frederick had ever been.

The shock was swift and terrible. A single skirmish, when the leader of the war party within the royal house, Prince Louis of Prussia, died under the sabre of an unknown serjeant of French hussars, was a fit presage of the slaughter that followed four days later. At two points Napoleon closed suddenly with the battalions which his skirmishers could run round, and the squadrons his cavalry could ride over. What chance had the horsemen who now filled the place of Ziethen's cavaliers against the *furia Francese* their foe had skilfully revived, when their leaders were such men as the colonel Herr Klippel tells us of, who, when urged to lead a charge at the very crisis of Jena, replied that he was really too old now for any such rapid evolution? 'In courage, I believe,' wrote Scharnhorst in a hurried letter to his family, 'our men were superior to the French. But the cavalry did not come up to expectation. And you remember I expected what the end would be.' Prussia heard confusedly of an action which some called Jena and some Auerstadt, fought—no one knew why—to gain the passages of the Saal; and in a few hours more she learnt that the 130,000 soldiers who were to have guarded her from insult were flying like scattered sheep before the sword of the French, and her bosom laid bare to the conqueror. Dark indeed and shameful is the story that follows. If Scharnhorst's genial nature could have allowed him to desire a fit revenge on those who had balked his efforts at reform, he might have had it to the full; for these soldiers of the good old school of Berlin seemed to vie with one another in the swiftness and ease with which they resigned their trusts. Massenbach himself, the critic who had scorned the theories of the Hanoverian yeoman that presumed to teach Prussian staff-officers their duty, and who had offered to surprise Napoleon by moving into Bavaria on principles modelled strictly after Frederick's, won a specially evil distinction by his personal share in the surrender of the chief corps that escaped the field under Prince Hohenlohe. One bright episode alone illumined the shadow that fell on the whole Prussian army, and made what is now the model of all the officers of Europe for some years the butt of European scorn. Through the

worst days of retreat and humiliation we watch one heroic old soldier, distinguished already in earlier life as a rear-guard commander, who has rallied a few thousands of the fugitives, and is carrying them off through the rough district of the Hartz out of the victor's way. With a sort of instinct that here was their worst enemy, the French generals threw themselves on Blücher's track, and, with all the fierce energy inspired by their master, followed him with fivefold forces. Through day after day of wearying retreat the Prussian leader kept his men together by example and entreaty, rallied them again and again when ready to dissolve, and pressed northwards, he hardly knew whither, in the vain hope of saving the nucleus of a future army wherewith Prussia might renew the contest. And ever by Blücher's side we see a devoted staff-officer on whom he from the first relies, and who is as calm and unshaken in adversity as the old general is bold and energetic. Scharnhorst had been sharply wounded at Auerstadt, and separated from the head-quarter staff of which he formed a member; but with a soldier's true instinct he joined himself to the one true leader the fugitives found, nor ever left him until he himself fell into French hands as this last remnant of the defeated army was driven through the streets of Lubeck, when Blücher, stayed as it were by the waves of the Baltic, swallowed his rage at the surrender which became necessary not many hours later to save his men's lives. De Fezensac has told us of the disorder with which the pursuers poured across the plain of North Germany, plundering their way as they pressed on. Herr Klippel, with dry laborious pen, reveals the sufferings of the pursued, and the heroism with which they were met under the influence of Blücher and his voluntary chief of staff during the dreary three weeks that followed the first march rearward from their rallying-point at Nordhausen. It was no trifling feeling of friendship with which these two heroic souls met in common adversity at Hamburg, whither they were sent separately on parole. Tears came into the general's eyes as he pressed Scharnhorst's hand and cried: 'When you were taken, I was lost. You were the soul of my corps. Without you no one had any courage; without you there was nothing more to be done.' Nor were these hasty words, spoken in a mere impulse of good feeling; for Blücher wrote to the fugitive king with his own hand: 'I find it my special duty to recommend to your Majesty's particular favour the excellent, in this regard truly excellent, Colonel von Scharnhorst, to whose firm resolution and luminous counsel must be ascribed such success as my toilsome retreat had. For I willingly

‘acknowledge that without this man’s active aid it would have been scarcely possible to do the half of that which the corps under my command actually did.’ As to Scharnhorst’s own feelings they are expressed with the simplicity natural to the man in the brief note addressed a few days later to his much-loved daughter, his confidential letters to whom were never interrupted by public cares or literary labour from the time she grew to womanhood. ‘I am exchanged,’ he says; ‘thank God I am exchanged. General Blücher received me with tears in his eyes.’ Then, after repeating the general’s warm greeting, he adds, ‘These flattering words reward me for all.’

It was as natural as right that Scharnhorst, who himself, as soon as released, bore Blücher’s despatches to Königsberg, should be welcomed warmly by the monarch, and by the brave queen at his side, who gave the last years of a life that was shortened by her country’s sorrows to the duty of keeping heart in her royal husband and his little court. All was done that could be to show him how his late services had endeared him to Prussia, and his request to proceed again as soon as might be into the field was answered by his immediate appointment as chief of staff to General Lestocq, who, with a small corps of six or seven thousand soldiers, representing all that Prussia had left, was moving to support Benningsen’s operations against Napoleon. The Russian general has never received full credit for the boldness with which, undismayed by his predecessor’s ill success in the autumn campaign in Poland, he advanced to encounter Napoleon, and contested with him the right to winter in East Prussia, in the bloody battle of Eylau. That Lestocq’s corps arrived in time to share in that desperate encounter, men and officers meeting with cheerfulness the severe test of a five days’ march through mud and snow, without regular rations, and under the constant discouragement of the desertion of Polish recruits, was due to Scharnhorst’s individual exertions; for the general, though personally brave enough, was a worn-out veteran, quite unequal to the tremendous responsibility that had been suddenly laid on him, and he would have given up the attempt when almost in sight of his ally, but for the urging of his new staff-officer, who kept, however, from all but his king the secret his correspondence reveals. All histories of the tremendous conflict that followed admit the heroic valour with which the Prussian contingent entered into and maintained the fight—a valour at that time surprising to friend and foe, for the events of the year before made it wholly unexpected. This much was

recognised at once; but it was left to Prussian writers of our own generation to trace out the full share of the merit which belongs to Scharnhorst, and to show his 'sparing neither 'entreaty nor threat' (for thus Herr Klippel sums up the evidence as to what passed) to induce Benningsen to renew the conflict which had left the battle-field at dark divided between the combatants.

A little more of the daring that had risked so much already might have forced the French to yield their share next day; and the laurels won soon after at Aspern, when an Austrian archduke gave the hitherto invincible emperor his first check, would have been for ever the Russian chief's. But Benningsen's firmness after the action was not equal to the boldness with which he had sought it, nor to the fortune his star offered him. Bernadotte's corps, he knew, had not been engaged, and, less well-informed than we are to-day, he could not believe that the great strategist he opposed could have been so careless as to leave it out of reach. So he decided in spite of all remonstrance to withdraw, and left the barren honour of the ground to the French, who won it at the cost of a third of their army. The artist who, above all others, has entered into the spirit of Napoleon's victories, has a fit subject for his pencil in the mournful review of the shattered force that the emperor held next morning on the blood-stained field where 50,000 dead and wounded were stretched; and all who have studied the greatest battle-piece of the Louvre are aware that there is little sense of triumph depicted in the pale face that scans the long rows of sufferers who purchased for him the blood-bought field. Napoleon's unbroken prestige was saved, however, for the time. Königsberg, indeed, was left undisturbed by any fresh advance. Bertrand was even despatched to try and win Frederick William from his alliance with the Russians, with proposals the Prussian king had the sagacity to distrust, or the good faith to reject unhesitatingly. But the French siege of Dantzic was covered, and Napoleon's army effectively reinforced through the spring. And when Benningsen next faced him, the brief campaign of Friedland showed that the spell of genius and victory had not deserted their favourite. With one fierce blow the fine army of Russia, that had so long defied his efforts, was crushed and broken to a wreck, and the peace of Tilsit, the culminating triumph of Napoleon's life, was forced from her brave young emperor.

In this last short struggle the Prussian corps counted for as little as Prussian diplomacy in the hurried negotiation that closed it. Placed close to Königsberg, which he was charged

to defend, Lestocq became separated altogether from the Russians, and without influence on their campaign. With some of the natural suspiciousness of age, he had listened to those about him who whispered that it was derogatory to his rank to permit his chief of staff to take virtual command of his corps; and in his final retreat on the city he so openly repelled Scharnhorst's efforts to advise him, that the latter quitted a post in which his usefulness was gone, and hurried to Tilsit after his sovereign to await the result of the negotiations. The forebodings which he shared with others of the king's friends when the meeting of the emperors was announced as determined on, were soon fatally realised. Peace was signed on the terms the master of Europe dictated, and Prussia found herself at a stroke shorn of half her dominions, and reduced to the rank of a second-class power; whilst the territory nominally left her was so mortgaged to French demands that it seemed impossible to hope that even this would ever again be free from the hated grasp of her conqueror.

Then came the opportunity of her really great men. It is not within our task to tell how Stein, whose warnings Frederick William in better days had refused to listen to, was now placed at the head of the ruined State, and began its regeneration from within by the measures that struck off from the lower orders the last remnants of feudal bondage, and so breathed new life and vigour into the nation by awakening the dormant patriotism of the masses. When Stein was driven from the country he loved so dearly by Napoleon's instinctive jealousy, Hardenberg, a statesman of hardly meaner type, continued the good work he had begun. And ever side by side with Stein or Hardenberg, Scharnhorst was labouring incessantly in his own vocation at such a complete regeneration of the Prussian army as should make it meet to defend the liberties of a regenerate people. It would take tenfold the space at our disposal to recount how he worked out his problem point by point. First as head of a commission on military reorganisation, then in the newly-created ministry of war, finally in that post of Chief of the General Staff of which Europe, by a more recent example, has learnt the immense significance when in the hands of genius, he laboured unweariedly at the great work confided to his care by his royal master. All that was effete, useless, out of harmony with the age, vanished from the military service. Practical manœuvres in time of peace have been the distinctive mark of the Prussian army for half a century past; and it is the boast of her army that these exercises framed it into a machine ready for the field even after forty years of rest

from war. The whole system of such manœuvres, with all the principles that other nations are now eagerly adopting from Prussian practice, are to be found embodied in one of the multifarious papers written by Scharnhorst in the five years allowed him for the great business he undertook. Cavalry training was remodelled by his care with such a spirit that one might suppose he looked forward to the day when the activity of the Prussian horse should become a proverb through the world, and the very name of her Uhlans a terror to Prussia's foes. The artillery system, from being a cumbrous mixture of the 'battalion guns' of the age before Frederick, and the battery proper of his time, was brought to the simplicity and consistency of organisation which has raised the arm to be an essential part of all tactical combinations; and each young Prussian artilleryman from that time longed to outdo the achievements of swiftmess and daring to which the French gunners had attained under the inspiration of a sovereign who, in his more genial moods, was not ashamed to recall publicly his own training as a lieutenant of their service. With the infantry Scharnhorst's reforms seem to have cost him less trouble than elsewhere; for it was hardly necessary to impress the necessity of adding skirmishing power to steadiness on those who had seen their stiffly drilled lines staggering and disordered by that rapid dropping fire from the bushes on the fatal heights above the Saal. And Scharnhorst's care extended to another arm not recognised before, as any part of a field army, but in which as a mere youth he had received his first commission from Count William. The various bodies of pontoon-carriers, sappers, and military artificers that had been so distributed before the war that, as he wrote of them confidentially, 'we never made any use of them, and when we did want them they were always out of the way,' were rolled into one compact force. To this corps, now fully uniformed as soldiers, a privilege hitherto denied, was given a new organisation, which distributed the various branches within each company in due proportion. This exists down to the present time as he framed it, and has made the Prussian field engineer service the model of practical efficiency which those of other countries are studying for their own profit. And, to crown his new creation with complete success, he sought a fitting chief, and found him, not in the ranks of those thus brought together, who had little experience either of men or of war, but in Colonel Gneisenau, the brave staff officer who, in the defence of Colberg against the French, had supplied by genius and courage the highest demands that any professional training could have met. Military engi-

neers are everywhere wont, as their arm comes into increasing prominence with the increase of science in war, to demand a larger share in those commands of mixed forces which are the soldier's most honourable ambition. Their claim is just; it is one indeed which the character of the age we are living in makes for them. But they should in fairness remember how Scharnhorst first raised their service from obscurity in Prussia by putting it under a man of genius whose training had been wider than that of those he commanded, and in seeking the charges that other soldiers seek, they should be prepared to yield to other soldiers, if judged fitted for them, a fair share of those technical posts which they are too ready to claim as their monopoly.

Each one of the achievements in organisation we have spoken of might have made the reputation of a war minister. But Scharnhorst's greatest effort has cast all these into the shade, and the originator of the short service, first known as the Krümper system from a weaver's technical phrase, will be remembered lastingly from its far-reaching results by those to whom his wide command of military science, and his exercise of it for Prussia's benefit in every branch of her forces, are things unheard of. His king was bound by treaty to Napoleon to maintain no more than 42,000 men under arms, all told. It was essential that this condition should be adhered to, whether the safety of the kingdom or the pledged word of the monarch were looked to. According to the system that had hitherto prevailed, this force could of course be augmented at the outbreak of war only as we in England have hitherto augmented ours, by the slow process of raising and training recruits, kept necessarily for months at depôts away from the regiments ordered to the field. Scharnhorst, however, had steadily before him the vision of a sudden rupture with the French, when a large force would be needed, as it were, at a day's call. He pointed out to the king, and with long and steady persuasion won his assent to the notion, that extreme training and long repeated exercises, however sacred hitherto in Prussian eyes, must be laid aside for the greater object. The cadres of every battalion, squadron, and battery must be maintained full, effective, and highly disciplined; but the rank and file must be exchanged as often as was consistent with their acquiring their business, and after leaving the colours be registered so as to be available for future call. In such a manner only could the problem be solved that had exercised Count William's brain in Scharnhorst's boyhood of bringing a whole nation under arms to defend itself at a call, consistently with maintaining a very moderate

force in time of peace. The lessons sown by the Steinhuder Lake thirty years before now blossomed into abundant harvest in the fruitful brain that had received them; and 270,000 trained soldiers answering the roll-call as soon as the day came to strike for freedom, attested the practical value which sound military theory well worked out has on human affairs.

It must not be supposed that Scharnhorst was allowed to remodel all existing military institutions at his will, and thus recast the future destiny of the great monarchy that owes so much to arms, without finding many difficulties to encounter. The vested interests of some, the timidity of others, the courtier's grudge of his influence with the king, all had to be encountered in their turn. But none of them were so hard to overcome as the doubts that arose in Frederick William's own mind as to the wisdom of these sweeping changes. There were certain seasons, indeed, when the sovereign himself showed some forgetfulness of a pledge he had voluntarily given shortly after his great misfortunes. For Scharnhorst's reputation had travelled during the events of 1806-7 far beyond the limits of Prussia, and his own born sovereign grudged her the soldier and teacher she had gained. Before the peace of Tilsit signed there had come, under the hand of the then Duke of Cambridge, the best known to the Hanoverians of our princes, a munificent offer from King George. His newly received rank of major-general was assured Scharnhorst if he would transfer his services to England, and with it large powers for conducting such instruction there as he had long carried on in Hanover. He had refused this on Frederick William's promise to give him his full and complete confidence in his projects for reforming the service of his adoption. Yet the king was sometimes touched with a natural jealousy of the new office which he had raised up between his own royal presence and the army which he had been wont to administer personally in every detail. 'Here is this project round my neck still,' he would say at such a time, 'though I have told you a hundred times I will not have it.' But Scharnhorst, unmoved, only withdrew his scheme to put it forward again on some more happy occasion. Mindful of Hardenberg's advice, 'Never appear to want to govern him,' he could wait patiently until his reasoning was heard out, and his thorough devotion to his adopted sovereign and country recognised by the acceptance of his plan. Occasionally, indeed, he desponded, and the unceasing letters in which he revealed his whole life to his loved daughter show traces here and there of a passing feeling that his task would never be carried through. It was interrupted too more

than once by illness; as when prostrated by fever caught on one of the rapid and secret journeys to St. Petersburg which the king's confidants made every now and then to keep up for him the friendship with Russia, which French Imperialism thought a crime. But Scharnhorst was not one of those whose secrets perish with them, and whose work depends upon their constant presence. He had already carefully built up a school of successors, Gneisenau, Grolmann, Prince Augustus (the new chief of the artillery), and Clausewitz being prominent among them, who were capable of continuing the work he had traced out for them with unmistakable clearness. The last finishing touch was his creation of a Landwehr. It was formed by enrolling volunteers who had escaped through age or other excuse the training he gave the mass of Prussia's youth, and was to be equipped chiefly by local means if called out. This Landwehr represented rather, in fact, the Landsturm of later days than the thoroughly drilled force Prussia now maintains under the former name; for this there was no means of providing under the French treaty, which forbade any addition to the army in the form of regular militia. Yet it is plain that the now familiar principle of a large domestic reserve of adults ready to assist in their country's need was bequeathed by the founder of this new institution. With this new creation his task was accomplished. All had been done for Prussia that genius could devise in utilising the strength and means of the diminished monarchy for the shock.

The hour came, and all was found ready. We cannot follow here the steps by which the crisis was brought about. In 1811 Napoleon's power over middle Europe reached its zenith, and Frederick William had to submit to the fresh degradation of a forced alliance with France against the Russian emperor, an act of humiliation death spared his brave queen from witnessing. Scharnhorst would have had him refuse the terms put before him at any cost, and even retire, if necessary, into private life, rather than turn his arms against the true friend of his monarchy. But the king took a different view of his duty. To abandon his post thus, all humiliating as it was to keep it, he argued to be a desertion of sacred trust; and rather than break openly with the dictator, whose forces held Prussia in their grasp, he signed the treaty which bound him to furnish a contingent of half his small army. In doing this no doubt he trusted something to the chapter of events; but the most sanguine adversaries of French policy hardly hoped for the speedy collapse of what seemed an invincible power,

until the Niemen had been crossed and the difficulties of the new adventure made manifest.

Scharnhorst had retired for a while from active duty. His fine soul loathed any share in the degrading task laid on the Prussian army, and so he passed on leave of absence into Austria to study her battle-fields in detail, and draw fresh materials for the great Work on War which was the one scheme of his life he left unaccomplished. The work was never written by him; but Clausewitz, on whom his literary mantle fitly fell, has told us, with all the modesty of a great writer speaking of his master: 'Though Scharnhorst left most of the materials, it cannot but be difficult to put them together without the builder's hand. For his thought was so original, he looked at things so differently from other men, that one might well fear, even if the whole materials were forthcoming, to be found wanting in the soul of all, the ideas that were to build them up.'

From meditating on this design, from putting finishing touches to his completed works, and from ceaselessly pouring out all the feelings of a fond parent's heart in letters to his daughter, now happily married to Count Dohna one of his former pupils, Scharnhorst was roused by the news that came in fitfully and uncertainly over the Russian border of the hasty retreat of the great host which had been heard of before as holding Moscow triumphantly and forcing Russia to terms. On December 27th, 1812, we find him writing to the countess from Silesia in cautious terms: 'They are telling here marvellous stories of the armies in Russia.' Then comes a break of some weeks in that unwearied correspondence, until the writer appears again at Breslau with his sovereign, deeply engaged in state and military affairs. His letters are prudently worded, for the mail-bags were still open to French inspection; but between the fond inquiries for his newly-born grandson and messages as to the affairs of his estate come the significant words, 'All the Royal family has arrived; the place is swarming with soldiers.' For in the interval York and the Prussian contingent of Napoleon's army had made a private capitulation. Stein, brought in ostensibly by Russian arms, had taken possession of East Prussia under Alexander's authority, and was arming it against the French; and the only question remaining to be settled was what terms should be offered to Napoleon by the king, whose support of him in Germany any longer would give Russia just cause for hostile occupation of the monarchy her victorious army was entering as a deliverer. Events now hurried on from day to day, and when once it was ascertained that Austria designed neutrality,

Scharnhorst was despatched forthwith on his king's behalf to meet the Emperor Alexander; and the famous treaty of Kalisch was signed which gave new life to Europe, for it framed the new coalition against Napoleon under the weight of which he was to fall. Prussia pledged herself to bring 80,000 men at once into the field, exclusive of all garrisons and dépôts—a warlike effort which, it has been truly said, could only have been made because the warm devotion of her people could be made instantly available by the wise measures which Scharnhorst had prepared in time of peace.

A few weeks later a mighty army of the allied troops was entering Saxony, its Prussians under Blücher; and at Blücher's side rode his old chief of staff, whose strategy for the new campaign was the plan accepted for it by the allied sovereigns. To advance boldly to the Elbe, to strike in on Napoleon's flank as he crossed the historic plain beyond it with the levies he was hurrying from the Rhine, to take an offensive part in fact from the very first against the great master of offensive war: such was the simple and sufficient design. On May 2nd, within sight of the great stone that marks the spot where the 'Lion of the North' gave his life in the cause of northern Protestantism, the armies closed desperately, and the new battle of Lutzen surpassed in fierceness even the crowning contest of the great religious war two centuries before. Struck down in this first encounter, as he led on the young troops sword in hand; dying afterwards of a wound thought so little dangerous that he had rashly undertaken, before it was healed, a long journey to Vienna in hope to win Austria to the cause of European freedom; Scharnhorst was taken away too soon to reap the smallest fruit of his long toil. Yet he had not singled out and trained and infused his own spirit into other men in vain. Gneisenau guided the army of Blücher from victory to victory, until it shared in the finishing triumph of Waterloo. Clausewitz lived to write the great work on War, the teachings of which were to make Prussia the foremost military power of the world. And though long guided and taught by others, she does not forget the strategist and writer to whom the first inspiration was due, the hero who showed her that in humiliation may be found the path to new honours. Nor should Scharnhorst's name be unknown in our own land. For under a British general were won his first honours. From our own monarch came his first rewards. Under England's banner he first illustrated the truth he taught in action as in word, that the highest studies of the closet are not incompatible with the most splendid merit in the field.

ART. II.—*The Book of Carlaverock: Memoirs of the Maxwells, Earls of Nithsdale, Lords Maxwell and Herries.* By WILLIAM FRASER. Vol. I. Memoirs. Vol. II. Correspondence and Charters. Quarto. Edinburgh: 1873.

FEW cavalcades ever presented a gayer appearance than that which issued from the gates of 'Merrie Carlisle' in the summer of the year of grace 1300. In command was no less a person than the 'Malleus Scottorum,' Edward I., King of England and Scotland, Lord of Ireland, Prince of Wales and Duke of Aquitaine, and with him his eldest son, the future king. In attendance upon their liege lord were eighty-nine of the noblest barons and knights of the realm, and their retainers 3,000 strong. 'They set forth,' says an eyewitness, 'not in coats and surcoats, but on powerful and costly chargers; and that they might not be taken by surprise, they were well and securely armed. There were many rich caparisons embroidered on silks and satins; many a beautiful pennon fixed to a lance; and many a banner displayed. And afar off was the noise heard of the neighing of horses: hills and valleys were everywhere covered with sumpter horses and waggons, with provisions and sacks of tents and pavilions. And the days were long and fine. They proceeded by easy journeys, arranged in four squadrons.'*

At the head of the first division rode the good Earl of Lincoln, 'burning with valour,' and with him Robert de Fitz Walter, 'who well knew the use of arms, and so used them when required;' the Earl of Hereford, 'a rich and elegant young man,' and Nicholas de Segrave, 'whom nature had adorned in body and enriched in heart.' Next came the Earl of Warren, one 'that well knew how to lead noble and honourable men.' The third squadron was commanded by the King. 'In his banner were three leopards courant,' says our authority, who revels in the heraldic details, 'of fine gold, set on red, fierce, haughty, and cruel; thus placed to signify that like them the King is dreadful, fierce, and proud to his enemies, for his bite is slight to none who inflame his anger; not but his kindness is soon rekindled towards such as seek his friendship or submit to his power.' With him was John of Brittany, well deserving the preference of being nearest,

* The Siege of Carlaverock, translated by Sir Harris Nicolas. London: 1828. 8vo.

‘having assiduously served his uncle from his infancy, and left his father and other relations to dwell in his household, when the King had occasion for his followers;’ also ‘Robert, the Lord of Clifford, to whom reason gives consolation, who always remembers to overcome his enemies. He may call Scotland to bear witness of his noble lineage, that originated well and nobly, as he is of the race of the noble Marshal who at Constantinople fought with an unicorn and struck him dead beneath him. If I were a young maiden,’ continues the enraptured chronicler, ‘I would give him my heart and person, so great is his fame.’ Last of all came the King’s son, a youth of seventeen, and bearing arms for the first time. ‘He was a well-proportioned and handsome person, of a courteous disposition and intelligent; and desirous of finding an occasion to display his prowess. He managed his steed wonderfully well, and bore with a blue label the arms of the good King his father.’ An auxiliary force was commanded by Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, ‘ever at hand when there was fighting—the most vigilant clerk in the kingdom—a true mirror of Christianity.’

But why all this parade? How strange in our modern ears sounds the answer, that the mission of these heroes of a new Iliad was nothing more than the siege of a border castle in the sister kingdom of Scotland.

Carlaverock Castle, in Dumfriesshire, was in former days a place of no little importance, being in fact the key to the south-west of Scotland, and consequently giving its possessors very considerable influence in that portion of the kingdom. The original castle is said to have been erected in the sixth century, on a site where the walls were then washed by the waters of the Solway Frith. The newer building occupied a very strong position, the Frith guarding the approach in one direction, and the great Lochar Moss, with its vast expanse of wild and irreclaimable moorland, in another. During the Scottish wars of Edward I., the castle continued to hold out after those of Edinburgh, Elgin, Dunbar, and others had been reduced to submission. Every machine known in those rude days of military engineering seems to have been brought into requisition at the siege. We are told of battering-rams, robinets, springalds, a sow (something like the Roman testudo), a multo, which the ‘*Liber Quotidianus Garderobæ*’ is kind enough to explain to be an engine for throwing stones, and a berfrarium, which it does not explain. After a gallant defence of two whole days the besieged were obliged to capitulate, when it was found to the king’s great astonishment that the

garrison amounted to no more than sixty men. The metrical chronicler assures us that the king commanded that life and limb should be spared them, and that each should receive a new garment. The 'Chronicle of Lanercost' gives a somewhat different version: 'Many that were found within the castle were hanged.'

After the siege the castle continued more or less securely in the possession of the English till the year 1355, when Roger Kirkpatrick, of Closeburn, wrested it out of their hands. Not long afterwards it was the scene of a fearful tragedy. His father had aided Bruce in murdering the Red Comyn in the Dominican church at Dumfries. Sir James of Lyndsay, a descendant from another sharer in the murder, was being entertained in the castle, when, in revenge for Kirkpatrick's having married a beautiful lady of whom he himself had been enamoured, he stole to his host's bedside and stabbed him in his sleep. The night was dark; he lost his way, and galloped fruitlessly till morning, when he was captured at no great distance from the castle. He was brought to trial, and, notwithstanding the exertions of his wife, Egidia Stewart, a niece of the king, he was executed in June 1357.

Lyndsay's body is said to have been buried in the castle rampart, precisely at a place where some few years ago the skeleton of a tall and powerfully-built man was found, and it seems highly probable that the remains were those of Sir James. For, though the castle then in existence was 'levelled' 'to the ground,' there are reasons for supposing that the new buildings, erected by Sir Robert Maxwell, of Maxwell and Carlaverock, in 1370-1407, were placed upon the old site, and that the castle was not so entirely demolished but that some portions, still existing, were found available for the new fortress. A more serious demolition overtook it in 1570, when the Earl of Sussex was sent against it, in revenge for the part the then owner had taken in behalf of Mary Queen of Scots; but its final destruction was not accomplished till 1640—two years only after it had been repaired and fortified by the first Earl of Nithsdale.

In that year it was besieged by the Covenanters, and held out gallantly for thirteen weeks. King Charles had encouraged the earl by promises of assistance, but at last was compelled to advise him to deliver up the place on the best conditions he could yet. Lieutenant-colonel Home took possession, whilst the earl, his friends, followers, and soldiers, each with his arms and shot, with all their bag and baggage, trunks, household stuff belonging on their honour and credit

to his Lordship and them, were to have safe conduct to Langholm or any other place within Nithsdale.

No sooner, however, were the earl's party safely out of the way than the conquerors forgot their promises, and seized the furniture. A list of the things 'intromitted with' by the Covenanting colonel has been preserved, and is printed by Mr. Fraser. It affords, as he says, an illustration of the magnificent hospitality of the baronial house of Nithsdale in the seventeenth century. Among other articles mentioned are no less than eighty-five beds; 'of these beds were five, two of silk and three of cloth, consisting each of five coverings, with massy silk fringes of half-a-quarter deep, and a counterpane of the same stuff, all laid with braid silk lace, and a small fringe about, with feather-bed, bolster, blankets, &c., every bed estimated at 110*l.* sterling.' The earl's library was also carried off, which had cost him 200*l.* This may seem at first sight a small sum for a nobleman's library, but it would represent something like 1,000*l.* now. 'The drawing-room was hung with cloth of silver, and the chairs and stools in it were covered with red velvet, with fringes of crimson silk and gilt nails. Besides the comfortable beds, the occupants of the castle had in the wine cellars four barrels of sack and three hogsheads of French wines.' (Vol. i. p. 61.)

The castle was soon afterwards demolished by order of the Committee of Estates, and was never occupied again as a place of residence; but its crumbling walls, its massive towers, and its triple portcullis still succeed in rendering it one of the finest specimens of the old baronial residences of Scotland.* Close by it is the hill of Wardlaw, or Barrow Hill, covered with the remains of ancient camps, British and Roman. It was a convenient place of rendezvous for the clan, and from it they got their slogan or war-cry of 'A Wardlaw.'

But it is time to inquire about the possessors of this lordly castle. In later periods of Scottish history they are known as Maxwells. Their origin is traced to a certain Maccus, son of the Undwin, who had to fly in consequence of the invasion of William the Norman, and who sought refuge, as Edgar Atheling did, in Scotland. He must have been very young at the time, or have lived to a very advanced age, as the time of his death is put about 1150. We are quite at liberty to suppose

* It was, we believe, the castle of Carloverock that Sir Walter Scott had in his mind in the description of the majestic ruin of a similar abode in 'Guy Mannering,' and the scene of that admirable novel, on the wild coast of Galloway, is not very remote from Carloverock itself.

that he may have been connected with Maccus, son of Anlaf, the expelled king of Northumbria, who slew with his own hand the usurping Eric, King Harold's son, together with his son and brother, on the wilds of Stanmore. Again, he may have been kinsman to Maccus of Mar and the Hebrides, who was one of the eight petty kings that formed Edgar's crew on the river Dee, and who unblushingly signs himself 'Archipirata' when witnessing a charter still in existence. At any rate, 'looking at the important position the second Maccus took at 'once in Scotland, and at the identity of the names,' Mr. Fraser thinks it possible that 'he may have been a descendant 'of the royal archpirate.' With the same amount of probability he may have been connected with Maxtoke in Warwickshire, one of the Saxon manors which the Norman invader so charitably bestowed on his favourites. 'Maxtoke is said to 'have been the property of Almundus, or Ailwynd, which without any straining may be regarded as identical with Undeweyn. 'This would lead to the inference that some of Undwyn's ancestors had borne the name of Maccus from which the designation of their property was taken.' (Vol. i. p. 2.)

However this may be, there is no doubt that Maccus was an important personage, if not in the time of Malcolm Canmore himself, yet certainly in that of his sons, Alexander I. and David I., holding probably, as his son and grandson did, the office of Sheriff of Roxburghshire or Teviotdale. From the last-mentioned sovereign he obtained the manor of Maccuswell, or Maxwell, originally, no doubt, a part of the royal domains. Here he built his castle, of which however the very site is now unknown. It continued to be the property of the Maxwells till 1601, when the manor was sold in two portions, one of which is at present possessed by the Duke of Roxburgh, the other by Sir G. H. S. Douglas, Bart., who changed the name of Maxwell, or rather Bridgend, as it had come to be called, to Springwood Park. The castle was soon abandoned as a residence in favour of Carlaverock, which, as we have seen, was certainly in the possession of the family before 1300, and is said indeed to have been acquired by a grandson of the founder.

Authorities are by no means agreed as to the derivation of the name of Maxwell. Chalmers, Riddell, Innes, &c., pronounce for its being a shortened form of Maccusville, answering to Somerville, Umfraville, Frecheville, and other names of similar termination. None of the older charters, however, furnish an instance of this spelling, and Mr. Fraser ventures on a new etymology. Before acquiring the new

domain Maccus seems to have lived at Maccuston, or Maxton. On his change of residence the natural name for his castle was already appropriated, and to make a distinction between it and the old castle some feature of the surrounding country would be sought.

'Near Maxwellheugh there is a salmon-cast, well known to anglers as Maxwheel (wele, well, or weil being the Saxon for an eddy), the well of Maccus. This eddy wheeled in Tweed before that river had a name, and the character of the rock which produces it must have made it a noted spot before Saxon set foot on Scottish ground. Maccus having fixed his residence on the heights above this eddy, what more natural than that it should be called the wele of Maccus; that his descendants should be spoken of as those who came from the neighbourhood of Maccuswele—de Maccus wele. If they were once so designated, the name would soon assume the form of Maxwell.' (Vol. i. pp. 16, 17.)

The earliest use of the name appears to be that in a charter, of 1159, by Herbert, the eldest son of Maccus, a generous friend of the Church, wherein he describes himself as Herbert de Macuswel. Remembering the unconstrained license in spelling which those who could write at all then indulged in, we are not surprised to find the two other forms Maccuswel and Maccuswell, which Mr. Fraser gives, or even the yet other nine varieties which appear in the '*Origines parochiales Scotiæ*' (vol. i. pp. 297, 445).

The son of this Herbert was in no little favour with the kings in whose reigns he lived, and was often employed by them in matters of state. By Alexander II. he was twice sent with other ambassadors to England, once in 1215, on business not definitely specified, and again on a more important mission in 1220, when he was one of the persons entrusted to negotiate a marriage between his sovereign and the Princess Joanna of England, sister of Henry III. Soon after this Maxwell appears as a knight, a distinction probably conferred as a reward for the success of these negotiations; and he is found in constant attendance upon the king who, in 1230, appointed him Lord Chamberlain, an office which, for whatever reasons, he soon resigned.

In Sir John's brother and successor, Aymer, we find the first example of the modern spelling, Maxwell. During the minority of Alexander III. he joined himself to the Comyns, or 'national' party, with varying fortunes, until 1251, when during the festivities at York in honour of the marriage of the king—then ten years old—with Margaret, daughter of Henry III., Alan Durward, the Lord Justiciary of Scotland and leader of the opposite faction, was detected in an attempt to

secure, through the influence of the pope, the succession of the kingdom, if the king should die without issue, in favour of his own children by the king's natural sister whom he had married. Aymer was one of the new guardians appointed by the English king, who had designs of his own about Scotland, and continued to be so till 1255, when Durward, who had ingratiated himself with Henry, succeeded in getting the Earl of Gloucester and others sent from England, who were to take means to remove Maxwell and his associates from their office. Queen Margaret had found Scotland a far from comfortable home, and jealousy towards England was suggested as the cause of the treatment she was reported to be receiving. A meeting between the two opposing factions at Edinburgh seemed likely to bring about a satisfactory understanding, when the Durward party, on the advice of the English ambassadors, suddenly entered the castle and made the king and queen prisoners, carrying them off to Roxburgh Castle, where King Henry met them. An Act passed soon afterwards ordered the exclusion of the former guardians from their office, King Alexander declaring that it was specially granted at the instance of his dearest father Henry, who 'for our honour and advantage and for the honour and advantage of our kingdom, had by his favour personally come to the borders of the kingdoms of England and Scotland.'

But retribution soon came. The new Bishop of St. Andrews was outlawed by the new guardians and the revenues of his bishopric seized. The case was brought before the pope, who made short work of the bishop's enemies by excommunicating them 'with bell, book, and candle' in every church and chapel in the kingdom, and finally by name as contumacious offenders in the abbey church of Cambuskenneth.

The fear of a possible interdict put great power into the hands of Maxwell and his friends, which was increased by the influence of Mary de Couci, widow of Alexander II., who with John de Brienne, her second husband, passed at that time through England to Scotland. They ventured accordingly in 1257 to enter the king's room at Kinross by night, seized his person as he lay in bed, got possession of the great seal, a moveable of novel introduction,* and went off with their prize to Stirling. Durward fled to England, and his party was broken up. Aymer Maxwell now became Lord Chamberlain, and afterwards Justiciar of Galloway and Sheriff of Dumfriesshire. He is said to have fallen at the battle of Largs in

* Burton's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 99. (1867.)

1263, but he was certainly alive in the following year, and 1266 is a more probable date for his decease.

Through his wife, Mary Makgaghan, he acquired the lands and barony of Mearns in Renfrewshire, which continued in possession of the family of Maxwell for 400 years. From one of his sons, John, is descended the Pollok branch of the family, now represented by Sir W. Stirling Maxwell, Bart., of Pollok.

The fifth Lord Maxwell's lot was cast in troublous times. King Alexander III. was killed by an accident in 1285, and his only descendant then living, the 'Maiden of Norway,' died on her way to Scotland in 1290, at the early age of eight. Twelve competitors appeared for the vacant throne; but they were soon reduced to two, Bruce and Baliol, both descended from a brother of William the Lion; the first a son of the younger, the other a grandson of the elder daughter. The King of England was asked to act as umpire, and he very cleverly seized the opportunity of being acknowledged as Lord Superior of the Kingdom of Scotland—a title that had been extorted at the time of the captivity of William the Lion, but generously renounced by Richard I. Maxwell supported Baliol's claims, which were also pronounced valid by the King of England.

Edward's pretensions to be Lord Paramount soon led to serious complications. Baliol's gratitude at first induced him to make concessions, which he afterwards regretted. But when Edward, on making war against France, called on the Scots as his vassals to join him, Baliol, so far from complying, entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with France, and for a marriage between his own eldest son, the heir apparent, and a niece of the French king. Edward was not long in taking vengeance. The fatal field of Dunbar, in which Bruce fought on the side of the English, laid the country at his mercy, and Baliol had nothing to do but submit, and to be taken from one place of captivity to another till he arrived at the Tower of London. About the same time 'Sir Herbert de Makeswell, Knight,' amongst others, did homage to Edward at Berwick-on-Tweed.

Soon afterwards a new champion of Scotland arose in the person of Wallace, of Ellerslie. Several strongholds in Nithsdale fell into his power, and a party of English were routed at Dalswinton Wood. One night the hero found entertainment and welcome at Carluverock, and soon after this the famous siege of the castle took place (but strange to say whether Sir Herbert Maxwell, or his son John, or his grandson Eustace,

was then in possession, seems quite uncertain), to be followed by the brutal death of Wallace himself in 1305.

The following year saw Robert Bruce (grandson of the former claimant), who had repented of the active part he had hitherto taken against his country, crowned King of Scotland: but Sir Eustace Maxwell, the then head of the family, is found in 1312 on the side of Edward II., who, in order that his friend might more effectually keep Carlaverock, remitted him the yearly payment of 22*l.* due to the Exchequer at Berwick. But Maxwell soon changed his mind and joined Bruce, which led to a second siege of the castle. This time however, though operations were carried on for several weeks, they were so feebly conducted that the attempt was abandoned. It does not appear that Sir Eustace, or any of the Maxwells, can boast of having been at Bannockburn.

We next find Sir Eustace taking part in the famous letter to Pope John XXII., who, under Edward's influence, had excommunicated Robert Bruce and all his party, and laid Scotland under an interdict. One hundred and thirteen kings, so ran the letter, had reigned over them, and no foreigner had interfered till Edward of England came, and by his tyranny caused grievous sufferings. Robert the Bruce had happily delivered them—to him they were bound to adhere. The pope ought to tell the King of England to mind his own business and not meddle with his neighbours. And it concluded thus: 'If your Holiness, too credulous of the misrepresentations of the English, do not give fair credence to what we have said, nor cease to favour them to our confusion, all the destruction of life, ruin of souls, and other calamities which they shall inflict on us and we on them, will, we believe, be laid to your charge by the Most High.' This outspoken epistle, of which one of the original copies was found in the Earl of Haddington's charter room at Tynninghame, and is now in the Register House, Edinburgh, has been photographed for that very valuable and interesting work 'The National Manuscripts of Scotland.' We have no hesitation about agreeing with the learned editor when he says that 'It is surely the noblest burst of patriotic feeling, the finest declaration of independence that real history has to show and that has been preserved in the language in which it was uttered. We can forgive the Scotch schoolmaster who used this letter as an exercise for his boys in Latin, holding that its patriotism covered any defects of Latinity.'*

* Pt. ii. p. viii. See Photog. No. xxv.

It deserved better success than it actually obtained. The pope, indeed, staggered by its plain language, made some attempt at getting Bruce and Edward reconciled; but they could never agree upon the conditions.

We next find Sir Eustace in no little danger of his life. With ten other persons he was accused of a plot against Bruce, which had for its object the conferring the crown upon the High Steward, Sir William de Soulis; who indeed, but for the illegitimacy of his grandmother, a natural daughter of Alexander II., had better claims than either Bruce or Baliol. But whilst Soulis himself was sentenced by the 'Black Parliament' to perpetual imprisonment, and David Brechin, the king's nephew, who had distinguished himself in Palestine, was with others barbarously put to death, Sir Eustace was fortunate enough to be set at liberty.

Until the death of the king in 1329, Sir Eustace continued faithful; but soon afterwards he transferred his allegiance to Baliol's eldest son, who took advantage of the youth of the new king—only four years old—to try to get possession of the throne, and was supported by Edward III. Maxwell took part in the siege of Perth, and in the coronation of Baliol at Scone. After the battle of Halidon Hill, which, by English assistance, made Baliol master of nearly the whole kingdom, he was one of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the revenues of the town of Berwick-on-Tweed, which at that time surrendered to the English; but so negligently did he discharge his duties that he brought upon himself a severe reprimand from the king.

About 1337, Sir Eustace changed his mind again, and sided with the Scottish party which was adverse to Baliol, who had taken advantage of Edward's absence in France to attempt to expel the English from the kingdom. It was somewhat ungrateful, to say the least of it, to choose that special time for transferring his allegiance, as his castle had just been put into good order by money out of the English Exchequer. But his newly-revived patriotism was of short duration, and in 1339 we find him once more making submission and obtaining pardon from the English king. In 1342 his fickle career terminated, and he was succeeded in his estates by his brother John.

Sir John Maxwell plays no prominent part in public matters. Baliol meanwhile had been obliged to retire from the kingdom, and David Bruce had returned from France in 1341. Maxwell was one of those who accompanied the king in that invasion of England which terminated so disastrously at Neville's Cross in 1346. At this battle, with the king and many others, he was

taken prisoner and conveyed to the Tower. Baliol seized the opportunity of making war on his own account, and obtained possession of Carlaverock, where he took up his residence for some time.

We may pass over some of Sir John's successors, of whom we know little or nothing of importance, merely mentioning in passing a member of the Pollok branch of the Maxwells who distinguished himself at Chevy Chase. Here he—not 'Lord Maxwell,' as is sometimes asserted—captured Sir Ralph Percy, brother of Hotspur. Hotspur himself was taken prisoner by a relation of Maxwell's, Sir Hugh Montgomery.

Herbert Maxwell inherited the family estates in 1420. Four years afterwards, King James had been released after eighteen years' captivity in England, through the exertions of Murdock, Duke of Albany, his cousin, and was crowned at Scone. Herbert of Maxwell received on that occasion the honour of knighthood. His spurs had not had time to rust before he found himself involved in the charges made against Murdock, who was taken prisoner and sent to Carlaverock. The tower in which the duke was confined is still called 'Murdock's tower;' from hence he was carried to his place of execution at Stirling. What the duke had done to be thus summarily disposed of is not quite clear. His father indeed, a crafty, ambitious, and cruel man, had no doubt had designs on the throne, and for that end had starved King Robert's eldest son, the Duke of Rothsay, to death, and would have been glad enough to get rid of James, the only remaining brother also, had he not been sent off to France and fallen, on his way there, into the hands of the English instead. Anyhow, the duke himself, his two sons, and his father-in-law were all put to death. Perhaps the king's anger was satisfied; perhaps the charge against Herbert of Maxwell rested on frail evidence; at any rate he was soon taken into favour again, on promise of good behaviour for the future.

He was the first of the house of Maxwell on whom the dignity of the peerage was conferred, having been created a 'Lord of Parliament'—a new order of peers, introduced by James from England, where it was already in existence. The occasion on which it was conferred has not been recorded, but it was certainly before 1445. He was also the first of the family who held the office of 'Warden of the Marches,' an office of which we shall hear a good deal presently; and which had been instituted by Robert Bruce, who committed the care of a large portion of the borders to the 'good Lord James of Douglas,' an appointment which contributed materially to the greatness

of that noble house. In 1448 he was at the battle of Sark, where the Douglas and Percy met again, and in which the English were totally defeated; in great measure owing, as a genealogical account of the Maxwells assures us, to Lord Maxwell, who 'wan the field.' Hollingshed says, that he and the Laird of Johnston commanded the left wing.

About this time the power of the 'Black Douglasses' had reached its height, and soon afterwards in 1452, it received its first great check through the king murdering with his own hand the then head of the family, whilst on a visit to him at Stirling. To save himself from well-merited chastisement, the king had to look round for help, and he found no more valuable assistance than that of the Earl of Angus—the chief of the 'Red Douglasses'—the younger branch of that famous house. At one time it is said the king thought of flight and abdication, but brighter days came, and in 1455, when the Earl of Douglas saw, to his bitter disappointment, the formidable army he had collected melting like snow, the Douglas influence was dispersed and destroyed.

If the Maxwells had any hand in the forcible abduction of the young king, James III., from Linlithgow, in 1466—and from their intimate relations with the Boyds it is by no means unlikely—the second lord was certainly not involved in the well-merited fate which three years later overtook the perpetrators of that outrage. During the many rebellions of the Douglasses he remained faithful to his sovereign, and died quietly at home—not as the 'Genealogical Account' declares, on the field of Bannockburn.

His eldest son had before that, in 1484, met with a violent death. The Duke of Albany, the king's brother, who had incurred the king's suspicion through the evil persuasion of Robert Cochrane 'the mason,' and Lord Douglas, who had been for twenty years a banished man in England, made a sudden descent upon Lochmaben, in Annandale, with 500 horse, at the time of the annual fair held in that place. A fierce conflict ensued, in which the rebels were at last routed. 'The Master of Maxwell was severely wounded in the battle, and at the close, when leaning on his sword, he was mortally stabbed by a person of the name of Gask, a Scotchman, who, in revenge for the death of his cousin whom the Master of Maxwell in the administration of justice had doomed to be hanged, came behind and inflicted the fatal stroke. Lord Maxwell died on the spot.' (Vol. i. p. 154.) A column still standing marks the place. The Duke of Albany escaped, but the earl—the last of the Black Douglasses, advanced in years

and encumbered with his armour, was made prisoner and carried to the Abbey of Lindores, where, after four years of confinement, he died.

The fourth Lord Maxwell—to follow Mr. Fraser's numeration—was a man of ability and naturally took part in the public affairs of his time. From his being a member of the first parliament of James IV. and the honours conferred upon him by the new king, it would seem that he had departed from the loyalty on which the family have always, and with reason, prided themselves, and had had a share in the conspiracy against James III., which ended in the defeat of that king at Sauchie Burn, and his death by an unknown hand at Beaton's Mill, in 1488. He died at last on the field of battle. When Henry VIII. had declared war against France, Louis XII. induced the Scots to invade England. So beloved was the king by his subjects, that he soon collected a considerable army. But he miscalculated his strength, and with thirteen earls, two bishops, two mitred abbots, Lord Maxwell and his three brothers, and many a noble gentleman besides, fell on the fatal field of Flodden, in 1513.

The fifth Lord Maxwell is a still more historical personage. 'This lord,' says Mr. Fraser, 'occupies a distinguished position as a statesman, as Warden of the Marches, as a general, and as an admiral. For many years he enjoyed the favour of his sovereign, and was one of the counsellors upon whose advice he relied; one of the courtiers in whose society he had most pleasure. When James V. deserted tried servants for a less worthy favourite, he involved himself in ruin, his country in disaster, and Lord Maxwell in trouble for the remainder of his life.' (Vol. i. p. 173.) Mr. Fraser, we venture to think, has dealt very tenderly with the somewhat dubious character, to say the least of it, of this gentleman. Perhaps it is because the late Mr. M. C. Maxwell, of Terregles, to whom we are largely indebted for the existence of the two noble volumes before us, had expressed his belief not only that the Maxwells were second to none in Scotland for their loyalty, which is quite true, but that 'no head of the Maxwell family even at any period gave up his religion.' (Pref. p. xviii.) He must have forgotten for the moment the Lord Maxwell we are now discussing, or perhaps he was in no way anxious to recognise so slippery a character as a relation, and quite ready to wish the Protestants, if they cared to claim him, joy of their bargain.

At the time of the disaster of Flodden he was on his way with a fleet to France, but was driven back by a tempest. On hearing of the deaths of the king and his own father, he pre-

pared for possible emergencies by seizing the castles of Thrieve and Lochmaben. Soon afterwards he was appointed by the Duke of Albany, the son of the banished duke of whom we have heard already, to the important office of Warden of the West Marches which, with other offices afterwards conferred on him and his extensive landed possessions, made his influence paramount in the south-west of Scotland. Lord Dacre, the Warden of the English Marches, at first highly approved of the appointment, but changed his mind on finding that his colleague was ready enough to make promises but very slow at keeping them. Indeed, he seems to have been quite as ready to exact black mail on his own account as to repress such evil practices in others. Meanwhile an opportunity of further advancement presented itself. The Regent Albany, after various difficulties, had been obliged finally to retire to France in 1524, and the Queen Dowager, aided by Lord Maxwell, and the Earl of Arran, the head of the Hamiltons, managed that James V., though then only ten years old, should be declared to have taken the reins of government into his own hands. The care of the king's person was entrusted to a guard of 200 men, and Lord Maxwell was appointed captain to the great delight of the Dowager. Meanwhile the 'Red Douglases' were increasing in power and influence, and their tyranny at last became so intolerable that James in 1528 managed to escape to Stirling, and all communication with Angus, who hitherto had managed matters as he liked, was strictly forbidden. When, after a few days, the king ventured to return to Edinburgh, such was the fear into which the court was thrown at the time, that a guard was kept all night, on one occasion the king himself taking command in full armour. An attempt was made by Maxwell to get Angus into his power; but though it was unsuccessful, the fall of the Red Douglases was effected; the earl and his brother were attainted, the lands divided among the chief actors, and Maxwell received as his share the lordship of Crawford Douglas and Drumsiar.

Complaints, however, of evil practices on the border could no longer be disregarded, and in 1529, while the heads of other families were imprisoned in various places, Maxwell was carried off to Edinburgh. But he was soon released. The border question was taken by the king into his own hands, and in July he succeeded in getting possession, whether honestly or otherwise is perhaps a little doubtful, of the chief cause of the late disturbances, John Armstrong, who, with a number of his men, was immediately hanged on the nearest

tree. The original charters preserved at Terregles show some curious dealings between this notorious villain and Lord Maxwell. The latter, however, was forgiven, and once more taken into royal favour. His imprisonment had, it seems, a good effect. In 1538 Sir Thomas Wharton, in writing to Cecil, declared that the western borders had never been in so quiet a state as they were then.

When James V. started for France in 1536, to marry his affianced bride, Marie de Bourbon, and ended by marrying Magdalene de Valois instead, Maxwell was one of the six persons appointed to form a Regency during the king's absence. In little more than six months the queen was dead. Mary of Lorraine was the next choice, and Maxwell, by that time Great Admiral of Scotland, was despatched in 1538, with others, to marry her by proxy.

In 1542 Henry VIII. invaded Scotland with a large force, on the highly satisfactory ground that James had refused to come to meet him at York. The real cause of dispute was James' refusal to adopt the theological vagaries his uncle was pleased to call his creed, and also the question of superiority. But the expedition had to retire without any decisive result, and in the following year Maxwell prepared, at the king's desire, to return the compliment. Ten thousand men were collected, when it was discovered, to the intense indignation of the nobles, that Oliver Sinclair, the king's unworthy favourite, was to be commander-in-chief. No person had better reason to feel insulted than Lord Maxwell. What part he really took in the matter is not quite certain, but we may hope that Knox's account is the true one. 'The Lord Maxwell perceaving what wold be the end of such begynn- ynges, stood upon his foote with his freandis, who being admonished to tack his horse and provide for himself, ansured, "Nay, I will rather abyd hear the chance that it shall please God to send me than to go home and thare be hanged."

But the Scottish army was disorganised, and the English, learning this state of things, fell upon their enemies: the result being the disastrous defeat at Solway Moss. Lord Maxwell and many others were taken prisoners. The king was so affected by the news, that he sank in less than three weeks, just after the birth of his daughter Mary, the unfortunate Queen of Scots. The most important of the prisoners meanwhile were conveyed to London and sent to the Tower. Shortly afterwards, on being brought before the Lord Chancellor and the Star Chamber, they were committed to the

charge of certain English gentlemen, Lord Maxwell falling to the lot of Sir Anthony Brown.

In the death of James King Henry saw an opening for his own designs on Scotland, and at once decided that his son Edward, then five years of age, should marry the new-born princess. As likely to help him in this matter, he dismissed his Scotch prisoners, first of all requiring from each of these 'assured lords,' as they were then designated, the humiliating promise and bond that they would acknowledge him as Lord Superior of Scotland, do their utmost to put the government of the kingdom and its strongholds into his hands, and to have the infant princess delivered to him and brought to England. As a hostage of his fidelity, each of them was required to send a son, or some other relation, to the English Court. In the event of their failing to accomplish Henry's desigus they were to return to their prisons in England on his requiring them to do so, or, if he preferred, to remain in Scotland and assist him in the war. Maxwell's pledge was his eldest son, and he was to pay a sum of 1,000 marks sterling besides by way of ransom.

During his captivity there is no doubt that, like many of the other prisoners—the Earls of Cassilis, Glencairn, and others—Maxwell became a convert to the new faith. On this view alone can we explain the part which he took in the first parliament of Queen Mary, in 1543, when he introduced a very important bill, granting liberty to all Scots to read the Bible in their own tongue. The bill was carried, and Knox tells us of the joy that spread in consequence through the whole kingdom.

Henry soon called upon his new friends to show their fidelity by help of Sadler, his ambassador in Scotland. Secret articles were readily signed; but two of the persons concerned, Maxwell and Somerville, soon got into trouble. When on their way to the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, they were found with letters from England in their possession, and they were thrown into prison. Maxwell seems to have been prepared with an explanation which was considered satisfactory, and we find him in a short time at Glasgow Castle, with Lord Lennox, who by this time had joined the English party. At the storming of the castle, Maxwell was again taken prisoner, but speedily released in the hopes that he would help in resisting an army from England, which Henry's impatience had despatched, and which had landed at Leith. He further received a second appointment as Warden of the West Marches.

Very naturally the English now looked on him as a traitor,

and it seems most surprising that he should have ventured on placing himself, as he did soon afterwards, in their power when recalled in 1544, and go to London. During his detention there he prepared three curious documents, called Confessions, which are still extant in the State Paper Office.* After a lengthened imprisonment he was brought before the Privy Council, and succeeded in obtaining permission to return homewards as far as Carlisle. The castles of Carlaverock, Lochmaben, and Thrieve were all at this time the property of Lord Maxwell, and the possession of them was of great importance for an intended invasion of the west of Scotland. 'At one time promises, at another threats, were used to induce Lord Maxwell to surrender these castles and aid the English against the Scots. Unwilling to act against his country, and yet extremely desirous to obtain his liberty, his conduct became inconsistent and vacillating.' (Vol. i. p. 194.) So much was this the case that the English determined to carry him back to the Tower. Unable to endure the thoughts of another residence there, interest is again made in his behalf, and he was carried off to Pontefract instead. Soon afterwards his son was taken prisoner, and the English felt more confident of gaining possession of the coveted castles, but for a long time to no purpose. Finding at last that there was no hope of success, except in allowing Maxwell to return home in person, the English at last gave their consent, and one of Maxwell's first acts was to deliver Carlaverock into their hands. There was some real or pretended difficulty in doing so. The governor at the time was a priest, a relation of Maxwell's, and it was arranged that Maxwell should send for him to Carlisle—that certain persons should then attend him to Carlaverock, and never leave him till the castle was delivered up—if there was any stay or difficulty in the matter, he was to be got rid of. But there was no need of such ultra proceedings. The castle was surrendered, 'quhilk,' says the 'Diurnal of Occurrents,' 'was a great discomfort to the countree.' But the English after all found it no great treasure. There was nothing to take possession of but the bare walls. On one side was the sea, on the other Lochar Moss, and all around a hostile country; and the new tenants seem to have quitted their very uncomfortable quarters at the earliest opportunity. †

But meantime the Scots began to bestir themselves in the matter, and siege was laid to Lochmaben and Thrieve, at that

* State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 479.

† Burton, vol. iii. p. 448-9.

time held by two of Maxwell's sons. The castles were given up; Maxwell himself was taken prisoner, and carried as a traitor to Dumfries. He had now to make his peace as well as he could, and to answer for the treasonable bond he had entered into with the English. This he managed to do so satisfactorily, or at least so cleverly, that all his offences were forgiven, and he was appointed Chief Justiciar of Annandale, Kircudbright, Wigtown, and Dumfries, and, for the third time, Warden of the Western Marches. Lochmaben also was restored to him; but by this time trouble had worn him out, and his unquiet spirit found rest at last, for within a month of getting back that castle he died.

The sixth Lord Maxwell died young; the seventh when only four years of age; and we come to the eighth, a posthumous son. As soon as he was old enough he attached himself to the party of Queen Mary. His first appearance in public appears to have been when Lord Scrope, the Warden of the English Marches, invaded Scotland, at Elizabeth's order, immediately after the assassination of the Regent Murray, in 1570. Maxwell, though then only seventeen years of age, raised troops to oppose the English, but unsuccessfully; his castles at Dumfries and Carlaverock were destroyed; and Scrope tells his royal mistress, with great glee, that he had not left a stone house to an ill neighbour within twenty miles of Carlisle.

In 1572 Maxwell married a daughter of the Earl of Angus, and became more closely connected than before with the houses of Hamilton and Douglas, and also, through Lady Maxwell's sister, with the Scotts of Buccleuch and the Earl of Bothwell. A grand entertainment, which the Earl of Morton, Lady Maxwell's uncle, had prepared for the newly-married people, was entirely put a stop to by some of the queen's party seizing upon the wine and provisions whilst on their way to Dalketh.

This occurrence probably shows that, for a time at least, his attachment to Mary was wavering, and, indeed, soon after his marriage he submitted to the government carried on in the name of James VI., and he is specially mentioned in the Act of Indemnity, which was passed for the security of certain persons who had 'conformed.' The Earl of Morton, who had become Regent by the end of the year, appointed him Warden of the Western Marches. At the same time he was put in possession of the Castle of Lochmaben. He performed the duties of his office so admirably that Scrope, in a letter to Lord Burleigh, says, 'Lord Maxwell and I met at a day's

‘ march, when we made delivery of forty-two bills. The like
‘ example of justice done in one day has not been seen or
‘ heard of in these borders.’ For the interests of ‘ justice’
this example had better remain unique.

The claim he made at this time to the earldom of Morton brought him into trouble. This earldom had been created by James II. in 1458, in favour of James Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith. The third earl had no male issue, but three daughters, of whom the eldest married the Earl of Arran, who had been made Duke of Chatelherault when Mary married the Dauphin; the second married the sixth Lord Maxwell, and the third James Douglas, brother of the Earl of Angus and afterwards Regent. A most strange settlement of the succession was made by the earl. The title was to go to the son of the youngest daughter; or, if there were no male issue, to her husband, and his brothers, and other Douglases in succession. This was confirmed by the Crown in 1533. Maxwell, when the proper time came, objected to its legality, and claimed the title on the ground that the Duke of Chatelherault had demitted his claim to what would have been an inferior title, his son, the Earl of Arran, consenting to the arrangement, Lady Douglas had no issue, and therefore the title belonged in full right to no one but himself. The Regent tried every means to induce him to renounce his claims, but without success; and, accordingly, he soon let him feel the weight of his displeasure. He was deprived of his office of Warden of the Marches, and shortly afterwards sent a prisoner to Edinburgh, and thence to Blackness. In return, Maxwell seems to have taken a share, very naturally, in the plot to deprive the Regent of his office. Morton had to resign in 1578; James VI., then only twelve years of age, assumed the government; Maxwell was released from bondage; and we soon hear of him again as Warden of the Marches.

Complaints, however, soon began to be heard of negligence in the execution of his office, and his uncle, Lord Herries, presented an elaborate report on the borders to the Privy Council. Maxwell thoroughly disapproved of it, declared it a ‘ pernicious council, rather inventit vpoun malice ‘ than ony favour to the common weill,’ but ended by agreeing to the conditions which had been proposed. Notwithstanding this, he was not confirmed in his appointment, which was given to Lord Herries; and orders were issued moreover that he was to give up Lochmaben to the new warden, which he was obliged to do.

For the second time the Earl of Morton, who had been rein-

stated in the supreme management of affairs, committed him to prison, for what reason is not very evident, first at Blackness and then at Edinburgh. During this imprisonment Lord Herries resigned his wardenship, which was conferred upon an old enemy of Maxwell's, one of the 'gentle Johnstons' of that ilk. There had been frequent encounters between them already, and this new appointment did not help to mend matters. 'The conferring upon a rival an office which Lord Maxwell's ancestors had held for ages was regarded by him as a studied affront, and was the origin of many disastrous conflicts, calamitous not only to the families themselves, but to the whole shire of Dumfries.' (Vol. i. p. 247.)

To avert the coming storm the Privy Council interfered, and required the two enemies to keep the peace towards each other, 'under the pain of perjury and loss of honour in time coming.' Maxwell was not long kept out of office. Two men rose high in favour with the king: Esme Steward, Lord d'Aubigny, nephew and heir of the late Earl of Lennox, who was made first of all Earl and then Duke of Lennox, and Captain J. Stewart, afterwards Earl of Arran, that title being vacant by the forfeiture of the Hamiltons. Both of them were friends of Maxwell. Through their influence, no doubt, it was that Johnston was deprived of his wardenship, which was conferred for the third time on Lord Maxwell.

When, through the exertions of Lennox and Arran, the Regent Morton had been put to death—the instrument of execution being the 'Maiden,' which he had himself introduced into Scotland: the instrument may still be seen in the Museum of the Antiquaries Society in Edinburgh—there was nothing to prevent Maxwell from attaining the higher dignity in the peerage to which he had for some time aspired, and in 1581 accordingly he was created Earl of Morton, with its lands, baronies, royalty, and annual rents, and he was 'belted' at Holyrood House on Sunday, Oct. 29. The Earl of Angus, to whom his uncle, the Regent, had made an entail of his estates and honours, was by no means satisfied with the new arrangements. From England, whither he had fled after an unsuccessful attempt to rescue his uncle from prison, he made a raid on the Maxwell property; but a special attempt on Langholm, part of the new possessions, failed entirely.

The 'Raid of Ruthven,' in 1582, took for a while the chief power out of the hands of Lennox and his friends, and they concocted a plan, which proved unsuccessful, of seizing Holyrood and the town of Edinburgh. Lord Maxwell's conduct in the matter excited suspicion, and he only escaped apprehension

by a hurried flight. His next exploit was a curious one. The Warden of the Marches set off on a private expedition of plunder and violence, which, of course, brought his administration into deserved disrepute. Accordingly he was deprived of his office, which is conferred for the second time on the Laird of Johnston.

In the course of the following year King James escaped from his jailors, and was at once joined by the Earl of Arran. Certain transactions which presently occurred give us a strange picture of the morality of the times and the unscrupulous character of this nobleman. The earl had cast longing eyes on certain portions of the Maxwell property, the lands of Mearns and Maxwellheugh. In exchange for these he offered the barony of Kinneil. But besides the fact that the other places were old family property, Kinneil had only become the property of Arran through the forfeiture of the Hamiltons, and it might easily in some new complications go back to its former owners. When the earl found, therefore, that he could not succeed by fair means, he tried foul. There was to be a re-election of the Provost of Dumfries, a post held at that time by a natural son of Lord Herries, and a firm friend of Morton's. Arran persuaded the wife of the Laird of Johnston, who was then at court, to induce her husband to become a candidate, and, besides, sent a letter to the electors, urging them to appoint his nominee, as, being Warden of the Marches, he would be more able to keep order than anyone else. Morton, on hearing of this, assembled his men, kept Johnston forcibly out of the town, made preparations for murdering him in case of his election, and secured the post for his kinsman. Arran was not long in seeking revenge. By his influence Morton was required to deliver up all his castles on pain of treason, and two companies of soldiers were despatched to help Johnston to make an attack upon Morton. Morton, however, was equal to the occasion: the companies were dispersed; one captain was killed, the other taken prisoner. Johnston then made a raid on the Maxwell lands; Morton retaliated, and burned Johnston's principal residence, Lochwood, to the ground, boasting that he would give Lady Johnston light enough to 'set her hood.' 'This calamity,' says Mr. Fraser, 'involved in destruction not only the household furniture, but also the charter chest of the Laird of Johnston, the depository of the whole muniments of the family, containing many valuable papers, relating not only to the house of Johnston, but to the history of the borders.' (Vol. i. p. 262.) The laird himself fled to Bonshaw Tower; but Morton

invested the place, and was only persuaded to accept terms through the mediation of Lord Scrope. So mortified was the laird at this and other disasters that he died in the beginning of 1586.

The king on hearing of these proceedings was deeply incensed, and deprived Morton of his earldom. Preparations were made on a large scale for an expedition into Dumfriesshire against him, but, owing to the plague which broke out that year in Edinburgh, they came to nothing.

Morton, however, was neither daunted by these preparations, nor satisfied with the amount of mischief he had already done. He made a second raid upon the Johnston property, and 'thair brint, slew, herreit and sackit his hail barony, landis, 'roomes, and possessiounis, and reft and away tuik their hail 'quick guiddis, ther insycht and planesching in greit quan-'tite.' He next turned his attention to the Earl of Arran. The Master of Gray, with Sir F. Walsingham's assistance, had laid a plan for his death, and Morton was only too ready to join him in it. But Arran managed to get a hint of its existence, and it had to be given up. The earl, however, now thoroughly frightened, attempted to make overtures to Morton, but unsuccessfully; and before the year was over, Morton was engaged in a new plot against his enemy. This involved an invasion on a large scale into Scotland by the Earls of Angus, and Mar, and others, who were then in exile. Morton had a large force ready for use, originally intended for an attack on the Johnstons, to the number of 1,300 foot and 700 horse. With these he joined the conspirators, and the conjoined forces marched on Stirling, where the king then was, which they soon captured. That same evening they had an interview with the king, and disclaimed all hostile intentions towards himself. In one point only they were unsuccessful. Arran escaped, but only to fall, after a miserable life in the wilds of Ayrshire, by the nephew of the Morton he had been the means of destroying, James Douglas of Torthorwald. The banished lords were forgiven, and their pardon proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet. Soon afterwards Maxwell was restored to his forfeited honours, and this though at the same time the forfeiture of the Regent Morton was rescinded.

Notwithstanding this, we soon find him again in his old quarters in the Castle of Edinburgh. He had gone in procession from Dumfries to Lincluden and caused mass to be openly celebrated there, although very stringent laws had been passed against it. The Privy Council required of him

that he should promise 'to attempt nothing prejudicial to the true preaching of the Evangel then professed within the realm under the pain of 1,000*l.*, and that he should accept of a minister with whom he might confer for his better resolution on the head of religion.' He was then set at liberty, but if this ghostly counsellor was ever appointed, we pity the minister.

Once more he became Warden of the Marches. The death of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587, roused the indignation of the Catholics in Scotland against Queen Elizabeth, and none rejoiced more than Morton to hear of the preparations for a Spanish invasion. He undertook a journey into Spain in person—put himself into communication with the Court—inspected the preparations that were being made and promised all possible assistance. On returning home he found that he had fallen into disgrace, that his appointment of Warden had been cancelled, and the office given to Lord Herries. As he had come back without the formal permission he had undertaken to procure, he was proclaimed a traitor that had designs against the established religion. Forces were gathered to attack Lochmaben, whilst the king himself marched on Dumfries. Maxwell, who was in his house in that town, received warning of the king's advance only an hour before his actual arrival, and was almost surprised by the king's troops. He fled to Kircudbright, where he found a ship in which he went off, but he was pursued and captured. Langholm, Thieve, and Carlaverock were surrendered, and Lochmaben closely invested. Induced by a letter professing to be in the king's handwriting, but afterwards declared to be a forgery, David Maxwell gave up possession, and, with fifty men of the garrison, was at once hanged for his confidence. Seventeen also of those on board the ship in which Maxwell was captured were doomed to the gallows. The king then returned to Edinburgh, taking Maxwell with him, whom he committed to the custody of Sir William Stewart.

Meanwhile the great Armada had been utterly defeated and dispersed. Maxwell, Lord Claud Hamilton, and the Earl of Huntley tried to urge Philip to make a fresh attempt, offering all possible assistance. Their letter was intercepted, and is now in the State Paper Office. But whatever promises of help might have reached Philip, he had no heart to stir again in the matter. In 1589 Maxwell was again set free, having signed an agreement 'under the pane of one hundredth thousand poundis money of the realm' to be a faithful and obedient subject for the future. He was also appointed one of the Commissioners to assist Lord Hamilton who had been made

Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom, whilst James was off in Norway to bring home his bride, and once more he is gazetted as Warden of the Marches.

His next proceeding is somewhat startling. 'On Friday, January 26, 1593, Lord Maxwell, whether from policy or conviction may be questioned, subscribed the Confession of Faith, under the title of Earl of Morton, before the presbytery of Edinburgh.' He promised to be ready whenever the kirk should employ him. 'At this time so much was he in disfavour with the barons and gentlemen of Galloway that on the previous day they boldly said to King James that they would not have one of their own companions, meaning Maxwell, to be their king, and that if his Majesty denied them his protection, they would submit themselves to a foreign sovereign.' (Vol. i. p. 287.)

Troubles again appeared on the borders. The Johnstons, headed by William Johnston of Wamphray, devastated the lands of Lord Crichton of Sanquhar. A long procession of poor women, who had lost relations and goods in the raid, made their way to Edinburgh; and though at first the Privy Council gave no heed to their petition, the people were so enraged at the sight of the blood-stained relics which were carried in procession through the streets, that it was found advisable to issue instructions to Maxwell to take the necessary proceedings against the guilty persons. In December 1593, accordingly, Maxwell was ready to take the field, but intelligence of what was going on had been given to the Johnstons and they were fully prepared for the emergency. A reconnoitring party was surprised, some of the persons killed, and Lochmaben Castle, to which others had fled for refuge, burnt to the ground.

Maxwell, not discouraged, crossed the Lochmaben hills and met the Johnstons, who had taken up a very strong position. Notwithstanding this, and though he could not get more than half of his forces into action at once, Maxwell did not hesitate to attack. But valour could do little or nothing under such circumstances; his men were soon thrown into a panic and fled in confusion, and Maxwell himself fell, but by whose hand is uncertain: one account making him killed by a Johnston, another saying that after being mortally wounded, he was despatched by a woman with the keys of Kirkton Tower, which she was carrying at her girdle. Two large thorn trees, called Maxwell's trees, long marked the place where he was slain, but they were carried away about half a century ago when the waters of the Dryfe was greatly swollen. 'The

‘Maxwells and the confederate barons suffered grievously in the retreat; many were overtaken in the streets of Locherby or slashed in the face by the pursuers, a kind of blow which to this day is called in that country a “Locherby Lick.”’⁹ Mr. Fraser tells us that Sir W. Scott is incorrect in many particulars of this battle of Dryfe Sands, ‘adopting too implicitly the loosest of tradition, and drawing too much on ‘imagination.’ Between the 700 whom he represents as perishing in the waters of the Annan on this occasion, and a contemporary account which mentions only five persons as killed, we may safely take some intermediate number as the true one. ‘Maxwell’s fall,’ says Spottiswoode, ‘was pitied of many, for that he was not known to have done much injury in his time, and was rather hurtful to himself than others.’ He was only forty years of age at the time of his death, and was buried in Lincluden.

The king was at first highly enraged at the slaughter of his Warden, but in less than a year a royal pardon is granted to the offenders, and so for a time the matter came to an end. But the Johnstons were by no means satisfied. In 1595 Lord Herries, then Warden, was attacked by them whilst in the execution of his duty, his prisoners rescued, and Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, with others, left dead on the field. The Government attempted to interfere, but to no purpose; and matters were made still worse when Lord Herries was deprived of his office, and Sir James Johnston of Dunszellie appointed in his stead. This, too, had to be cancelled, and in little more than a year Lord Ochiltree was made Warden. But the disturbances still continued, and finally the laird of Johnston was declared rebel, his portrait hung at the Cross of Edinburgh head downwards, and all the king’s subjects forbidden to have any intercourse with him. The following year the Government tried what imprisonment would do, and Johnston, together with Lord Herries and Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, was placed in confinement. What promises Johnston made during his detention we cannot tell, but within a year he was not only set at liberty and restored to his honours, but was once again appointed Warden of the Marches and Justiciar.

The ninth Lord Maxwell and second Earl of Morton was for a time kept out of mischief by being imprisoned at Edinburgh for favouring Popery. In accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly, which ordered that ministers should wait upon the noblemen who professed the Roman Catholic

* *Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. i. p. 338, ed. 1860.

religion, and remain with them for a quarter of a year continually, to confirm them and their families in the truth, Mr. Henry Blyth was appointed to do this kindly office for Maxwell. In a few months' time he contrived to escape, and at once proceeded to take vengeance on his hereditary foes. He burnt a few of their houses, men and all; but, perhaps, finding no means of doing effectual mischief, he executed 'letters of Slannis,' in which he forgave all former wrongs and offences. It may, however, be doubted, says Mr. Fraser, 'whether Lord Maxwell really felt the placable spirit which those letters seem to breathe.'

Next year (1606) Maxwell is again ordered into confinement at Leith on account of his religion; but his detention, if ever carried out, must have been soon annulled, for in 1607 we find him anxious to settle in the field a question in dispute about the right and title of Earl of Morton against William Douglas, of Lochhorn, who had become entitled to that designation on the death of the restored Earl of Angus. The Privy Council ordered them to disband their forces, which Maxwell declined to do, and challenged his adversary to single combat. For this disobedience Maxwell went back to his old quarters in Edinburgh Castle. He had been there only eight weeks, when, with characteristic daring and determination, he managed to escape. After climbing the wall, he got off on a horse which had been kept in readiness for him. The king was very angry on hearing the news, and would gladly have proceeded against him on a charge of high treason, about which, however, there were legal difficulties. But, notwithstanding the proclamation issued for his apprehension, he travelled openly through the country, attended by no less than twenty horse, and went several times to Dumfries. But so strict were the orders for his apprehension, that he was kept in a state of constant alarm. One of his hiding places, in Clawbelly Hill, is still called Maxwell's Cave. Under these circumstances he was very much disposed to come to an understanding with the Johnstons. There was a person admirably fitted to act as mediator between them, Sir Robert Maxwell, of Orchardstane, Lord Maxwell's cousin and Johnston's brother-in-law. An arrangement was made for a meeting—each was to be accompanied by a single attendant, and only Sir R. Maxwell besides was to be present. The meeting took place—promises of friendship and forgiveness were interchanged, and all seemed to promise an amicable settlement, when Maxwell's attendant, Charles Maxwell, rode suddenly and against orders towards Johnston's attendant, and, after some hot words, fired his

pistol at him. The laird was coming up to his friend's assistance, when Maxwell levelled his weapon at him, and Johnston fell mortally wounded. Maxwell, well satisfied with this vengeance on the man who had slain his father, rode away. That very day, and apparently before the deed was perpetrated, he granted to Charles Maxwell a charter of some lands at Numballie, 'for a certain sum of money paid, and also for good, faithful, and gratuitous services rendered, and to be rendered to him by the grantee.' 'The granting of such a charter,' says Mr. Fraser, 'on the very day when the granter made such dire use of the services of the grantee, is somewhat suspicious, although it is just possible that it was a singular coincidence.' The evident determination on the part of Maxwell's attendant to force on a quarrel, if the accounts we have are to be depended on, leave little doubt that some foul play or other was intended to be perpetrated at the meeting.

Maxwell made his escape to France. In his absence he was sentenced to death as a traitor, and to the confiscation of all his property. In 1612, however, he ventured to return with two or three persons outlawed like himself, without the king's permission. On its becoming known that he was in the country, he was hunted down so rigorously that he determined to seek safety once more in flight. But the Earl of Caithness, a relation of his, persuaded him to take refuge in his castle at Sinclair until a favourable opportunity should present itself for his escape. The earl, however, meant all the while to betray him, and this was easily effected. Maxwell, almost immediately upon leaving the castle, was apprehended by some of the earl's men, and carried to Edinburgh. 'It is a satisfaction to know that Sinclair was unsuccessful in obtaining from the Government any reward for this base treachery, which entailed indelible infamy upon himself and brought reproach upon his family.' (Vol. i. p. 320.)

The Johnstons now moved the Government with all their influence—the old grandmother of the then laird going to Edinburgh in person—to have the sentence that had been pronounced against him in his absence carried into effect. Maxwell made a final attempt at reconciliation. He was profuse in his offers; he even undertook, his first wife being dead, to marry the daughter of the man he had slain 'without any tocher,' and he would leave the country for seven years, or longer, if the Laird of Johnston wished it. But it was in vain. The Earl of Rochester, a friend of the Johnstons, was high in favour at Court at that period; and on May 22, 1613, Maxwell was executed in the Market Place at Edinburgh. 'Thus was

'finally ended,' says Sir W. Scott, 'by a salutary example of severity, this "foul debate" between the Maxwells and the Johnstons—in the course of which each family lost two chieftains, one dying of a broken heart, one in the field of battle, one by assassination, and one by the sword of the executioner.*'

His brother Robert succeeded to an empty heritage. The Maxwell honours had been forfeited and the lands given to others. But brighter days came; the king ordered a special grant of 200*l.* out of the exchequer; the lands were gradually regained, and finally, in 1620, the earldom was restored to the Maxwells. In consideration, however, of the hatred that had always existed between the families of Morton and Maxwell, and the great inconvenience of having two earls in the kingdom of the same name, the king, of his sole authority, changed the title from Morton to Nithsdale, a far more appropriate one for the family than the old one had been. His precedence, however, was to date from the earlier creation in 1581. He successfully resisted a charge of 200 marks which the Lyon King of Arms had demanded of him as a newly created lord of parliament, and he was equally successful against ten earls, created after 1581, who questioned his precedency. Monetary embarrassments however still continued, and creditors at times were inclined to resort to harsh measures against him. Among other persons to whom he applied for assistance was George Heriot; but the wealthy jeweller was as cautious as became a Scot and 'doubtful.' 'I am sorie,' the earl says in a letter to Lord Arran, 'that George Hariot is put in such fear and distast with me, as I here be Sir George he is, for his securitie may be good enough, if he wald he pleasit to furnis sum monie.†' In the king, however, he found a better friend, who notified pretty clearly to the persons concerned that they had better take no further steps until they understood his pleasure in the matter.

At the time of the king's death he was at Denmark House anxious to have measures taken for curbing the excessive powers which the Earls of Mar and Melrose were at that time exercising in Scotland. The funeral brought of course many Scottish noblemen to London, and especially the Earls of Morton and Roxburgh, whom Nithsdale tried to urge to watch jealously over their country's liberties. So far however were they from listening, that no sooner did they return home

* Border Minstrelsy, vol. ii. pp. 153–153.

† Melrose Papers, vol. i. p. 544.

than they began to aspire to the exercise of unlimited power themselves.

In October 1625, occurred the strange scenes described by Burnet, when Nithsdale attended a Convention of Estates held at Edinburgh, respecting the revocation of grants that James had made to his nobility and other favourites, or what they had themselves usurped of the titles and benefices of the Romish Church. The proposition was naturally most unpopular with the people concerned—the old blind Earl of Belhaven sat dagger in hand, ready for argument ‘in the old Scottish manner.’ The earl was fain to disguise his instructions and get back safely to London.

In the Danish war with the Emperor Ferdinand II., Nithsdale, with considerable difficulty, raised a body of 3,000 Scots to help King Christian; but though he got his troops safe to the Continent, he had to return without any definite result. Matters nearer home soon afterwards engaged his attention, and in 1638 he fortified his castle at Carlaverock, ornamenting it with numerous heraldic decorations, but two years afterwards, as we have seen already, it was taken and destroyed.

To the last he continued a faithful follower of his king. He got himself into trouble by his share in Lord Antrim’s plan of sending an Irish force to help Charles against the Parliament. In 1645 he was with Montrose at Dumfries, after which the royalists had to retreat. In 1646 he was with Lord Digby, when he was routed at Sherborne in Yorkshire. Meanwhile his estates had been sequestrated and himself excommunicated. Shortly afterwards he made his escape to the Isle of Man, where he died the same year.

The second Earl of Nithsdale, Robert, had also his share in the distresses of his time. In 1644 he was taken prisoner at Newcastle, when that place was stormed by General Leslie, and sent to Edinburgh, no longer as usual with noblemen, to the Castle, but to the Tolbooth. Here he continued prisoner till the defeat of the Covenanters by Montrose, at Kilsyth, August 1, 1645. So reduced were the family circumstances at this time that Mearns had to be disposed of which had been in possession of the Maxwells for 400 years. He was commonly called the ‘Philosopher,’ and had the reputation also of being an astrologer, having cast the horoscope of Charles II., and foretold his restoration. These accomplishments, however, he indignantly repudiates.

The ‘Philosopher’ died unmarried, and was succeeded by his cousin, Lord Herries, as third Lord Nithsdale. He too had suffered severely during the civil wars. In 1639, when the

Covenanters invaded Nithsdale, he fled to Carlisle, where he remained three months. In his absence his house at Terregles was forcibly entered, and the best of his furniture and some of his plate carried off. In 1644 he was excommunicated, and the same year, for joining Montrose at Dumfries, his life and property were pronounced forfeited by the Commissioners of Estates. Beyond this he seems to have taken no part in Montrose's career, at first so victorious, but which terminated so disastrously at Philiphaugh. Fined 10,000*l.* Scots in 1647; quartered upon first by the Royalists, and afterwards by the Covenanters; charged with nine months' maintenance of troops, Lord Herries had a hard time of it; and he presented a petition for redress, which though favourably listened to, did him so little real good that in 1661 he estimated his losses at 77,332*l.* 12*s.* Scots. To this Lord Herries Abercrombie* ascribes a History of Scotland, the only portion of which now existing is to be found in a MS. in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. It was printed by the Abbotsford Club in 1836, under the title 'Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Mary of Scots, and a portion of the History of King James the Sixth; by Lord Herries.' If not always to be relied on, it is still a work of considerable importance and interest. Its real author will perhaps never be certainly known; but Mr. Fraser brings forward some strong evidence in favour of its being of higher antiquity than the date adopted by Abercrombie.

Passing by the fourth Earl of Nithsdale, who demands no special notice from us, we come to William, the last earl of the name. In 1715 he at once joined the ranks of the Old Pretender. But for his being a Romanist he would have been placed at the head of the movement in the north of Scotland, which was accordingly entrusted to Lord Kenmure. But when their forces, after a short gleam of success, were obliged to surrender at Preston, Nithsdale's 'bonnie lord' was among the number of those taken prisoner and sent to the Tower. Though no history of the Maxwells would be complete without some notice of what followed, we cannot do here more than remind our readers of the loving devotion and successful bravery of the lovely, accomplished, and famous heroine, Lady Winifred Herbert, daughter of the Marquis of Powys, and Countess of Nithsdale. This much however we may say, that the story of the escape, told so simply and yet so touchingly by

* Martial Achievements of the Scots' Nation. 1715.

the countess, in a letter to her sister who was Abbess of the English Augustine Nuns at Bruges, is given at length by Mr. Fraser, together with two pages of facsimiles, in his second volume. His version, which differs in many places from the hitherto published copies, is taken from the original letter now in the possession of Lord Herries. The signature is gone, evidently taken by or for some voracious collector of autographs.

The earl and countess took up their residence on the Continent, and especially at Rome. It is sad to find from their letters, many of which are here printed, to what straits they were often reduced. The earl died in 1744, the year before the second attempt of the Stuarts to recover their former kingdom. The countess survived him for five years. The forfeited earldom has never been restored.

The only surviving son succeeded to the Nithsdale and Herries estates on the death of his father, the necessary documents for proving the conveyance of these estates to him before the earl's attainder having been lodged in a place of security by Lady Nithsdale. Family troubles had taught him wisdom, and he took no share in the rising of '45, though his letters show that his heart was very much in the matter, and no one would have been more ready than himself to join the movement if there had been any reasonable hopes of success. The 'lazy lord,' as his wife called him, found more charms in a quiet and retired life. His only children were daughters, one of whom died unmarried, the other, Winifred, became the wife of Mr. W. H. Constable, of Everingham, in Yorkshire, the grandfather of the present Lord Herries. Under what circumstances this title was restored will be explained presently.

Besides the Maxwells already mentioned, Mr. Fraser has given us a very interesting account of the fourth Lord Herries of Terregles, who was so intimately connected with Mary Queen of Scots. We can give but the merest outline of his life here, and must even pass by such curious passages as his 'tragic wooing of the border heiress,' which Mr. Fraser has described. In his tenure of the office of Warden of the Marches he reminds us of the eighth Lord Maxwell, who appears and disappears with the vagaries of a will-o'-the-wisp. Nor was it only in this matter that this 'smooth-tongued plausible person,' as Froude describes him,* gave proofs of his versatility. At one time Mary's most trusted friend, at another exciting her suspicions; in 1565 imploring the protection of Elizabeth against the enemies, with whom he is within a month joined

* History of England, vol. ix. p. 166.

heart and hand; riding one day to Edinburgh to remonstrate with his sovereign on her intended marriage with Bothwell, and in a few weeks' time recommending him to her as a husband; labouring in August for her release from Loch Leven, in December astonishing his friends by a speech in Parliament in which he recognised the authority of the king and regent, and that very same month binding himself to hazard his life for the queen. No wonder Throgmorton used of him the strong language he used to Cecil: 'The Lord Herryes ys the conynge horseleache and the wysest of the wholle faction, but as the Quene of Scotland sayethe of hym, there ys no bodye can be sure of hym: he takethe pleasure to beare all the worlde in hande: we have good occasyon to be well ware of him. Sir, yow remember how he handled us when he delyvered Dunfryse, Carlaverocke, and the Harmytage into our handes. He made us beleave all should be ours to the Frythe, and when wee trusted hym best, how he helped to chase us awaye, I am sure you have not forgotten. Here amongst hys owne countreyemen he ys noted to be the moost cautelous man of hys natyon. It may lyke you to remember he suffred hys owne hostages, the hostages of the Lard of Loughanver and Garles hys nexte neyghboures and frendes, to be hanged for promesse broken by hym. Thys muche I speake of hym, because he ys the lykelyest and moost dangerous man to inchaunte yow.' He died suddenly at last in Edinburgh. He was on his way at the time to the lodgings of one William Fowler, 'in the time of sermon, to hear the boys bicker,' when he fell down and expired.

But it is time to give some account of the able and valuable volumes for which we are almost entirely indebted for the materials used in the foregoing sketch of the Maxwells. These, with some other volumes equally valuable, owe their existence to the following circumstances. In 1848 the descendants of the Earl of Nithsdale were restored in blood, and Mr. W. Constable Maxwell of Nithsdale and Everingham presented a petition to the House of Lords, in which he prayed to have the title and honours of Lord Herries of Terregles restored to him. The earliest notice of the name of Herries occurs as far back as 1150, when William de Heryz witnessed a donation of Henry Prince of Scotland to the monasteries of Wederhall (Wetheral) and Holme Cultram, in Cumberland. The first knight of the family was John Herries, who received from King David Bruce a charter in which Terregles was created a barony in 1364. Sir Hubert Herries sat as a 'Lord of Parliament' in 1489, and perhaps this was the time when the family was first

raised to the peerage; but the original documents connected with the creation have all perished. The second lord was slain at Flodden; the third was the Lord Herries whose eldest daughter, as we have seen, married Sir John Maxwell, afterwards Lord Herries by a new creation. When the male descendants of Sir John's eldest brother, Robert the sixth Lord Maxwell, terminated in the Earl of Nithsdale, who died in 1667, the descendants of Lord Herries became the representatives of both the Maxwell and Herries peerages. But the question to be decided was whether the heirs male only or the heirs female could claim the honours. Mr. Maxwell's petition accordingly was opposed by Mr. W. Maxwell of Carruchan, on the ground that he was the eldest male heir, and as such entitled to the titles of Earl of Nithsdale, Lord Maxwell, and Lord Herries. The House of Lords in 1858 decided, as far as the Herries was concerned, in favour of the heirs female. Had Mr. Maxwell of Carruchan been successful he would not have long enjoyed his victory, for in 1863 he died without issue, and in him the Carruchan branch of the Maxwells became extinct. He had however been fortunate enough to engage the services of Mr. Fraser, whose name is so well known in connexion with the history of Scottish families, and we rejoice to think that the results of his researches were not thrown away when the Maxwell case was decided. The first fruits appeared in two goodly quartos: 'Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok,' the oldest of all the branches of the Maxwell family, which were published in 1863. In 1865 he edited 'Inventories of the Muniments of the families of Maxwell, Herries, and Nithsdale in the Charter Room at Terregles,' a work of which unfortunately no more than twenty copies were printed. 'Before that volume was completed,' he says, 'the late Mr. Marmaduke Maxwell of Terregles arranged that I should undertake a history of the families of Maxwell and Herries, and also edit the printing of their charters and correspondence. The results of the eight years' labour upon a subject which had previously so long engaged my attention, now appears in the present work, under the general title of "The Book of Carlaverock," a title sufficiently appropriate for a record of the house of Maxwell, as the castle of that name, so celebrated in history for its memorable sieges, is now the oldest inheritance of the family.' (Pref. p. xii.) The earldom of Nithsdale has not been restored; and if there are in existence any persons that can claim the title in the male line, they must be sought for apparently among the descendants, if any, of William Maxwell, the representative of the Maxwells of Breconside in

Kirkgunzeon, who was first of all a merchant at Bristol, and afterwards went to New York.

But we cannot take leave of this distinguished family, whose fortunes we have followed so long, without a passing allusion to the last and not the least illustrious of its alliances. In the course of this year Joseph, the third son of the present Lord Herries, has allied himself in marriage to Mary Monica, only surviving child of the late James Hope-Scott, the granddaughter of John Gibson Lockhart, the great-granddaughter and sole lineal representative of Sir Walter Scott—names dear to Scotland, dear to literature, dear to ourselves, for they revive the traditions of past years, and they point, we trust, to a long and happy future. The estates and heirlooms of Abbotsford will thus pass into a branch of the Maxwell family, allied to the great name of Scott, and Maccuswell returns to the enchanted banks of the Tweed.

ART. III.—1. *London Lyrics.* By FREDERICK LOCKER. New Edition. London: 1874.

2. *The Courtly Poets from Raleigh to Montrose.* Edited by J. HANNAH, D.C.L. London: 1870.

3. *The Poems of Winthrop Mackworth Praed.* With a Memoir by the Rev. DEEWENT COLERIDGE. London: 1864.

4. *The Greek Anthology.* By LORD NEAVES. Edinburgh: 1874.

5. *Lyra Elegantiarum.* A Collection of some of the best Specimens of *Vers de Société* in the English Language. Edited by F. LOCKER. London: 1864.

6. *Two Centuries of Song.* With Critical and Biographical Notes by WALTER THORNBURY. London: 1866.

IN poetry and creative art the ancient world left little or no room in which the modern could demonstrate its superiority. Science has multiplied the appliances for the diffusion of knowledge, and invention has achieved many and extraordinary triumphs, but the individual mind has not shown itself capable of higher flights of imagination than those of the old poets. In these later centuries we have seen but one poet capable of sustaining the mantle of Homer. And the superiority of the ancients is equally undoubted when we consider those slighter efforts in verse which are confessedly of a somewhat ephemeral character, and meant principally to embody only the feelings of the age in which they are written. Horace was the

best writer of light lyrical verse whom the world has seen, while, at the same time, he was something much greater and higher. But regarding him in this passing reference mainly as a poet of society, what higher compliment can we pay to a poet of our own time than to say that he is truly Horatian in spirit, or writes with the Horatian pen? But Horace himself was not the father of this fugitive poetry. The Roman poet acknowledges that Anacreon was its originator; but whether that be so or no, the Anthology is full of excellent examples of it, and the earliest known specimens now in existence were left by the Greeks.

‘Nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,
Delevit ætas; spirat adhuc amor,
Vivuntque commissi calores
Æoliæ fidibus puellæ.’

Great proficiency was attained in all forms of song, the amatory, the didactic, the literary and artistic, the witty and satirical, and others. The poems themselves have occupied the leisure of men of eminence in the modern world, and were ‘favourite objects of study with Erasmus and his friend Sir Thomas More.’ Chesterfield, it is true, denounced the Greek epigrams in his Letters to his son, but against his solitary testimony—which in this matter is of no particular weight—is to be set that of Cowper, Johnson, and many other men of equally opposite temperaments, to whom they were a solace and a delight. Lord Neaves (himself no mean proficient in the art of gay and gaillard rhymes) observes, in his very graceful little volume, that ‘from the time of Martial the epigram came to be characterised generally by that peculiar point or sting, which we now look for in a French or English epigram, and the want of this in the old Greek compositions doubtless led some minds to think them tame and tasteless. The true or the best form of the early Greek epigram does not aim at wit or seek to produce surprise. Its purpose is to set forth in the shortest, simplest and plainest language, but yet with perfect purity and even elegance of diction, some fact or feeling of such interest as would prompt the real or supposed speaker to record it in the form of an epigram; though it is true that, particularly in the later period of epigrammatic writing, these compositions, even among the Greeks, assumed a greater variety of aspect, and were employed as the vehicle of satire or ridicule, as a means of producing hilarity and mirth.’ It would be tedious to trace the gradual developments and changes in this kind of verse from the days of the first Greek

writers to the time of Horace. The latter, however, seems to have conserved many of its best elements, and to have added others which gave him so distinctive a place that, even more than his predecessors in the art, he has become a type for modern poets. His imitators for the most part serve but to denote the painful difference there is between the founder of a style and he who attempts to copy it. Our purpose is not to institute a comparison between the Roman poet's work and that of his successors, but to glance at the songs of those English writers who, taking him to a great extent as their model, have written the verse of passing moods and emotions, and have not attempted that higher branch of poetry which secures the loftiest renown from posterity.

What do we mean by *vers de société* if, with Mr. Locker, we must use a French phrase to denote a thing as old as the English language? They are the expression of common sentiment and common feeling in graceful but familiar rhyme. Poetry of this kind excites in us no wonder, no unwonted excitement; but it pleases us because, apparently without effort, it has translated into verse the ordinary sensations of humanity, those which change with the hour, which are again and again renewed, and which are the property of almost every nature. For instance, when a writer of *vers de société* gives us his impressions of female beauty, they are usually drawn from those points of view which belong to common æsthetics, and not from that hidden deeper spring of beauty which has in it something of the spiritual, and which requires the soul of the true poet rightly to apprehend. The arch smile, the dress, the peach-like bloom of the cheek—these are the things which arrest the eye of the poet of society just as they are the things which strike the vast majority of men.

He who writes of the world must mingle with the world. The most successful and the most brilliant of the school of authors to which we are referring have been those who have lived largely in society; who have studied its movements, its caprices, and its spirit. They have generally been men of ease and observation, and yet men of no settled purpose as regards the expression of their thoughts. They have not so much sought the muse as left the muse to come to them; when she has given them an *à propos* inspiration they have written. The pen has served as a medium to turn a compliment, to secure a fleeting idea, or to enshrine a random reflection. Such an end may seem trivial, but the result in the bulk of these verses has been most abundant. What a glance at contemporary history we obtain from the time of Raleigh down to

our own day through the aid of our minor English poetry! It is as trustworthy as a book of costume, with the addition of a living human interest.

Writers of fugitive verses hang, as it were, upon the skirts of the greater poets of their own time, and all that they do takes a tinge from them. Accordingly, we find that the minor verse of the Elizabethan period possesses a nobler expression and a greater sweetness than that of the nineteenth century, from the fact that it was an echo of that sublime period in English literature. The satellites of Shakspeare, Spenser, and Jonson were likely to emit a stronger radiance than those of Wordsworth, Byron, or Tennyson. The grace of the first writers of this humbler poesy has never been surpassed. With every century there has been a corresponding change between the two kinds of verse, though the age must also be counted as a factor in the production of such general result.

The writing of this poetry, simple as it appears, requires special gifts. In the first place, terseness is an especial requisite. To be verbose in verse which, as it were, flies with the wind, is to fail in the first principle of the art. The best writer of society verse is always happiest when he is concentrated. Light verse written in cantos—unless it took the form of a humorous or satirical narrative like ‘Don Juan’—would fatigue the reader. It is not the highest kind of genius which devotes itself to this work, and the verbosity which we could tolerate, if we could not always enjoy, in the greater writer becomes insufferable in the lesser. The man who writes *vers de société* must have as decided a gift in his own form of expression and conception as the artist who takes a higher rank. To quote the words of Isaac D’Israeli:—‘It must not be supposed that because these productions are concise they have, therefore, the more facility; we must not consider the genius of a poet diminutive because his pieces are so, nor must we call them, as a sonnet has been called, a difficult trifle. A circle may be very small, yet it may be as mathematically beautiful and perfect as a larger one. To such compositions we may apply the observation of an ancient critic, that though a little thing gives perfection, yet perfection is not a little thing. The poet to succeed in these hazardous pieces must be alike polished by an intercourse with the world as with the studies of taste, to whom labour is negligence, refinement a science, and art a nature. Genius will not always be sufficient to impart that grace of amenity which seems peculiar to those who are accustomed to elegant society. . . . These productions are more the effusions of taste than genius,

‘and it is not sufficient that the poet is inspired by the Muse, he must also suffer his concise pages to be polished by the hand of the Graces.’

Steele, who himself regarded Sappho, Anacreon, and Horace as the completest models in this range of verse, was the author of a charming paper in his ‘Guardian,’ which really exhausts the subject. ‘These little things,’ he says, ‘do not require an elevation of thought, nor any extraordinary capacity, nor an extensive knowledge; but then they demand great regularity and the utmost nicety; an exact purity of style, with the most easy and flowing numbers; an elegant and unaffected turn of wit, with one uniform and simple design. Greater works cannot well be without some inequalities and oversights, and they are in them pardonable: but a song loses all its lustre if it be not polished with the greatest accuracy. The smallest blemish in it, like a flaw in a jewel, takes off the whole value of it. A song is, as it were, a little image in enamel, that requires all the nice touches of the pencil, a gloss, and a smoothness, with those delicate finishing strokes which would be superfluous and thrown away upon larger figures, where the strength and boldness of a masterly hand give all the grace.’ This description of what a song should be is extremely felicitous, and covers the ground which we are desirous to include within the scope of the present article. Steele considers the ancient writers whom he names great in the art because they pursue a single thought, whereas the moderns cram too much into one song. Waller occasionally commits this error, while Cowley is defective through a redundancy of wit. The reader is dazzled by the starting of so many trains of thought, whereas a song should be constructed as we would construct an epigram.

The limitation to which we have committed ourselves will forbid an examination of the claims of those who on the Continent first cultivated the art of light versification. But even were the scope widened it would be practically impossible to touch upon the French and Italian writers from the time of the Troubadours and of Ronsard downwards who have attained great proficiency in spontaneous and courtly verse. The two countries named were more prolific in a single age, perhaps, than England has been in the course of three centuries in the production of these writers. But besides their excellency in the construction of songs and lyrics, the Italians perfected another style which finds an admirable exponent in Boiardo, the author of the ‘Orlando Innamorato,’ and in Berni, who is remembered principally for his *Rifacimento* of that celebrated

work. This style is full of episode and description, and although the element of lightness may be often discovered in it, it is scarcely germane to our subject. Boiardo's style was first imitated in this country within the present century by Hookham Frere in 'Whistlecraft,' and afterwards by Byron in 'Beppo,' and 'Don Juan.' But comic epic, or mock heroic poetry, notwithstanding that it possesses the one feature of familiarity common also to lighter verse, is removed from the true subject of this inquiry. In the one we have many trains of ideas started; in the other we have the bending of the energies to the complete grasping and setting forth of one leading thought. So in familiar poetry: 'Don Juan' presents us with a series of pictures, but real fugitive verse expends itself in the perfection of one. The power of improvisation, which was so remarkable a feature of the Italian poetic genius generally, and of the French at certain spasmodic periods, has been almost wholly absent in England. We have no parallel to the court of King René, which swarmed with singers of no mean order and musicians of a sweet and delicate if not powerful melody. We are a heavy and practical, in distinction from a light and sunny race; and our accomplishments in fugitive verse cannot for grace and elegance be ranged in comparison with those of France and Italy. Such as we are, we are, however; and we shall doubtless discover that in other important respects our writers have the superiority over Continental poets.

Arriving now at a consideration of some of the riches of the English literature as regards this attractive class of poetry, let us first devote a brief space to those writers who flourished before the time of Waller. Much of the best verse issued from the versifiers of the sixteenth century and the earlier portion of the seventeenth. In the lyrics of that period we are struck with the especial beauty and sweetness of many whose authorship is unknown. It speaks well for the popular taste, notwithstanding, that though the authors have long since crumbled into dust, their work has been preserved and handed down from generation to generation.

Most of these old poems touch upon the passion of love, and in none has the thought been better conveyed than in Ben Jonson's address to Celia, which, familiar as it is, can never be read without delight:—

'Drink to me only with thine eyes,
And I will pledge with mine;
Or leave a kiss but in the cup
And I'll not look for wine.

The thirst that from the soul doth rise
 Doth ask a drink divine;
 But might I of Jove's nectar sup,
 I would not change for thine.'

A lightness and an intensity are combined here so perfectly as to make the gem complete. The language is of the simplest, is free and unrestrained, and the idea exceedingly pretty. Now and then in these earlier days we light upon verses in which the feeling of melancholy predominates, as in those soft and somewhat sad lines by Carew, which would seem to have been penned after a rebuff sustained at the hands of the cruel fair one :—

'He that loves a rosy cheek
 Or a coral lip admires,
 Or from star-like eyes doth seek
 Fuel to maintain his fires;
 As old Time makes these decay,
 So his flames must waste away.
 But a smooth and steadfast mind,
 Gentle thoughts, and calm desires,—
 Hearts with equal love combined,
 Kindle never-dying fires;
 Where these are not, I despise
 Lovely cheeks, or lips, or eyes.'

It would be a task to scrutinise at length the varied lyrical treasures of the Elizabethan era, as we have received them from the pens of Wither, Sir Henry Wotton, Donne, Cowley, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Robert Ayton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others. Raleigh was a master in the art of verse, though his superiority in other respects has somewhat detracted from his fame in this. Everybody, however, remembers his reply to Marlowe's song of the 'Passionate Shepherd to his Love,' beginning—

'If all the world and love were young,
 And truth in every shepherd's tongue,
 These pretty pleasures might me move
 To live with thee and be thy love.'

Beyond all dispute, the best of the early lyric poets is Robert Herrick, whose verses are flushed with a joyous and tender spirit. He may be styled the Burns of his time, and imbued with something of the reckless soul of our own countryman. Herrick was born in Cheapside in the year 1591, and educated at Cambridge. In 1629 he became vicar of Dean Prior, in Devonshire. The time of the Civil War, however, found him living at Westminster, where he resided also

during the Commonwealth. After the Restoration he came into his vicarage again, but by this time he was an old man, and none the better for his devotion to the convivial company to be found in the London taverns, where he was ever one of the gayest of the gay. He died in 1674, having left behind him some of the sweetest word-music that we possess. Nothing could be more delightful than these verses on the Daffodils:—

‘ Fair Daffodils, we weep to see
 You haste away so soon :
 As yet the early rising sun
 Has not attained his noon.
 Stay, stay,
 Until the hasting day
 Has run
 But to the even-song ;
 And having prayed together, we
 Will go with you along.
 We have short time to stay, as you,
 We have as short a spring ;
 As quick a growth to meet decay
 As you, or any thing.
 We die,
 As your hours do, and dry
 Away
 Like to the summer’s rain ;
 Or as the pearls of morning dew,
 Ne’er to be found again.’

Besides the grace that is inseparable from all Herrick’s compositions, we have here that sympathy with Nature which made good his claim to the title of poet. Flowers, music, woman, all these had their intense and several charms for him, and strangely enough for a middle-aged clergyman he was clearly an amorous and erotic poet. There is a tinge of sensuousness about all that he does, which sometimes exceeds the limits of a later age. But all his poems to Julia are singular for their beauty. Take the Night Piece addressed to her:—

‘ Her eyes the glowworm lend thee,
 The shooting stars attend thee,
 And the elves also,
 Whose little eyes glow
 Like the sparks of fire, befriend thee.
 No Will-o’-th’-wisp mislight thee,
 Nor snake or slow-worm bite thee ;
 But on, on thy way,
 Not making a stay,
 Since ghost there’s none to affright thee.

Let not the dark thee cumber ;
 What though the moon does slumber ?
 The stars of their night,
 Will lend thee their light
 Like tapers clear, without number.
 Then, Julia, let me woo thee,
 Thus, thus to come unto me,
 And when I shall meet
 Thy silvery feet,
 My soul I'll pour into thee.'

The age in which Herrick lived, and in which he wrote such verses as these, was distinguished for its poetic excellence, and its indulgence in fancy and conceit. Another writer to whom slight reference has been made, George Wither, was of the same school as Herrick, and almost his equal in tenderness and delicacy of treatment. Sir John Suckling was also a great master in the art, though he is frequently robbed of his true honours. His Ballad upon a Wedding is one of the most naturally-expressed poems in the language. How these stanzas make us realise the charming being whom he describes!—

' Her feet beneath her petticoat,
 Like little mice, stole in and out,
 As if they feared the light :
 But O ! she dances such a way !
 No sun upon an Easter-day
 Is half so fine a sight.

Her cheeks, so rare a white was on,
 No daisy makes comparison ;
 Who sees them is undone ;
 For streaks of red were mingled there,
 Such as are on a Cath'rine pear,
 The side that's next the sun.

Her lips were red ; and one was thin,
 Compared to that was next her chin,
 Some bee had stung it newly ;
 But, Dick, her eyes so guard her face,
 I durst no more upon them gaze,
 Than on the sun in July.'

We have now glanced sufficiently at this early poetry to apprehend its character by the aid of the examples given. Its great feature is its naturalness. All its similes and its reflections are drawn from outward objects. The close breath of cities does not seem to have tainted the souls of the poets, who revel in flowers, and woods, and meads, which are the springs of laughter, joy, and pathos to them.

We now advance a stage, arriving at the minor poets of the Restoration. While not missing a great portion of the sweetness which belonged to their earlier brethren, we find that their prevailing characteristic is sentiment, sometimes degenerating into exaggeration. The age of Charles II. being famous for its gallantry, the courtly poets fill their pages with an extravagant homage to the women of the day. Now and then the adulatory amatory poetry of Lovelace, Montrose, Rochester, and their *confrères* affects the reader as being what the Americans would describe 'high salutin'; and the point of a compliment is often made absurd by its prodigious unsuitability and extravagance; but in the verse of this period there still remains the genuine ring of song. The cavalier hangs his heart upon his sleeve, and talks loudly enough about it, it is true. He is more than Cupid's follower; he is the little god's very humble slave. There is a certain lightness of touch in Lovelace's ballads that we rarely meet with elsewhere, and his lines written to Althea from prison are 'familiar in our mouths as household words.' He reaches a loftier strain when he serenely asserts in immortal lines that though immured between stone walls he is nevertheless free. Sedley, justly famous for his songs, and as justly infamous for his dissolute character, is the author of the charming lyric, 'Phyllis is my 'only Joy.' Buckingham was a man of a lower order of talent than these, and yet—through the adventitious aid derived from his position at Court—his pieces spread far and wide, though nobody cares for them now. There is no power in them, though there is sometimes a facile execution. Dryden, it will be remembered, described Buckingham in the character of Zimri as one who

' In the course of one revolving moon
Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon.'

He wrote the fashionable verses of his time from an overweening conceit which would not suffer him to be behind his contemporaries, and never stayed to ask himself whether he possessed the necessary gifts. The Earl of Rochester had a more genuine vein; but one cannot avoid the impression that most of the singers of his time had simply a parrot-like title to fame. Sackville, Earl of Dorset, was stronger than any of those just named, and his stirring ballad, 'To all you Ladies 'now on Land,' written the night before an engagement with the Dutch, is as widely known as any of Dibdin's songs. In the navy debates of the House of Commons even in the present year some of its admirable lines were quoted. The effeminacy which so strongly marked the poetry of the time is

completely eliminated from this ballad, which possesses both a fine swing and epigrammatic force.

Edmund Waller, however, has left behind him a name more durable in connexion with this class of poetry than any other man of his century. It is to be hoped he was more constant in his friendships than he was in his politics. Having twanged the lyre, and beautifully too, in praise of Cromwell, he afterwards poured forth congratulatory strains for Charles II. There was no element of greatness in his composition; possessing as much sweetness as Milton, he yet was a perfect contrast to him in all other respects. Compared with the grand old blind poet, he was a rose beside an oak. There was fragrance, but no stability, and he rapidly fell to pieces. Yet even from the dried leaves of the rose, which have been preserved, we can extract pleasant odours. His imagination was not of a striking order, and his verse is more distinguished for its finish than for any other quality; indeed in this respect he has scarcely had an equal since. His 'Go, lovely Rose,' which we have already had occasion to mention, and 'Lines on a Girdle,' are the best specimens we possess of his writing, but these are matchless in their way. Had he owned a larger and more sincere nature we might have had in him a great poet.

We can hardly assign a place amongst these canary-birds to the satanic muse of Swift. He was a bird of prey in comparison with them, and threw too much of passion and hatred into the most playful of his verses to be ranked with such singers. But what force and command of language, of metre, and of rhyme! what a mastery of all he touched! We prefer for our present purpose to take him in his gentlest mood, and to transcribe a few lines to Stella, which might have been written by a man who had not betrayed another woman.

'Stella, say, what evil tongue
 Reports you are no longer young;
 That Time sits with his scythe to mow
 Where erst sat Cupid with his bow;
 That half your locks are turned to grey?
 I'll ne'er believe a word they say.
 'Tis true, but let it not be known,
 My eyes are somewhat dimmish grown:
 For Nature, always in the right,
 To your decay adapts my sight;
 And wrinkles undistinguish'd pass,
 For I'm ashamed to use a glass;
 And till I see them with these eyes,
 Whoever says you have them, lies.

No length of time can make you quit
 Honour and virtue, sense and wit;
 Thus you may still be young to me,
 While I can better hear than see.
 O ne'er may Fortune show her spite,
 To make me deaf, and mend my sight.'

One other name amongst the earlier minor poets must arrest our attention before we come to those of the nineteenth century. In alluding to Matthew Prior, we cannot do better than quote Cowper's words upon our whole subject. 'Every man conversant with verse-making knows, and knows by painful experience, that the familiar style is of all styles the most difficult to succeed in. To make verse speak the language of prose without being prosaic, to marshal the words of it in such an order as they might naturally take in falling from the lips of an extemporary speaker, yet without meanness, harmoniously, elegantly, and without seeming to displace a syllable for the sake of the rhyme, is one of the most arduous tasks a poet can undertake. He that could accomplish this task was Prior. Many have imitated his excellence in this particular, but the best copies have fallen short of the original.' This is a generous tribute, coming as it does from one who was himself no mean adept in the same art. Cowper, though he has much sense and humour, is no match for Prior in this unpretending kind of poetry. The French are more exquisite than ourselves in drawing-room verses, and there is a decided smack of their quality in Prior. It has been remarked of him that he 'drank Burgundy in its own vineyard.' But he was a sad, rollicking dog, this author of 'Solomon,' and exactly after his patron, the Earl of Dorset's, own heart. Prior rose from the humblest rank of life to occupy a position of some importance in the state. He was born at Abbot Street, in Dorsetshire, but early removed with his father to London, who kept a tavern called the 'Rummer Inn,' at Charing Cross, and it was here in the garb of a waiter that Lord Dorset one day discovered the future poet reading Horace. Acting the part of a generous patron, Dorset sent the youth to St. John's, Cambridge, of which college he afterwards became a Fellow. After leaving the university, Prior, in conjunction with Montagu, wrote 'The Town and Country Mouse,' which opened a path for him to the diplomatic service. Promotion was only a question of time, and accordingly we find that during his somewhat chequered existence he filled the offices of Secretary at the Hague, and at the Court of Versailles, and Com-

missioner of Trade. His life was a singular mixture of noble feeling and dissoluteness. Fickle in the extreme, and an easy prey to the wiles of the other sex, he was frequently reduced to the very depths of degradation and poverty. As a writer his longer poems have not many claims to a lasting remembrance; but his shorter pieces justly deserve all the fame they have acquired. They come barely short of perfection; Prior strives hard after obtaining a classic grace and just misses it. As a specimen of the finished character of his verses we cite one of his short odes:—

‘The merchant, to secure his treasure,
 Conveys it in a borrowed name:
 Euphelia serves to grace my measure,
 But Chloe is my real flame.
 My softest verse, my darling lyre,
 Upon Euphelia’s toilet lay—
 When Chloe noted her desire
 That I should sing, that I should play.
 My lyre I tune, my voice I raise,
 But with my numbers mix my sighs;
 And whilst I sing Euphelia’s praise,
 I fix my soul on Chloe’s eyes.
 Fair Chloe blushed: Euphelia frowned:
 I sang, and gazed; I played and trembled;
 And Venus to the Loves around
 Remark’d how ill we all dissembled.’

And thus the poet spent his time between his Chloes and Euphelias, constant to none, but writing charmingly of each. All his poetry has a devil-may-care air about it; it gives the impression that it was written by a man who found himself in a world where there was much that ministers to pleasure, and who meant to suck its sweets to the uttermost. The complete absence of consciousness that life had in it something nobler than animal pleasure deprived his poetry of the high tone which should give a flavour even to light and unpretentious verse. Whenever Bacchus and Venus are the poet’s gods we may look for enervation in his intellectual offspring. That taint of scepticism in his nature of which an eminent French critic writes—and which he declares was transferred to Voltaire, and was not of the latter’s own originating—is apparent in Prior’s lines to his soul:—

‘Poor little, pretty, fluttering thing,
 Must we no longer live together?
 And dost thou prune thy trembling wing,
 To take thy flight thou know’st not whither?’

Thy humorous vein, thy pleasing folly,
 Lie all neglected, all forgot :
 And pensive, wavering, melancholy,
 Thou dread'st and hop'st thou know'st not what.'

Occasionally he had a satirical touch which was very pointed if not great. If he could not stab with the rapier he could prick with the needle. He describes in one of his effusions a remedy that is worse than the disease :—

' I sent for Ratcliffe ; was so ill,
 That other doctors gave me over :
 He felt my pulse, prescribed his pill,
 And I was likely to recover.
 But when the wit began to wheeze,
 And wine had warm'd the politician,
 Cured yesterday of my disease,
 I died last night of my physician.'

Mat. Prior was held in high esteem by the most competent of his contemporaries, with whom he lived on excellent terms. But the judgment upon him must be that he faithfully represented in himself the follies of his time. His verse is flexible, sparkling, and flowing ; at times, but very seldom, it merits higher praise ; yet there was no one in his own day who wrote such verse so well. His views of woman, society, life, and pleasure were those almost of the lowest stratum, though his power over his art was so great that he could frequently counterfeit sentiments of a higher order.

As we approach our own times, Winthrop Mackworth Praed may be said to enjoy the distinction of having hit upon a new vein of poetry, and of having been himself its happiest explorer. Without possessing the highest gifts of the poet, his smoothness and elegance have earned for him a reputation. It is not a little singular that his great ambition should have been to distinguish himself in a very different field from that with which his name is principally associated. We remember him as a subordinate member of Sir Robert Peel's first administration, and as an effective speaker in the House of Commons. His career was cut short by his death from consumption, at a moment when he was beginning to put forth broader and more sympathetic views than those which animated the great bulk of the Conservative party. His spirit was keen and eager, and the great incentive to all he did was the desire to excel. This passion mastered his whole being ; and the momentary earnestness he threw into every successive undertaking was probably instrumental in undermining his constitution. Praed takes us into another atmosphere altogether from that in which Swift

and Prior moved. Even satire had become good-natured and love decorous. We discover no single line which could not be read aloud in the most fastidious circle. Præd has the sweetness of a summer's night, and his wit represents the twinkling of the stars. Yet, in the midst of all his gaiety, in some of his poems a tinge of melancholy seems to indicate a premature weariness of life :—

' I think that very few have sighed
 When Fate at last has found them,
 Though bitter foes were by their side,
 And barren moss around them ;
 I think that some have died of drought,
 And some have died of drinking ;
 I think that nought is worth a thought—
 And I'm a fool for thinking ! '

But, again, he resumes in a more sprightly and hopeful tone :—

' I think that friars and their hoods,
 Their doctrines and their maggots,
 Have lighted up too many feuds,
 And far too many faggots ;
 I think, while zealots fast and frown,
 And fight for two or seven,
 That there are fifty roads to Town,
 And rather more to Heaven.'

The satire of Præd always conveys the impression that it is veiled. The poet is so vivacious, and so longs for all men to be blithe, that he strikes rather with the back of his sword than with its edge. There is the flash of the blade in air, but something arrests its descent—some sudden second impulse in the spirit of him who wields it. From a very early period in life Præd gave himself up to the writing of light and amusing verse, and the magazine he edited at Eton contained much that was choice and sparkling. Macaulay had already shown that these amusements were not unworthy of a man of genius, and his Valentine to Lady Mary Stanhope, written after his return from India, is a capital illustration of the style of verse written by literary men in leisure hours. The stately verse of the Whig historian, as we find it in the 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' is far in advance of any serious poetry written by Præd ; but, on the other hand, the latter excelled his distinguished collaborateur in the poetry of the drawing-room. His work is all executed with a care and minuteness which are very admirable. He knew exactly the precise amount of seriousness to infuse into his lines, and we are never wearied

with too much sermonising. Could there be anything better of its kind than his portrait of 'Quince,' who stands out in bold relief, in pure flesh and blood, with his last words on bidding farewell to the world:—

'My debts are paid—but Nature's debt
Almost escaped my recollection;
Tom! we shall meet again, and yet
I cannot leave you my direction!'

And with what fluency and whimsicality of expression he describes his Vicar!—

'His talk was like a stream which runs
With rapid change from rock to roses;
It slipped from politics to puns;
It passed from Mahomet to Moses:
Beginning with the laws that keep
The planets in their radiant courses,
And ending with some precept deep
For dressing eels or shoeing horses.

He did not think all mischief fair,
Although he had a knack of joking;
He did not make himself a bear,
Although he had a taste for smoking:
And when religious sects ran mad,
He held, in spite of all his learning,
That if a man's belief is bad,
It will not be improved by burning.

And he was kind, and loved to sit
In the low hut or garnished cottage,
And praise the farmer's homely wit,
And share the widow's homelier pottage:
At his approach complaint grew mild,
And when his hand unbarred the shutter,
The clammy lips of fever smiled
The welcome which they could not utter.

This is not poetry to move the world; there is no vehemence of passion in it, but it is true drawing in quiet lines, and more powerful than the mere form of it will suffer to appear. The emotional element was not over-developed in the author or he would sometimes have been able to give to his sketches just that complementary strength which would have made several of them great. If he has not the highest command over the pathetic, however, in a certain flow of humour he is unapproachable. A specimen of this is found in his reminiscences of the old school-days at Eton, where he describes the school

and his school-fellows. He could throw round attachments of this kind an indescribable charm. Another character entitled 'The Belle of the Ball-room,' though not so clever and clearly cut in every line, is more humorous than 'The Vicar.' Even his love verses took a semi-humorous form :—

' Our love was like most other loves ;
 A little glow, a little shiver,
 A rose-bud, and a pair of gloves,
 And " Fly not yet " upon the river :
 Some jealousy of some one's heir,
 Some hopes of dying broken-hearted,
 A miniature, a lock of hair,
 The usual vows—and then we parted.
 We parted ; months and years rolled by ;
 We met again four summers after :
 Our parting was all sob and sigh ;
 Our meeting was all mirth and laughter ;
 For in my heart's most secret cell
 There had been many other lodgers ;
 And she was not the ball-room's belle,
 But only—Mrs. Something Rogers.'

Although Praed's more pretentious poems exhibit considerable taste and the same wonderful facility for rhyming, they are evidently not penned in his most natural vein. Not equal to the music of higher poets they pale still further, and are somewhat dull and heavy reading, when compared with stanzas such as those we have been quoting, and which have in them the sparkle and the fizz of champagne. His serious work has a reminiscence of the same flavour, but the spirit has fled. We are dealing with him only as a writer of fugitive verse, for he is one of the men who will be remembered longer for the trifles in which he succeeded than for the greater undertakings in which he failed. Racy, graphic, witty and brilliant, he was just such a poet as the society in which he moved demanded ; and, as he had a decided scintillation of genius, he was able to endow his fancies with more permanence than it is usual for such verse to attain.

But Praed must not blind us to the merits of other writers contemporary with him who are in danger of passing from recollection. Peacock the novelist, author of 'Headlong Hall' and many other remarkable works, had a decided gift in verse, though he seldom made use of it. His poem of 'Love and Age' is amongst the best of its kind, and may well entitle him to mention here. Now and then his contempt for preconceived notions, and the bitterness of his soul, oozed out, as when he wrote upon the rich and poor :—

'The poor man's sins are glaring;
 In the face of ghostly warning
 He is caught in the fact
 Of an overt act—
 Buying greens on Sunday morning.

The rich man has a cellar,
 And a ready butler by him;
 The poor must steer
 For his pint of beer
 Where the Saint can't choose but spy him.

The rich man is invisible
 In the crowd of his gay society;
 But the poor man's delight
 Is a sore in the sight,
 And a stench in the nose of piety.'

Yet Peacock's nature was too caustic for a writer of light verse. A much better man in this respect was Luttrell, whose social talents were of a high order. He had not the genius of a *Praed*, but at times nevertheless showed much happiness in expression. One could scarcely imagine, for instance, a better or more perfect epigram than this on the distinguished singer, Miss Tree:—

'On this Tree, if a nightingale settles and sings,
 The Tree will return her as good as she brings.'

Luttrell wrote a lengthy poem styled '*Advice to Julia*,' which contains many witty descriptions of life in the upper classes of society, and a most amusing description of London fog and smoke. His '*Ampthill Park*' shows that he possessed no mean powers of poetical description. Of various things which he wrote may be mentioned his verses to Lady Granville, his epigram on Moore's verses being translated into Persian and sung in the streets of Ispahan, and the lines still inscribed in Rogers's arbour at Holland House. On this same arbour it will be remembered Lord Holland penned the pretty conceit—

'Here Rogers sat, and here for ever dwell,
 To me, those "Pleasures" that he sang so well.'

One of Luttrell's efforts was a *tour de force* in rhyming on '*Burnham Beeches*.' Some of the stanzas run as follows:—

'What though my tributary lines
 Be less like Pope's than Creech's,
 The theme, if not the poet, shines,
 So bright are Burnham-beeches.

O'er many a dell and upland walk,
 Their sylvan beauty reaches;
 Of Birnam-wood let Scotland talk,
 While we've our Burnham-beeches.

If sermons be in stones, I'll bet
 Our vicar, when he preaches,
 He'd find it easier far to get
 A hint from Burnham-beeches.

Here bards have mused, here lovers true
 Have dealt in softest speeches,
 While suns declined, and, parting, threw
 Their gold o'er Burnham-beeches.

O ne'er may woodman's axe resound,
 Nor tempest, making breaches
 In the sweet shade that cools the ground
 Beneath our Burnham-beeches.

Hold! though I'd fain be jingling on,
 My power no further reaches—
 Again that rhyme? enough—I've done:
 Farewell to Burnham-beeches.'

It would be idle to recapitulate what Moore has accomplished in the way of light lyrical verse, seeing that his songs are almost as widely known as the language itself. Other poets must be passed over who do not depend upon the lighter achievements for their fame—as Pope, Cowper, Mrs. Browning, Lord Byron, Campbell, Coleridge, Hood, Sheridan, and Rogers. Two names, nevertheless, warrant a slight pause—those of Thackeray and Walter Savage Landor. The former has bequeathed to us two or three pieces of light verse, exquisite of their kind. One is 'The Cane-bottomed Chair,' whose simple description and pathos must have touched all who have read it. Easy, natural, and flowing, it is as good as anything that Præd ever wrote, and has glimpses of endowments which he did not possess. With all his wonderful finish there was not the same width in Præd as in Thackeray; and had he not achieved one of the highest reputations as a novelist, the latter would have gained no inconsiderable place as a singer of every-day life. Imagination was absent in him; but humour, satire, playfulness, tenderness, were abundant. 'The Ballad of Bouillabaisse' might serve as a model of most of these qualities. Its writer shows here, as in other poems, the wonderful attachment he felt for old things, old places, and old faces. His riper genius loved to dwell on characters which were simple-hearted, and through the medium of his verse he

upon us—'Light lyrical verse should be short, elegant, refined, and fanciful, not seldom distinguished by chastened sentiment, and often playful. The tone should not be pitched high, and it should be idiomatic, the rhythm crisp and sparkling, the rhyme frequent and never forced, while the entire poem should be marked by tasteful moderation, high finish, and completeness; for however trivial the subject matter may be, indeed rather in proportion to its triviality, subordination to the rules of composition, and perfection of execution should be strictly enforced. Each piece cannot be expected to exhibit all these characteristics, but the qualities of brevity and buoyancy are essential.' But he concludes these remarks by a confession that his volume may contain a few pieces which 'ought to have been consigned to the dust-bin of immediate oblivion.' That is possible; we cannot commend all alike. The writer of these trifles is in constant danger of falling into triviality or childishness. But if he amuses us we are not disposed to put butterflies on the rack, or to ask of him more than he aspires to give. Mr. Locker is not quite so elegant, perhaps, as his forerunner Præd; he is more sprightly and humorous. Liveliness, and what we should call the humour of surprise, are two of his distinguishing features. These qualities shine in the verses entitled 'Episode in the Story of a Muff.' The reader is kept on the tiptoe of expectation till the very last line, and the revulsion of feeling then experienced is due to a very unexpected stroke of drollery.

'She's jealous! Am I sorry? No!

I like to see my Mabel so,

Carina mia!

Poor Puss! That now and then she draws

Conclusions, not without a cause,

Is my idea.

We love; and I'm prepared to prove

That jealousy is kin to love

In constant women.

My jealous Pussy cut up rough

The day before I bought her muff

With sable trimming.

These tearful darlings think to quell us

By being so divinely jealous;

But I know better.

Hillo! Who's that? A damsel! come,

I'll follow; no, I can't, for some

One else has met her.

What fun! He looks a lad of grace!
 She holds her muff to hide her face;
 They kiss,—the sly Puss!
 Hillo! Her muff—it's trimmed with sable!
 It's like the muff I gave to Mabel! . . .
Good lord, she's MY Puss!

A similar surprise, though not of so humorous a nature, follows the reading of 'The Old Cradle,' which is amongst the lyrics that have deservedly become general favourites. Mr. Locker sees the emptiness of life, and pursues like every poet the unattainable ideal, and yet is able to extract a modicum of enjoyment in the pursuit. The knowledge that things 'are not (exactly) what they seem' is not to be suffered to make him miserable. It cannot, for instance, stop his song—

'If life an empty bubble be,
 How sad for those who cannot see
 The rainbow in the bubble!'

Whatever may be the case with society in the nineteenth century, or a large portion of it, at any rate there is no *blasé* air in Mr. Locker's verses. To read them makes one cheerful, and causes us to lose the sensation of selfishness and isolation which the individual course of life is apt to create. To write with ease and simplicity strains which shall touch the peasant and the peer is no small achievement, and when the poet attains to that he needs no other *raison d'être*. Some writers have not that airy quicksilver spirit which catches momentary impressions of grace and beauty; they are too cold and too severe, and hence their works are not adapted to any mood or any person. The true writer of occasional verse has the advantage of his stronger intellectual brother in this respect. He never comes amiss; his music is ever welcome and refreshing. We do not require him to fill us with awe, to dilate on the grandeur of nature, and to discuss the great problems of life and mind. We ask him to speak to us as a brother, to laugh with us as in the family circle, and, if need be, to mourn with us as a friend. But this poet of society does not always sing with the cap and bells on. Now and then, though very seldom, he must draw from the fount of tears. He will do it tenderly, but it must be done, for life is not made up entirely of either the grave or the gay. He knows that every man has his 'skeleton in the cupboard,' and there is nothing to be gained in blinking the fact. Having, therefore, an unpleasant subject to encounter, but also a most pressing one, this is how he must deal with it:—

' We hug this phantom we detest,
 We rarely let it cross our portals :
 It is a most exacting guest—
 Now, are we not afflicted mortals ?

Your neighbour Gay, that jovial wight,
 As Dives rich, and brave as Hector—
 Poor Gay steals twenty times a night,
 On shaking knees, to see his spectre.

Ah me, the World ! How fast it spins !
 The beldames dance, the caldron bubbles ;
 They shriek, and stir it for our sins,
 And we must drain it for our troubles.

We toil, we groan ; the cry for love
 Mounts upwards from the seething city,
 And yet I know we have above
 A Father, infinite in pity.'

And thus our poet, in his quiet and unobtrusive manner, becomes a moral teacher. The verses we have just quoted are from Mr. Locker's serious poems, and may serve to correct a very prevalent but erroneous notion respecting his poetry. He has acquired so conspicuous a position as a writer of *vers de société* that people are in the habit of speaking of him as though he never wrote anything else. True, if the scope of this class of verse be vastly widened, and in the manner we have indicated, all he has written would come under the definition. But if the narrow, restricted meaning be taken, then there is a side of Mr. Locker's work which has been completely misapprehended. He manifests a vein of much richer quality than is ever witnessed in mere fugitive verse. Thus in 'The Widow's Mite' there is a vein of genuine pathos:—

' A widow—she had only one !
 A puny and decrepit son ;
 But, day and night,
 Though fretful oft, and weak and small,
 A loving child, he was her all—
 The Widow's Mite.

The Widow's Mite—ay, so sustain'd,
 She battled onward, nor complain'd
 Though friends were fewer :
 And while she toil'd for daily fare
 A little crutch upon the stair
 Was music to her.

I saw her then,—and now I see
 That, though resign'd and cheerful, she
 Has sorrowed much :
 She has, He gave it tenderly,
 Much faith ; and carefully laid by,
 A little crutch.'

One other copy of verses we must quote from Mr. Locker before quitting this portion of his writings. 'The unrealized 'Ideal' seems to us not only to be full of a sweet naturalness, but to catch the very echo of regret. It is not unworthy of Schiller or of Heine :—

'My only love is always near,—
 In country or in town
 I see her twinkling feet, I hear
 The whisper of her gown.
 She foots it ever fair and young,
 Her locks are tied in haste,
 And one is o'er her shoulder flung,
 And hangs below her waist.
 She ran before me in the meads ;
 And down this world-worn track
 She leads me on ; but while she leads
 She never gazes back.
 And yet her voice is in my dreams,
 To witch me more and more ;
 That wooing voice ! Ah me, it seems
 Less near me than of yore.
 Lightly I sped when hope was high,
 And youth beguil'd the chase,—
 I follow, follow still ; but I
 Shall never see her face.'

There is not much visible sign of deterioration in the public taste when these and similar true and melodious strains remain popular. In other respects Mr. Locker has one of the best gifts which the writer of this class of verse ought to possess, viz. spontaneity. We do not remember any of his pieces which it was in the least tedious to read. It does not follow, however, that verses which have apparently so spontaneous an air have been written with ease ; on the contrary, they are often produced with the greatest care, and very seldom given forth to the world till they have undergone a long process of elaboration and finish. The most exquisite lyrics of the Poet Laureate, those which from their sweet flow and naturalness

seem to have been most readily composed, are really the productions of intense and constant effort.

In a more sprightly vein Mr. Locker sings:—

‘The world’s a sorry wench, akin
 To all that’s frail and frightful :
 The world’s as ugly, ay, as Sin—
 And almost as delightful !
 The world’s a merry world (*pro tem.*)
 And some are gay, and therefore
 It pleases them, but some condemn
 The world they do not care for.
 The world’s an ugly world. Offend
 Good people, how they wrangle !
 The manners that they never mend,
 The characters they mangle !
 They eat, and drink, and scheme, and plod,
 And go to church on Sunday ;
 And many are afraid of God—
 And more of Mrs. Grundy.’

Mr. Locker’s talent is in harmony with the spirit of the time. He lives so in the age and belongs so much to what is best in its society that he may fairly be remembered and quoted hereafter as a representative of it. His earnestness and sincerity are very marked characteristics, and the genuineness of his song will provide against its extinction. His fancy is chaste and selective, his wit delicate, his style polished and graceful, and it is possible that some of his light fabrics may outlive more stately and solid edifices.

A word remains to be said of other living writers of this class, but there is little that merits a lengthened detention. Just as a passing reference must suffice for second-rate writers in generations which have recently expired—Haynes Bayly, the Hon. W. R. Spencer, Maginn, and others—so must a few sentences suffice for their successors.. Yet, as we pass them by, we must reserve a place for the touching songs of Mrs. Arkwright, whose exquisite voice still vibrates in our ears, whilst some couplets of her composition linger in our memory. The following lines of hers may be new to many readers:—

‘ I used to love the Winter cold,
 And when my daily task was done
 To roll the snowy ball, and hold
 My crystal daggers in the sun.
 How beautiful, how bright !
 How soon they melt away,
 Till drop by drop they vanish quite—
 Ah ! well a day !

And then the Spring, the smiling Spring,
 The flowers, the fruit, the murmuring rill !
 To chase the shadows o'er the hill
 And dance within the fairy ring.
 Ye flowers so bright and gay
 Within the garden wall,
 Ye'll meet again all smiling, all—
 Ah ! well a day !

Untir'd the Summer's heat to bear,
 Beneath the flow'ry load to bend,
 The mimic banquet to prepare,
 And share it with some joyous friend !
 How soon the day is done—
 The longest summer day !
 'Tis morn—'tis noon—'tis set of sun—
 Ah ! well a day !'

The most promising of the younger writers of minor verse is Mr. Austin Dobson, whose 'Vignettes in Rhyme' betoken considerable poetic fancy, though his wit is far inferior to that of Mr. Locker. The following lines, which are a fair example of Mr. Dobson's style, are taken from his poem suggested by a chapter in Mr. Theodore Martin's 'Horace':—

“HORATIUS FLACCUS, B.C. 8,”
 There's not a doubt about the date,—
 You're dead and buried :
 As you remarked, the seasons roll ;
 And 'cross the Styx full many a soul
 Has Charon ferried,
 Since, mourned of men and Muses nine,
 They laid you on the Esquiline.

• • • • •
 Ours is so far-advanced an age !
 Sensation tales, a classic stage,
 Commodious villas !
 We boast high art, an Albert Hall,
 Australian meat, and men who call
 Their sires gorillas !
 We have a thousand things, you see,
 Not dreamt in your philosophy.

• • • • •
 Science proceeds, and man stands still ;
 Our “ world ” to-day's as good or ill,—
 As cultured (nearly),
 As yours was, Horace ! You alone,
 Unmatched, unmet, we have not known.'

The author of the 'Carols of Cockayne' is deserving of men-

tion for his humour and observation; but the writer of 'The 'Bab Ballads' scarcely comes under our category; his effusions partake too much of the character of broad farce. Mr. Calverley, again, whose parodies are very close and very clever, belongs to that school whose best exponents were James and Horace Smith, the incomparable authors of 'Rejected Addresses.' Mr. Mortimer Collins is a much nearer approach to what we require, but he has by no means done such good work as was expected of him. Lord Lytton's 'Fables in Song' deserve to occupy a higher rank in poetry than such lyrics as form the subject of this article. They are full of thought—sometimes overburdened with it; but they have a graceful facility of versification which entitles their author to rank with the most cultivated poets of the day.

The question may be asked, of what use is this Horatian poetry? but we apprehend it will be its own justification in the eyes of most lovers of the poetic art. The brooklet is not so imposing as the mighty river to which it is tributary, but its music may be as sweet and true. Men cannot always be climbing the magnificent passes of the Alps, but in the absence of sublime scenery does not the trimly-cut and ordered garden present many points of attraction? Thus, all singers have their proper seasons and uses. The minor poets unquestionably flourish best in seasons of national prosperity, not in those of stirring events. They are satisfied with what the world has to offer them, though in the best of them there is a strain of genuine regret, testifying that this is not sufficient to satisfy the cravings of the soul. In all the excellent writers of Venustian verse whom we have named may be perceived the shade of melancholy, which lends an additional charm to their gaiety. With the deeper questions of the heart they very rarely intermeddle. If they can touch the springs of laughter and emotion in others they receive their reward. These poets, however, have yet something to learn: England has its Shakspeare but not its Horace. To write Horatian verse successfully requires all the earnestness and devotion which the greater poet exhibits in another field. But even these trifles are not without their use and their charm, for they may be accepted by posterity as a faithful commentary upon contemporaneous events, life, and manners. Who knows but that through their aid in some distant era the stranger in our deserted gates may obtain some glimpses of our nineteenth-century civilisation; just as we now, with Horace or Martial for our friend and guide, may walk through the streets and converse with the denizens of ancient Rome?

ART. IV.—1. *Statistique de la France. Résultats généraux du Dénombrement de 1872.* Imprimerie Nationale. Paris: 1874.

2. *Récensement de la Population de la France en 1872.* Par M. RAUDOT, Député de l'Yonne. Paris: 1874.

THE Census of France is taken every five years, and not, like that of the United Kingdom, at decennial periods. But on the last occasion the war and the disturbances which followed it interrupted the ordinary course of these inquiries, and an interval of six years elapsed between the census of 1866 and the census of 1872. It will be in the recollection of our readers that we have more than once adverted to former returns of the same nature, and endeavoured to draw from their instructive pages some general inferences as to the social and political state of France. Those inferences were not of a favourable character; for it was contrary to all experience and calculation that an industrious nation inhabiting a very fertile and by no means over-peopled country should increase in numbers more slowly than any other people in Europe; that the annual draft of military conscription should be so large as sensibly to affect the natural proportion of marriages and births; and while the rural population in many departments was not increasing, but rather diminishing, that a stream of emigration should still be flowing from the rural districts to the large towns, whose population is steadily increasing at the expense of the country. These facts appeared to us, and to the French writers by whom they were carefully examined and fairly discussed, to indicate the existence of a vicious and unwholesome state of society; and subsequent accounts have proved that these judgments were not exaggerated.

It is well known that the thrift and slow increase of the French people were long upheld by economists of the Malthusian school, and especially by Mr. John Stuart Mill, as an example highly conducive to the happiness, welfare, and, we suppose, to the morality of mankind. The time is not very distant when over-population was the bugbear of economists and statesmen, to be resisted by any means and at any cost; and no doubt, *all things remaining the same* while population increases, the fears of Mr. Malthus would not be vain. But things do not remain the same. The improvement of agriculture, the application of capital and machinery even to a small territory, have demonstrated the possibility of maintaining a vast increase of population upon it; at a certain level, emigration to

new lands carries off a large portion of the surplus; and the truth seems to be that hardly any limit can be assigned to the beneficial increase of population as long as the productive resources of the country increase in the same ratio. On the other hand, it may be inferred that where population decreases on a fertile soil, the productive resources of the country (which comprise all the elements of its prosperity and power) are not in growth. Nobody who knows anything of the natural resources of France can doubt that the territory of that country could, with great advantage, support a far larger population. The state of agriculture is still extremely backward. The subdivision of landed property among peasants of scanty capital is adverse to high farming; and the disposition of the rural population is rather to seek to render their existing circumstances tolerable than to improve them.

But if these considerations suggest themselves to the mind on a general survey of the condition of France, the census now before us, which was taken in 1872, has very peculiar claims on our notice. It presents to us, in the irrefragable shape of arithmetic, the effects upon the population of the great convulsion through which the French nation passed between the years 1866 and 1872. It shows the actual cost in human life of those deplorable scenes of foreign and of civil war; and it demonstrates that the effect of these calamities in checking the natural progress of population is even greater and more disastrous than the waste of life caused by war and exceptional disease. These facts are indeed of a most extraordinary character; and although figures and statistics are not usually attractive to the reader, we think we can promise those who will take the trouble to accompany us through a succinct *résumé* of these returns, that they will learn some facts which will surprise them. We borrow them from the official record published by the Minister of the Interior, and we shall avail ourselves of the labours of M. Raudot to complete our analysis. We have had occasion to quote this gentleman once or twice before. He is an upright and patriotic member of the Assembly, who has had the courage to point out for the last twenty years to what ends the legislation and the excesses of the French revolution are gradually bringing the country; though, like Cassandra, nobody chooses to listen to or believe him.

The total population of France at the time of the census of 1866 was 38,192,064, including the forces by sea and land at home and abroad; in 1872, it had fallen to 36,102,921, the diminution being 2,089,143. It appears however, from the

returns that the population of the districts of Alsace and Lorraine ceded to the German Empire was 1,597,238; so that the actual decrease in the population of the territory of France is 491,905—or, as we may say in round numbers, *half a million of men in six years*, or 1·29 per cent. of the whole people.* If the population had gone on to increase in the ratio of the preceding period between the census of 1861 and 1866, which was 130,650 per annum, the total augmentation in six years would have been 816,900. The difference between what might have been, even at that low rate of progress, and what is, amounts to nearly 1,300,000 lives. These figures are taken from the official returns; those quoted by M. Raudot are rather lower. But even this statement does not include the whole of the case. This estimate includes 126,243 Alsations who gave their option to remain French, and also 740,668 foreigners residing in France.

We may here observe in passing that the number of foreigners in France has increased by 85,000 since 1866, in spite of a notable diminution of 62,000 Germans formerly settled in France, but who have now left it. The Spaniards have increased by 20,000, in consequence of the disturbed state of their own country. The Belgian emigrants amount to no less than 347,000, the English in France to 26,000, and of these three-fifths are females, owing probably to the number of Englishwomen sent to France for their education.

The fact of the large decrease of the general population of France in these six years is confirmed by M. Raudot from collateral evidence. Thus he shows that between 1867 and 1871 the number of deaths was 5,075,397, the number of births 4,704,817, the difference being 368,580.

It is natural to suppose that this enormous and unprecedented decline in the population of a great nation which has taken place whilst other nations of an equal or even inferior number of inhabitants are increasing at the rate of about 250,000 a year, is mainly attributable to the loss of life caused by war and revolution. But this inference must not be hastily adopted, more especially for two reasons.

In the first place, the decrease of population is by no means

* It is probable (though there are no means of ascertaining the fact) that in the last years of the Second Empire, from 1867 to 1870, the population continued to increase slowly in the same proportion as in the preceding quinquennial period. If that was so, it only renders the fall and the decline of the subsequent years more astonishing and rapid.

confined to those departments or provinces of France which suffered most by the war. In fact it is general; there are only thirteen departments out of eighty-six in which any increase took place—the Allier, Aveyron, Bouches-du-Rhône (Marseilles), Creuse, Gironde (Bordeaux), Loire, Loire-Inférieure, Marne, Nord, Pas de Calais, Pyrénées Orientales (Spanish immigration), Seine (Paris). In the capital the augmentation was 55,436; and it will be remarked that most of these departments contain large towns which draw the rural population to them from the country. This is especially the case with Paris, where no doubt the loss of life from the siege and the war of the Commune was very large; but the deficit was promptly supplied from other quarters. The Nord, the Marne, the Loire, and the Seine were all departments devastated by war and occupied by the enemy; yet in them some increase has taken place. Throughout the remaining seventy-three departments the reverse is the case—there is an all but universal decline. Strange to say, the departments in which this decline is most strongly marked are some of the most prosperous of the agricultural provinces of France, and inhabited by the most vigorous population. Thus the department of the Manche loses 29,261, or 5·17 of its population; the Eure loses 16,683, or 4·24; the Orne, 16,733, or 4·03; Calvados loses 21,240, or 4·48. These are the richest departments of Normandy, which were but slightly affected by the war or by other untoward circumstances. The Haute-Saône (Burgundy) loses 14,426, or 4·56 of its inhabitants; the Dordogne, 22,508, or 4·49; the Sarthe, 17,081, or 3·69. These are all departments of remarkable fertility, containing few large towns, and they were not the scene of important military operations. Thirty departments were invaded by the German armies; fifty-six were not. But of these fifty-six departments forty-four have lost a population of 319,841, whilst twelve have gained 41,623—balance of loss in the non-invaded departments 268,218 souls. These departments have therefore lost at least as many of their inhabitants as those which were invaded or revolutionised.

But, in the second place, it is worthy of remark that the progressive decline here indicated is not confined to the male sex, which is chiefly, if not solely, exposed to the perils of war. In 1866, it was shown by the census of that year that the excess of the female over the male population (a fact which, as is well known, is constant in all countries) was 37,244, or about 1 per cent. In 1872, it proved that the excess of females over males was 137,899. Females had decreased from

18,253,550 in 1866 to 18,120,410—difference 133,140; males had decreased from 18,216,306 in 1866 to 17,982,511 in 1872—difference 233,795. Hence it appears that the loss of life in the male sex has exceeded the loss of life in the female sex, in these six years, by about 100,000. That figure may be taken as an approximation to an estimate of the number of men who perished by war, or by causes from which women are exempt; but, as will be observed, it accounts for a mere fraction of the deficiency. The conclusion, therefore, is that the late war cannot be regarded as the direct cause of the great decline of the population. But it is not the less certain that the war operated, from indirect as well as direct causes, a frightful destruction of life.

The average number of deaths in France from 1861 to 1866 was 865,513 per annum. In the last six months of 1870 (the war began in July), it rose to 545,666, and in the first six months of 1871 to 764,013—total in the twelve months from July 1870 to July 1871, 1,309,679, or 444,166 above the average of former years. It must, however, be added that the mortality of France in 1868 and 1869 and the first six months of 1870 was somewhat above the average, and apparently tended to increase. The actual loss of life by the war and the Commune was unquestionably large. We ourselves have heard M. Thiers say, 'En entrant à Paris nous avons enterré 20,000 cadavres.'

At the same time, a notable decrease occurred in the number of births. The average number of births in France for many years had been somewhat in excess of a million, though strangely enough, before the fall of the Empire, in 1868, 1869, and 1870, it fell to about 950,000. But in 1871 it fell at once to 821,121, or nearly 200,000 below the maximum of prosperous years. In those dark and dreadful months which marked the close of 1870 and the commencement of 1871, men and women were not married or given in marriage; and the population was checked, not only by the destruction of adult life on the field of battle or the barricades of Paris, but at its source.

If we were engaged in a comparison of the population of France with that of the United Kingdom or of Germany, it would be necessary to take into account the prodigious emigration from these countries, which contributes to lessen the inconvenience of a too rapid increase of population, and adjusts the balance between the consumers and the producers of a country. In Germany, especially, the dread and hatred of universal military service, which has largely increased since

Prussia has engaged in foreign wars for the promotion of her political objects, and has acquired the supreme command of all the German armies, have stimulated emigration to an alarming extent, and the German Government has adopted the most rigorous measures (though in vain) to prevent the escape of those of its subjects who have not fulfilled the obligations of military service.

But in France the question of emigration does not arise. The French of the present century have entirely lost that spirit of adventure which once explored and peopled Lower Canada and the mouths of the Mississippi with a vigorous and enduring race, held several of the finest sugar islands, and disputed the British power in India. The true spirit of colonial enterprise expired in France with the old Monarchy, and indeed had been declining throughout the eighteenth century. Algeria, as a colony, has been a most costly and abortive experiment; after forty-four years of occupation, there are only 130,000 French settlers or inhabitants in the whole country. For, says M. Raudot, 'except on certain points there is no excess of population in France. Indeed, in many districts, the inhabitants are insufficient, because wanting hands, intelligence, and capital, the badly cultivated soil yields no adequate produce. It is France herself which, in many parts of her territory, requires to be colonised.' It may here be added from the returns that in 1866 the proportion of the population of France to the territory was 70·10 to the square kilomètre; but in 1872, in consequence of the loss of the populous districts of Alsace and Lorraine, and the general decrease we have pointed out, it had fallen to 68·30 the square kilomètre.

The only form of emigration which takes place in France is the constant flow of the rural population to the towns and cities, and this goes on regularly enough. It explains to a certain extent the decrease of the former and the increase of the latter. Thirty years ago the rural population stood to the urban population in a proportion of three-quarters to one-quarter; it now stands in the proportion of two-thirds to one-third—a very marked change to have taken place in so short a period.

The returns of this census furnish us with another curious statement as to the numbers of each family or household, including, we presume, both children and servants. The average number of persons in a French family is only 3·71; but this varies exceedingly in different parts of the country, and varies in an inverse ratio to their prosperity, intelligence, and, we must add, irreligion. Thus the department of Finisterre is at

the head of the list, with its Celtic, Catholic, and poverty-stricken population; next come the Côtes du Nord, the Landes, Morbihan, La Creuse, Savoy, and Cantal, with families of 5 or 4·50 members. They are the poorest departments of France. The wealthy departments of the centre and the south come down to 3·50; and the metropolitan department of the Seine ends the list with 2·71. The advocates and partisans of limited population point to this fact in support of their theory that poverty and an excess of population go together, and, that the one contributes to perpetuate the other. But, as we have seen, there is no excess of population in France; there is, on the contrary, a deficiency, and any local redundancy can easily find employment elsewhere. We think, therefore, that poor Finisterre renders a greater service to the nation of which it forms a humble part, by increasing the number of families and the numbers of each family, than the large cities which attract and devour the population of the land.

A few more not unimportant or uninteresting facts may here be added. It appears from the educational return of this census that thirty-hundredths, or nearly one-third, of the population of France are totally destitute of education—that is, they can neither read nor write. But this statement is in truth too favourable, for it is based on the general average of instruction throughout the country. In the eastern departments which abut on Germany and Switzerland, the rate of instruction is creditably high; thus in Franche-Comté (Doubs) only 7 per cent. of the population are uneducated; in French Lorraine (Meurthe), 8; in the Jura, 9; in the Vosges, 10; in the capital (Seine), 11. But as we recede from the German frontier into central and western France, the amount of ignorance becomes amazing. Even in Berry (Cher), it is 57 per cent.; in the highly democratic department of the Allier 52 per cent.; in Catholic Brittany (Vendée, Morbihan, and Finisterre), from 50 to 56 per cent.; on the frontier of Spain (Ariège), 53 per cent.; and in the Limousin (Haute-Vienne) 61·8 per cent. Thus there are many parts of France in which more than half the population are wholly untaught, and some in which nearly two-thirds are in this state. These facts are of deadly import to the power and resources of a country, and especially a country in which universal suffrage by the votes of these totally uneducated citizens has been made the basis of political government. In truth this circumstance alone suffices to explain the vice, the weakness, and the deception of a structure—whether it be an Empire or a Republic—based on such a foundation, and it places France at an enormous disad-

vantage in a contest with the most highly educated people of Europe. Lord Brougham said, nearly half a century ago, 'The schoolmaster is abroad;' but in this our day the schoolmaster is in arms. It is curious to contrast with this amount of dense ignorance the very large numbers of the clerical population of France. She has no less than 52,148 of the secular clergy, 13,102 brethren or monks of the regular orders, and 84,300 sisters and nuns, in all nearly 150,000 persons who have taken holy orders or vows. The regulars include, of course, the brothers of the Christian doctrine and the Sisters of Charity. The clerical strength of France is therefore nearly one half of her entire military strength; but we cannot congratulate the Church militant on the results of its warfare against ignorance and superstition. The number of Protestants in France has been materially diminished by the loss of Alsace; they now amount to only 580,000.

It appears that 52 per cent. of the whole population of France live by agriculture; 24 per cent. are artisans; 8 per cent. live by trade. But we learn (which surprises us) that 6 per cent., or more than two millions of Frenchmen, including their families and servants, live exclusively on their incomes, without any profession or calling at all. In this number are included no less than 55,571 *concierges*, or door porters of large houses.

We might pursue these details a good deal further, for, in point of minuteness of execution, this census of France is far more complete than our own. Thus we learn that France, in 1872, had 2,882,851 horses, with half a million of asses, and 300,000 mules; about eleven millions of oxen, twenty-five millions of sheep, five millions of pigs, two millions and a quarter of dogs, fifty-eight million fowls, and 2,389,543 *hives of bees*—further in enumeration it is hardly possible to go.

Our object, however, has been merely to lay these facts succinctly before our readers, because they appear to us to be very curious and instructive. A very long sermon might be preached on such a text; for the census certainly furnishes us with the safest possible evidence, both positive and relative, as to the true state of the nation. We shall confine ourselves to a few remarks on the probable causes and effects of these ascertained facts. It cannot be doubted that the war of 1870, and the convulsions and general insecurity which have followed it, did produce a very marked and unfavourable effect on the population of France by the actual loss of life, and still more by checking marriages and births. But this exceptional fact would not suffice to explain so large a result. There are

other social causes at work, which lead to the extraordinary conclusion that of the seventeen principal states of Europe France is that in which population increases most slowly, and in which there is the lowest proportion of births. The population of the United Kingdom and of Prussia, at its present rate of increase, doubles itself in 55 years, that of France in 183. We take it as proved that in the bulk of the population of France there exist a strong desire to limit the number of children born to each marriage, and a great indifference to the advantages of education. Both these tendencies may be traced to the extreme subdivision of property by the operation of fixed laws of succession. The French peasant is passionately attached to his nook of land, and willingly devotes his entire life, with inconceivable industry, to the cultivation of it. But the law subdivides it at his death; if his family be numerous, the fractions are minute, or rather the land must be sold and the produce divided. The hereditary principle of the transmission of property is deeply rooted in the heart of man, but the democratic principle of compulsory subdivision is opposed to it. The only mode of gratifying the one without violating the other is to limit the family. One son goes into the church to escape conscription and marriage, another into the army; one hundred and fifty thousand persons have taken vows of celibacy; and everything tends to check the multiplication of those who are to divide the cake. The non-landed proletariat, who live by wages, migrate from the rural districts to the towns, where the proportion of marriages is remarkably small; and the land, or at least a considerable portion of it, remains in the hands of the small proprietor, whose sole object in life is to keep and cultivate what belongs to him. His wants are bounded by a narrow scope. To him education is worthless, and improvements hateful. Democracy, which produces in towns and cities so many elements of disorder and instability, subsides, in a purely rural community, into stagnation and a very low level of human existence. It is opposed to enterprise and jealous of superiority; a country in which these elements preponderate would inevitably fall behind in the competition of the world and the struggle for existence, which affects nations and races of men as powerfully as it affects the growth or variety of species of animals and plants. That these causes are inherent in the laws which regulate property in France, and especially in the tenure of land, appears to us to be demonstrated by the fact that they operate with greater intensity in the richer agricultural departments than in the poorer ones.

As to the effects of these changes, we cannot for a moment admit that a country of boundless fertility and resources, which alone in Europe presents the phenomenon of a decline in the population combined with a very low standard of public instruction, is in a healthy or progressive condition. The laws or social circumstances, whatever they be, which tend to this result, must be bad laws. They may in some cases tend to improve the condition of the individual. It is not disputed that the average duration of life in France is high, and is increasing, though not as yet by the introduction of any extensive system of sanitary measures. The people are far better fed than they were in the last century, and a considerable accumulation of wealth is going on, due rather to the extreme frugality of the people than to their energy. But these facts do not compensate for the collective loss of a scanty population. The want of hands may cause a rise of wages to the advantage of those who receive them; but it not the less certainly occasions a loss to the community by the diminution and increased cost of productive power. The same reasoning applies to the elements of military strength. The system of modern armies on the Continent is a tremendous and permanent drain on the population. There are in France at present but 2,800,739 men between the ages of twenty and thirty; if the army be rated at 400,000 men, every seventh man in the country (or 14 per cent.) between these ages must be serving in it, and in the event of war the proportion would be doubled. These hateful military institutions carry off a seventh of the youthful adult population from their homes—that is, from productive industry and from domestic life—exactly at the period of life when they are most useful. The picture is a gloomy one, for the efforts made to arm and strengthen the country against its foreign enemies tend, by a vicious circle, to weaken it internally by the diminution of its population and productive resources; and it is possible that the latent causes indicated by the returns of this census may be more deeply and permanently injurious to the strength and welfare of a nation than the cost of unsuccessful war and the horrors of invasion.

- ART. V.—1. *On the Re-discovery of Biela's Comet.* By M. KLINKERFLUES. 'Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society.' London: 1873.
2. *Alcuni risultate preliminari tratte dalle osservazioni di Stelli caduti.* By G. V. SCHIAPARELLI. Milan: 1870.
3. *The Fuel of the Sun.* By W. MATTIEU WILLIAMS, F.C.S. London: 1870.
4. *Account of Donati's Comet of 1858.* By G. BOND. Cambridge, United States: 1858.
5. *The Comets; a Descriptive Treatise.* By J. R. HIND. London: 1852.
6. *Cometographie.* By A. W. PINGRÉ. Paris: 1783.

THE large comet of the present year, which so graciously displayed itself among the other out-of-door illuminations at the garden fête of the Royal Botanical Society on July 8, most strikingly and admirably illustrated the marvellous impetuosity with which these luminaries sweep round the sun, when they make what is termed their Perihelion Passage of near approach. This comet was first seen in the telescopes of the Marseilles Observatory, by Coggia, in the middle of April; and at that time had the aspect of an inconspicuous cloudy speck, barely perceptible upon the midnight sky. It then came rushing in through the deep empyrean that lies towards the stars of the Camelopard, until by the middle of June it loomed into the range of unassisted vision, with about the light of one of the faintest of those stars. By the end of the first week in July it was a bright object, with a brilliant tail, even in the strong summer twilight, one third of the way up above the northern horizon, but settling down rapidly towards it, and into the sunset glare. In another eight days it had plunged into the solar blaze, leaving its tail only streaming up into sight towards the stars of the Great Bear, and was hastening on towards its vanishing point in the southern constellation of the Chameleon, where it was to disappear from human observation some time in the month of September. It was quite possible for even an unastronomical observer to follow the flight of this beautiful visitant, and apprehend the technical method of its movements, as it thus came in at a rush from the starry spaces of the north, swept widely and grandly down in its broad curve between the earth and the sun, and was lost in the far south as it shot out again into the immensity there. As the comet made this brilliant descent through the

twilight of the summer sky, it moved with ever-increasing impetuosity towards its final plunge into the glare of the horizon. In twenty days from June 25 it drifted through twenty-five degrees of the sky, and in the next ten days it accomplished an arc of fifty degrees; that is, a span of the heavens as wide again. On one clear night in the middle of July it was blazing bright and high in the north-western twilight. Three or four cloudy nights followed, and held the comet concealed in their screens of mist, and when these clouds were withdrawn from the sky it was gone. At the time that it thus dipped through the portals of the horizon it was about thirty millions of miles from the earth, and, in round numbers, about as far again from the sun; that is, it was one third of the way on towards the sun when it turned its back upon the earth. The comet swept down from north to south almost along the line of a meridian, curving out the convexity of its sweep to the earth.

But the bright comet which appeared just below the belt of the constellation of Orion in 1843 accomplished its perihelion passage in a yet more impetuous and marvellous way. It passed within sixty thousand, instead of within sixty millions, of miles of the sun's flaming surface, and in doing so it swept through an arc of 292 degrees *in a single day*, leaving something less than a third part of a similar curve to be performed in all the remaining part of its journey, assuming that that journey lay in an elliptical orbit. It came round from behind the sun, and passed back in front of it, within the lapse of twenty-four hours; and on the following day it was seen in full daylight, not more than six of the sun's breadths away from its face. Sir John Herschel, in alluding to the very near approach to the sun made by this comet, pointed out that it must have been, at the instant, exposed to heat *forty-seven thousand times* more intense than the earth ever experiences. It passed, however, through this scorching ordeal with a velocity of 366 miles per second, which carried it well through the fiercest blaze of the appulse within a couple of hours.

The remarkable comet of 1843 also accomplished another marvellous feat at that same instant of time. It carried with it, at its perihelion passage, a very splendid tail, not less than 150 millions of miles long, and therefore stretching out from the head of the comet nearly as far again as the earth is away from the sun! Now it is an infallible attribute of comet-nature to deal with its tail after a fashion of its own. It carries it spread out conveniently and appropriately behind as it approaches the sun, and then, when it has got to its

nearest, it suddenly brandishes the tail round, and pushes it out before it as it moves off from the sun. The tail assumes the position of what has been very expressively and appositely termed a 'negative shadow;' that is, a beam of light, instead of a shadow of darkness, cast out from the sun behind the comet's head. As the comet moves past the great luminary, it sweeps round its tail as a sword may be conceived to be held out at arm's length, and then waved round the head, from one side to the opposite. But a sword with a blade 150 millions of miles long must be a somewhat awkward weapon to brandish round after this fashion. Its point would have to sweep through a curve stretching out more than 600 millions of miles; and, even with an allowance of two hours for the accomplishment of the movement, the flash of the weapon would be of such terrific velocity that it is not an easy task to conceive how any blade of connected material substance could bear the strain of the stroke. Even with a blade that possessed the coherence and tenacity of iron or steel, the case would be one that it would be difficult for molecular cohesion to deal with. But that difficulty is almost infinitely increased when it is a substance of much lower cohesive tenacity than either iron or steel that has to be subjected to the strain.

There would be at least some mitigation of this difficulty if it were lawful to assume that the substance which is subjected to this strain was not amenable to the laws of ponderable existence; if there were room for the notion that comets and their tails, which have to be brandished in such a stupendous fashion, were sky-spectres, immaterial phantoms, unreal visions of that negative shadow kind which has been alluded to. This, however, unfortunately is not a permissible alternative in the circumstances of the case. The great underlying and indispensable fact that the comet comes rushing up towards the sun out of space, and then shoots round that great centre of attraction by the force of its own acquired and ever-increasing impetuosity; the fact that it is obedient through this course to the law of elliptical, or to speak more exactly of conic-section, movement, permits of no doubt as to the condition of materiality. The comet is obviously drawn by the influence of the sun's mass, and is subservient to that all-pervading law of sympathetic gravitation that is the sustaining bond of the material universe. It is ponderable substance, beyond all question, and held by that chain of physical connexion which it was the glory of Newton to discover. If the comet were not a material and ponderable substance it would not gravitate

round the sun, and it would not move with increasing velocity as it neared the mighty mass until it had gathered the energy for its own escape in the enhanced and quickened momentum. In the first instance the ready obedience to the attraction, and then the overshooting of the spot from which it is exerted, combine to establish the comet's right to stand ranked at least amongst the ponderable bodies of space.

But comets are, beyond this, distinguished members of the ponderable confraternity on the ground of *size*. Anyone who has approached towards a really effective notion of what the enormity of the distance is that extends between the earth and the sun—a vast chasm that it would take the ordinary travelling speed of the railway more than three centuries to cross—and who has connected with this notion the statement already made in a preceding page that comets have been seen with tails trailed out into space nearly as far again as the earth is from the sun—will be quite prepared to admit that such must be the case. The head of the comet of 1811 measured 127,000 miles across, and the coma or external investment 643,000 miles. A body with such ample dimensions has, therefore, a good claim to be ranged among the giants, at least, of the system. It is not necessarily, however, as potent or influential as it is big. The distinction is one of size, rather than of power, as will presently be further shown.

The illustrious author of the Theory of Universal Gravitation conceived the idea, as a part of his grand system, that these giant luminaries of the sky were really ponderable bodies, moving in elliptical orbits about the sun, and remarked that they should be seen returning at regular periodical intervals to pay their obeisance to the great ruling orb of the system. It remained, however, for Edmund Halley, the second in the series of the distinguished men who have acted as the Astronomers Royal of England, and who happily was intimately associated with Newton in his labour of publishing the 'Principia,' to prove the truth of this sagacious conception. Halley undertook to examine the circumstances under which some of the most remarkable of the earlier comets had been observed, and in doing so dealt first with the records of twenty-four well-known and well-authenticated visitants, and he soon came to the conclusion that three of the records referred to only one body; that, namely, which described a comet seen by Appian in 1531; that which related to a comet seen by Kepler in 1607; and that which gave the elements of a comet watched by himself with much interest in 1682. He

unhesitatingly announced that these were all instances of the return of one and the same luminary which was revolving in a very elongated ellipse about the sun, and which presented itself at these particular times within the range of human observation. By a subsequent extension of his investigation he found that there were conspicuous comets also seen in the years 1305, 1386, and 1456, which most probably were only earlier returns of the same visitant. There were slight irregularities in the periodic returns of these comets, but such only as seemed to Halley to prove, rather than to invalidate, his conclusion, because under the circumstance of the universality of gravitation it would only be in accordance with proper rule that there should be incidental augmentation and retardation of pace caused by the perturbing influence of planetary or other bodies that chanced to be near the course of the comet's movement. If the period of the planet Saturn were disturbed to the extent of several days by the influence of the neighbouring planet Jupiter, 'how much more liable to 'derangement,' to use Halley's own words, 'must a comet be 'whose excursion into space was four times greater than that of 'Saturn, and whose orbit was so eccentrically drawn out that 'if the velocity of the traveller were increased by the 120th 'part of its value, the elliptic course would be changed into 'a parabola!' Upon a final review of the whole argument, and taking into consideration the fact that the influence of Jupiter would of necessity be exerted in retarding the return of the comet, Halley ventured to prophesy that the same luminary should return into the range of human vision after another revolution of between seventy-five and seventy-six years, and that it should therefore be again seen from the earth at the end of 1758, or at the beginning of 1759.

Halley assumed the labours of Astronomer Royal at Greenwich at the advanced age of sixty-four years, in order that he might himself carry through a task which he had entered upon in the interests of astronomical science; namely, the uninterrupted observation of the movements of the moon through an entire cycle of its revolutions, which must occupy about nineteen years; and it is a notable fact in the annals of astronomy that the veteran observer accomplished this task notwithstanding the strength of the chances against his doing so. He ruled over the instrumental work of the Royal Observatory for a period of twenty-two years, and therefore saw the moon well through its round of recurring phases. He was less fortunate, however, in regard to the movements of his comet. He died in the beginning of the year 1742, when

the comet was still sixteen years' travel away from its predicted return. The anticipated visit was, nevertheless, not lost sight of. Astronomers looked anxiously forward to it at the appointed time. In 1757, as the anticipated visit approached, the French mathematicians Clairaut and Lalande undertook the more exact investigation of the probable influences of Jupiter and Saturn upon the movements of the comet, and they arrived at the conclusion that these planets should retard the return not less than 518 and 100 days respectively, and that therefore the period of the comet should be seventy-six years and 211 days, with the 13th of April, 1759, for the date of its next perihelion passage. The comet was observed approaching the earth by George Palitsch, an amateur Saxon astronomer, on the 25th of December, 1758, and it actually made its perihelion passage before the sun on the 13th of March, 1759; and in this way the discovery that comets do move in courses that are amenable to the great laws of material attraction and orderly elliptical movement was happily accomplished, and a remarkable experimental proof of the sufficiency of the Newtonian theory was secured. The comet of Halley, now of such surpassing interest, was again seen at its next return in the beginning of 1836, and it was then, fortunately, an object of close study to Sir John Herschel, who watched its passage, night after night, with the mirror of his large telescope. Mr. Hind, one of the best living authorities in matters of this class, believes that this interesting comet can be tracked back in the records of human chronology through not less than twenty-five returns.

Halley's comet, however, is not now alone in this peculiarity of orderly and predictable return. It has already a somewhat large band of associates in this particular. But most of the periodic comets are faint objects requiring powerful telescopes and technical skill for their observation. Of comets of this character there are several that are known to have short periods, reaching from three to sixteen years, and moving in elliptical paths that stretch scarcely as far from the sun as the orbit of Saturn. These periodic comets are, for the most part, distinguished in the annals of astronomical science by the names of the observers who picked them up with their telescopes during their passage amongst the stars. Prominent among these godfathers of comets stand the well-known astronomers Encke, Biela, Faye, D'Arrest, and Lexel. Five other comets besides the notorious one of Halley make wider excursions like it, and have periodic returns ranging between sixty-seven and seventy-four years. Some others stand narrowly

suspected of having periods of still longer measure. Coggia's Comet of the present year takes prominent rank among these, having had an elliptical orbit assigned to it by Schulhof, of Vienna, with an elongation from the sun 430 times larger than the earth's mean distance, and with a period of revolution of not less than 12,184 years. This comet is only surpassed in the length of its periodic excursion into space by the great comet of 1844, which is believed to have a period of 102,000 years!

Halley's method of fixing the identity of a comet depends upon observing that the successive returns occur after approximately equal intervals, and that on each return the luminary moves along nearly the same track among the stars. There is another plan, however, of accomplishing the same end of forecasting a comet's reappearance which proceeds upon an essentially different method, inasmuch as it works forwards instead of backwards. By this plan three distinct points of the comet's path among the stars require to be definitely ascertained, and then the curve in which the luminary is moving in the sky is traced out in continuation of the line connecting these points. If it appears that this trace lies along the course of an elliptical curve, which gives a closed figure in the extension returning into itself, it is then inferred that the comet is a periodic one, and will assuredly come back into sight again. But if, on the other hand, the track runs into a more open curve that passes on into a line that diverges for ever from the direction of approach, it is then inferred that the luminary which moves in this path must be an accidental and passing visitor coming once into the range of human vision and then vanishing for ever into the remote depths of space.

A catalogue of the bright comets that have been seen, however, by no means gives an adequate idea of the number of these luminaries that come under human observation. Three or four telescopic comets are now entered upon astronomical records every year. Lalande had a list of 700 comets that had been observed in his time. Arago's estimate of the number that must pass within the influence and range of the planetary system, at some time or other, amounted to 7,000,000! And this estimate of Arago's is well worthy of a passing thought, if it be only for the grand idea it affords of the enormity of space that finds room for 7,000,000 of bodies whirling about in all directions, although not more than three or four of the vast series can be caught by the observer in any single year. This result is obviously a natural consequence of the rapid way in which the bulk of a spherical space is augmented with the progressive enlargement of its radius.

The sun is 104 times as wide again as the earth ; but it has a bulk many hundred thousand times as large again as the bulk of the earth. If the spherical dimensions of the sun be imagined to be expanded to anything like the available space of the surrounding universe, it will be comprehended how there may be many millions of comets circling in the spacious field, although not more than three or four of them can be seen at any one instant from the earth.

Whenever it happens that a large comet comes within convenient distance for observation the opportunity is eagerly seized to examine with unintermitting assiduity the appearances it presents as it passes through the ordeal of near approach to the sun. Newton was quite aware of the curious fact that the nucleus and head of a comet grow smaller as well as brighter on approach to the sun, and that they grow larger as well as fainter as they move into space. He explained this peculiarity by conceiving that the comet veiled itself in smoke as it passed before the glory of the sun's face, and then scattered the veil as it withdrew from the bright presence. Sir John Herschel probably advanced a step further in the line of reasonable explanation when he connected the condensation and brightening of the comet on its advance towards perihelion with the conversion of visible mist into transparent invisible air, and its subsequent enlargement and paling away with the re-condensation of transparent air into visible mist and cloud.

That this luminous mist, of which the chief bulk of the comet is composed, is a something of almost inconceivable fineness and rarity, is beyond all question. This is abundantly and incontrovertibly manifested by the slight physical influence which the filmy substance exerts when it comes into close relation with other ponderable bodies. In the year 1779, Lexell's comet approached so near to the earth that it would have increased the length of the sidereal year by three hours if its mass had been equal to the earth's. It would have increased the length of the sidereal year by one second if its mass had been equal to a five thousandth part of the earth's. It had, indeed, its own journey very materially retarded by the earth's influence ; yet not only did it not change the length of the sidereal year even to the extent of a single second, but it did not even raise the tidal swell of the ocean in any perceptible degree. Both in the year 1767 and 1779 this comet passed through the midst of Jupiter's satellites, and became entangled temporarily among them. But not one of the satellites altered its movements to the extent of a hair's breadth, or of a tenth of an instant. This extreme tenuity of the

comet's substance is in some measure accounted for by the probable absence of any dense central mass that can control the elastic expansion of the light vaporous material. If the earth were to remain of its present size, but were reduced to the thousandth part of its present density, the surrounding atmosphere would forthwith spread out to many thousand times its present volume, and in doing so would approach towards the transformation of itself into a comet. Newton has very strikingly illustrated this view of the matter by pointing out that if a globe of air one inch in diameter were removed from the earth's surface four thousand miles, it would expand into a bulk capable of filling a sphere as large in circumference as the orbit of Saturn. In such a condition of tenuity it would be a veritable comet.

Substance even as rare and as filmy as this can move, nevertheless, in obedience to the law of centrifugal momentum and centralising attraction, simply because, however light and rare it may be in its intrinsic nature, its journey lies through intervals of space that are rarer still. There is in these intervals something that offers a resistance to even the filmy cometic substance. The long tail of the comet bends towards the regions of space that it is leaving; and Encke's Comet of short period is always two hours behind time in coming back to the end of its revolution of three years and 109 days. The vast fields of space are apparently filled with some subtle substance, through which the revolving orbs of the universe have to force their way, and by which the course of the filmy comet is perceptibly retarded, although it has no commensurate effect upon the speed of the more ponderous planet.

There is nearly always a point of superior brilliancy perceptible in the comet's head, which is termed its nucleus, and it is necessarily a matter of pressing interest to determine what this bright nucleus is; whether it is really a kernel of hard, solid substance, or merely a whiff of somewhat more condensed vapour. Newton, from the first, maintained that the comet is made partly of solid substance, and partly of an investment of thin elastic vapours. If this is the case, it is manifest the central nodule of dense substance should be capable of intercepting light when it passes in front of a more distant luminary, such as a fixed star. Comets, on this account, have been watched very narrowly whenever they have been making such a passage. On August 18, 1774, the astronomer Messier believed that he saw a second bright star burst into sight from behind the nucleus of a comet which had concealed it the instant before. Another observer, Wartmann, in the year

1828, noticed that the light of an eighth magnitude star was temporarily quenched as the nucleus of Encke's Comet passed over it. Other observers entertained no less strong a conviction that the head of the comet, however bright it might be, was absolutely destitute of even the minutest centre of consolidation. Both Bessel and Sir John Herschel remarked that the brightest and most star-like nuclei that came under their notice were at once scattered into broad films of strongly illuminated cloud, when more penetrating telescopes were employed in viewing them. The real fact that underlies such discrepancies of opinion most probably is, that the question of the presence or absence of solid material in the comet's substance is one which is beyond the reach of telescopic observation. Sir John Herschel was fortunate in making one of the most interesting observations of the passage of a comet over a cluster of stars that has ever been secured. He was looking at Biela's Comet with his large reflecting telescope of four feet aperture, in which it appeared as a small compact round disc of nebulous light three minutes across, when he saw this disc drift over a cluster of stars of the sixteenth and seventeenth magnitudes, and he noticed these minute luminaries shining brightly through the substance of the comet, estimated at the time as having a depth of at least 50,000 miles, although the slightest whisp of fog would certainly have effectually extinguished these stars. That even the densest parts of the majority of comets are without the power to effect any material diminution of light seems to have been fairly established in numerous instances. Sir W. Herschel followed the passage of the centre of the comet of 1795 over a very delicate double star, and noticed that even the fainter constituent remained clearly visible all the time. Struve saw a tenth magnitude star within a few seconds of the brightest part of Encke's Comet in 1828, and was satisfied that the light of the star was not enfeebled in the slightest degree. Bessel observed a tenth magnitude star within eight seconds of the nucleus of Halley's Comet in 1855, and noted carefully that the position of the star was not shifted by a hair's breadth, as it must have been by even a transparent medium of very trifling density.

An old notion, which conceived that comets are simply beams of light, has recently been revived. According to this view the tail of the comet is condensed sunshine thrown into a focal point where the bright spot of the nucleus appears, and the condensation is due to the lens-like action of the spherical mass of semi-transparent vapour which forms the body of the

comet, and which progressively increases in density towards the centre of the sphere. The comet is thus likened to a vast burning-glass many millions of miles wide, floating through the sunshine, and producing vivid incandescence in its focal point. This theory has the one recommendation that it easily and adequately accounts for the tail always lying in a direction away from the sun; it at once meets the case of the negative shadow. But it does not as satisfactorily explain the curving of the beam of sunshine towards the region from which the movement takes place. It has also the inconvenient attribute that the divergence of the pencil is in the wrong direction. The tail of the comet expands on the side of the nucleus that is away from the sun. The region of darkness also lies where, according to the condensation of light theory, the brightest part of the refracted beam should be found. Donati's Comet passed over the bright star Arcturus in 1858, and, as it did so, the star appeared brightened and magnified during the passage. But here, it will be observed, the magnified image of the star was formed millions of miles away from the comet. The quasi-parallel rays of light from the star were focussed at the earth after passing through the comet. It must also be added that each comet has its own speciality of distinctive form, instead of being merely an angular beam of light, as it should be if it were shaped by a merely optical operation.

A considerable portion of the light of the comet is, nevertheless, borrowed from the sun, for it has one property belonging to it that only reflected light can manifest. It is capable of being polarised by prisms of double-refracting spar. Polarisation of this character is only possible when the light that is operated upon has already been reflected from an imperfectly transparent medium. Some astronomers have argued that the comet cannot shine by reflected light, because the appearance of phases, such as are shown by the moon, are not presented by their heads as they pass round into appropriate positions in regard to the sun and earth. Some resemblance to the development of a phase was suspected in the case both of Donati's Comet and in the comet of 1844; but the appearance was very uncertain and confused, as if absorbed and masked in the comet's haze, and as it were merely a ball of thicker fog that was being illuminated, rather than a solid sphere. Even if there be solid masses in some of the mightiest of the comets, they are in all probability of dimensions too small to be able to manifest broad faces like the crescent, or oblate, moon. The whole question of the character of the illumination of the comet is, however, involved in considerable

difficulty. The mere polarisation of the light from a comet by no means proves that it is not a self-luminous body in any sense, because a body, shining by its own light, may also reflect light which it receives from other sources, and produce the effects of polarisation in virtue of this portion of its rays; and on the other hand it would appear that a vaporous body, which is dense enough to reflect light capable of polarisation, should also be dense enough to intercept some appreciable portion of light passing through it from faint stars, instead of allowing 17th magnitude stars to be seen through it with undiminished lustre.

When a good telescope is directed towards an approaching comet, it is first seen as a faint speck of luminous haze projected upon the dark sky. This hazy spot grows brighter and brighter as it gets nearer to the earth and the sun, until at last a central point of strong luminosity is seen to be surrounded by a faint circle of paler illumination. The brighter point is then spoken of as the nucleus of the comet, and the surrounding patch of luminosity is distinguished as its coma, or hair. As a general rule, however, these characteristics only become more perplexingly confused and indistinct when telescopes of high power are employed in examining them. They are best seen, indeed, with telescopes of low magnifying power and large field of view. When, nevertheless, bright comets happen to come very near to the sun, and are subjected to close observation under the advantages which the fine telescopes of the present day afford, a series of remarkable changes is found to take place in their luminous configuration. First, jets of bright light start out from the nucleus, and move through the fainter haze of the coma towards the sun; and then these jets are turned backwards round the edge of the coma, and stream from it, behind the comet, until they are fashioned into a tail. The advanced edge of these backward streams has the clear, well-defined aspect of steam rolling up into a cloud; the opposite edge is ragged and ill defined like the border of a dissolving rain-cloud. Under these circumstances of exceptionally good opportunity it becomes at once evident that the tail of the comet is in reality an emanation from the nucleus, and that it is called into existence in the first instance by the influence of the sun. The substance of the emanation is primarily drawn towards the sun; but its forward movement is then suddenly arrested, and reversed, and the luminous substance driven back, and away from the sun, until it is finally arranged, beyond the comet, as a forked tail, including a comparatively dark space between its diverging branches. The dark space is also

less distinctly seen extending between the nucleus and the brilliant margin of the head. Sir William Herschel conceived that the dark space surrounding, and extending behind, the nucleus represents a transparent atmosphere buoying up a luminous stratum of vapour towards its surface, and that the streaks of light are this upper shining layer seen, as it were, in the retiring direction of the spherical shell, and therefore in the line of greatest depth. But when this luminous outer stratum is very thick the whole of the comet's head seems bright, and there is no dark interspace around the nucleus. He imagined also that the tail was a continuation backwards of this spherical shell—a conical case attached by its narrower end to a hemispherical envelope. The aspect of the tail and of the luminous streams is however continually changing and fluctuating as vaporous masses of cloud-like structure might be conceived to do, and in some instances there has been a strong appearance even of an undulating movement.

This process of the formation of the comet's tail from luminous emanations was watched in the case of Donati's Comet, in 1858, by several observers, and under circumstances very much more advantageous than had ever before been possible. Among the distinguished astronomers who were fortunate enough to turn this good opportunity to practical account may be specially named Donati himself at Florence; Chacornac at Paris; Pape and Peters at Altona; Mœdler at Dorpat; Secchi and Rosa at Rome; Bond in the United States; and Carpenter, Dawes, Lassell, and Challis in England.

This comet had first been seen at Florence on the 2nd of June, as a mere patch of nebulous film, without any nuclear condensation. Its motion towards the sun was so deliberate at that time that no notable change in its distinctive aspect was perceived until the beginning of September. It then became visible to the naked eye, and threw out a tail. On the 10th of September this tail was three degrees long; but by the 6th of October it had grown to thirty-six degrees. On the 5th and 6th of October the comet was in its full splendour, and it was at that period a very magnificent object, the tail being sensibly curved, with the convex side uppermost, and in the direction of the comet's advance. On the 9th of October a second smaller tail appeared, with a kind of brush projecting from the convex side. The comet had then the form of a large ostrich feather waved gently by the hand. At the beginning of the month of September the nucleus was distinctly manifest, and was placed eccentrically within the head. On the 16th

of September two diverging streams of light shot out from the nucleus across the coma, and, having separated to about the extent of its diameter, they turned back abruptly and streamed out in the tail. Luminous substance could be distinctly seen rushing out from the nucleus, and then flowing back into the tail. M. Rosa described the streams of light as resembling long hair brushed upwards from the forehead, and then allowed to fall back on each side of the head. On September 22 the 'hair-parting' changed its aspect into the form of an expanded fan with a comparatively dark arc intervening between two concentric semicircles of light. On September 27 the fan spread itself out still more widely, and looked something like the crescent of Venus, with the line of the cusps of the crescent crossing the central axis of the tail perpendicularly, and with the nucleus brightly defined on the inner edge of the crescent. The comet made its perihelion passage on September 30, and at that time the dark region of the tail, behind the nucleus, was very distinct and boldly marked, especially near the nucleus, and the axis of the fan-shaped head was inclined twenty-five degrees to the line of greater darkness in the tail.

Immediately after the perihelion passage it became apparent that there were three distinct films or envelopes of light disposed round the nucleus—an outer one very pale and diffused; a second brighter and more sharply defined, and having the form of the glory commonly placed by artists round the head of a saint; and a third, separated from the second by a less luminous interval, and increasing in brightness towards the nucleus until it became inseparably blended with it. The space beyond the nucleus was intensely black through an angular space of about ninety degrees. A full week after the perihelion passage the outermost envelope was losing its regular form; the nucleus was becoming ragged, like the ill-defined border of a rain-cloud during a heavy shower; the dark space beyond the nucleus was enlarging itself, and the divergent streamers of the tail were curving in to transform the head of the comet into a circular nebulosity. From the 15th to the 22nd of October the nucleus threw out intermittingly from itself appendages having the form of brilliant comma-shaped masses of incandescent substance twisted violently backward. Padre Secchi accounts for these very remarkable changes of configuration by the influence first of the sun's heat upon the comet's substance as it approached towards perihelion, and afterwards by the production in the luminous emanations thus generated of enormous tides

and perturbation derangements. Some of the most conspicuous of these luminous developments occurred on October 11, when the comet was at its nearest approach to the earth; and on October 17, when it was nearest to the planet Venus. He has no doubt that the close neighbourhood of the earth and Venus at those times was the effective cause of the sudden changes of aspect, and that those changes of aspect may be accepted as proof that the comet's substance consists of really ponderable material. Newton attributed the formation of the comet's tail to luminous vapour being carried along by currents of the ether of space, which were themselves set up by the heat caught from the sun by the vapour, and he conceived that the substance of the comet was in process of being dispersed into space through its tail. Kepler fancied that the tail was merely the lighter vapour of the comet driven forward by the impulse of the solar rays; and a French astronomer of the seventeenth century, Claude Couriers, improved this notion into a very elegant theory, which was looked upon with considerable favour by Whiston, Euler, William Herschel, Laplace, Delambre, and Arago, and which affirmed that the cometic nebulosity was so highly rarefied on its approach to the sun as to be unable to resist the impact of the sunbeams when they fell upon it. Bessel and M. Faye maintained that no merely material or mechanical action of the sun, or mutual attraction of material particles, such as gravitation, could be accepted as sufficiently explaining the appearances produced in comets at the time of their perihelia, but that they must be referred finally to some imperfectly understood operation of an electro-magnetic character. Bessel first advanced these views, in perhaps rather complicated and obscure phraseology, at the end of a memoir upon Halley's Comet, which he printed in No. 302 of the 'Astronomische Nachrichten.' From the expressions in that memoir, it appears that Bessel thinks the part of the comet which is most directed towards the sun becomes converted into vapour by the sun's heat when the comet has got near enough, and that the vapour thus generated is then drawn in towards the sun's mass by the ordinary influence of gravitation, until a new force, of a different character and of a repulsive energy, is called into play, and that then by this new force the luminous substance is suddenly arrested in its forward movement, and driven backwards, beyond the nucleus, until it streams out there into the tail. Professor Tyndall, again, having found in certain experiments that air passed into a glass tube over a small pellet of porous paper containing

the minutest possible trace of particular volatile substances, becomes a bright white cloud under the beam of the electric light, urges that matter of almost infinite tenuity may be clothed with light of higher intensity than that which comets give, and that comets may be substantially 'actinic clouds' of this character resulting from the *chemical* influence of the sun's rays upon thin vapour. He believes that a few ounces of the vapour of 'iodide of allyl' might be 'manufactured' in this way into a luminous cloud as large and bright as Donati's Comet. All the large comets which have been observed since powerful telescopes have been at the command of astronomy, agree, more or less, in presenting the phenomena which have been described, and only differ from each other to the extent to which varying distance from the sun and varying velocity of movement may be presumed to affect the result. Mr. Lockyer observed the development of the luminous envelopes in Coggia's Comet with the large refracting telescope of Mr. Newall, at Ferndene, Gateshead, which has an aperture of twenty-five inches, and described the head of the comet as a fan-shaped projection of light, with ear-like appendages at each side, which sympathetically complemented each other at every change either of form or luminosity, and which had all the appearance of being parts of two eccentrically arranged envelopes. The straight sides, or radial borders, of the fan were at times altogether obliterated by the streams of light passing down backwards into the tail. Immediately behind the nucleus there was the usual gap, or angular region of deep darkness, which gradually passed in the more remote parts of the tail into a uniformly-spread luminous haze. Mr. Lockyer read these configurations as strongly suggesting *the notion of a meteor whirl*, in which the regions of greatest brightness were caused by the different coils, cutting, or appearing to cut, each other, and so in those parts leading to compression or condensation and frequent collision of the luminous particles.

When Donati's magnificent comet was displaying its glories to human eyes in 1858, there was one powerful instrument of research wanting to human science which has since been added to its repertory, and which happily, therefore, was at the command of astronomy when Coggia's Comet occupied the field. The spectroscope and its methods of investigation have been developed since that earlier time, and the instrument has been very assiduously, and in some particulars successfully, directed towards the nucleus and envelopes of Coggia's luminary. Mr. Lockyer used it with the flood of light furnished by the hitherto

unprecedentedly large aperture of Mr. Newall's telescope, and he found that the notion that some of the rays of the comet are sent either from solid particles, or from vapour in a state of very high condensation, is amply confirmed; and also that there is no less clear evidence that other portions of the comet's light issue from the vapour shining by its own inherent right. The light coming from the more dense constituents, and therefore giving a continuous coloured spectrum, was, however, deficient in blue rays, and was most probably emitted by material substance at the low, red and yellow, stages of incandescence. In describing his spectroscopic examination, Mr. Lockyer says:—

'The luminous fan also gave a continuous spectrum but little inferior in brilliancy to that of the nucleus itself; while over this, and even from the dark space behind the nucleus, were distinguishable the spectrum of *bands*, indicating the presence of rare vapour of some kind; while the continuous spectrum of the nucleus and fan might be referred to the presence of either denser vapour or of solid particles.'

Other observations, by Padre Secchi at Rome, substantially confirm this conclusion, and seem to point to either carbon, or an oxide of carbon, as the source of the bright luminous bands—a 'lead' which has been vivaciously followed up by the Abbé Moigno, when he asks whether this comet may not after all be 'un gigantesque diamant volatilisé.' Whatever may be the answer hereafter given to that question, the verdict of the spectroscope is clearly to the effect that the comet is made up of a commingling of thin vapour and of denser particles, either compressed into the condition of solidification, or into some physical state approaching to that condition, and is therefore entirely in accordance with the notion formed on other grounds that the nucleus of the comet is a cluster of solid nodules or granules, and that the luminous coma and tail are jets and jackets of vapour, associated with the more dense ingredients, and swaying and streaming about them as heat and gravity, acting antagonistic ways, determine.

It is a natural consequence of the manner in which comets appear to have been sown 'broadcast' in space, that they travel in all conceivable directions, and shoot into sight from all possible points of the starry sphere. The planets, which are associated into a connected family, travel around the sun in planes that, with some trifling and unimportant exceptions, are restricted to the zodiacal zone. Comets, on the other hand, may arrive from the north, or south, or east, or west; and more often, as was indeed the case with Coggia's Comet, quite transversely to the more orderly paths of the planets. Some

also come out of space by the general direction along which others travel when they withdraw into space after they have made their perihelion obeisance. The 'watchmen' who keep their keen outlook for comets, therefore, do not limit their search to any one particular tract of the starry heavens. This scattered order of the comets' array, of its own accord, and without other supports, intimates that they are really 'wanderers' of the universe in most instances, passing on from system to system, and from sun to sun, and that those particular individuals which move in elliptical and recurring paths are but chance visitants from the wandering band which have been caught by solar or planetary attraction, and turned by it out of their original vagrant path into more orderly courses.

The following up of the curve in which any comet appears to be traversing space, when it passes the neighbourhood of the earth, so as to determine whether it is still wandering vaguely, or revolving elliptically, is however a task of exceeding delicacy, and one that cannot always be performed with unerring certainty. If the curve of the path, so long as it is in sight from the earth, be in the line of the conic section which is known to the mathematician as the hyperbola, then there is no doubt that the passing visitant is about to depart upon a journey into space from which it will never return. The hyperbola is a figure which is, so to speak, like a pair of compasses with open legs, the curve being the sweep round the joint which connects leg with leg. A comet which travels in such a course comes up out of space along the one straight leg, sweeps round the joint, and moves back into space by the other leg; and as the legs diverge from each other towards their points, the comet goes off for ever from the line along which it has arrived. But it so happens that there is yet another form of curve, which is known to the mathematician as the parabola, in which this divergent curvature is drawn in so very near to the curvature of the continuous ellipse that it is not possible to say from the mere examination of a small portion of the track whether it is really of the nature of the hyperbola or of the ellipse. The curve is a limiting one, which opens under the most trivial amount of expansion from quickened velocity into a hyperbola, or closes under an equally minute amount of contraction from diminished velocity into an ellipse of exceedingly great elongation, or eccentricity. Very many of the comets observed from the earth appear to be moving in this parabolic course of doubtful and undeterminable character, and then as a mere matter of convenience they are conceived to be travelling in paths which describe ellipses that are so infinitely long as to

be practically immeasurable. Such comets should repeat their visits to the neighbourhood of the earth, but they should only do so after very long intervals of absence, and in their cases it is always a matter of exceeding, and often of insurmountable difficulty, to say how long such absences should be.

Burckhardt's Comet of 1723, Encke's Comet of 1771, the comet of 1774, Rosenberg's and Schwabe's Comet of 1818, and the comets of 1824 and 1840, all belong to the class that may fairly be considered vagrants of space, moving in aberrant hyperbolas. Several other comets have been marked as having elliptical paths so long that the successive returns into sight only occur after the lapse of hundreds, or of even thousands, of years. All the other comets that have been observed move in elliptical orbits so limited in size that they never pass anywhere beyond the boundaries of the planetary system, and these all agree in the remarkable and important particulars, that they travel in paths that have the same general direction in space as the orbits of the planets, and that they move the same way with the planets, that is, from west to east. These comets are consequently looked upon as being properly a constituent part of the planetary system.

There is one of these comets of short period, or, to speak more exactly, a comet that at one time was believed to be of this character, which has a history of its own so peculiar and notable as to require some passing mention. This comet made its first recognised appearance in the sky in 1770, and was at that time observed by two very accomplished and competent astronomers, namely, Lexell and Burckhardt, who at once agreed in assigning the visitor an elliptical path that should be traversed completely in a trifle less than six years. The luminary, however, did not fulfil the expectations that had been formed for it, and did not return at the expiration of the appointed time. Lexell, then, after a further examination of its course, became convinced that this comet was originally one of the aberrant vagrants of space, but that in the year 1767 it was brought by its vagrant path so near to the planet Jupiter that it was caught by that planet's attraction, and swerved into a new line of movement—the one, namely, in which it was subsequently seen moving in 1770. In this new path it had again travelled on until it once more came into the close neighbourhood of Jupiter. This happened in 1779, and the comet was then once more acted upon by the planet's attraction, and this time swayed by it back into a divergent path, which whisked it away for ever out of sight of human eyes. The periodic orbit was merely a brief episode in the comet's

history, accidentally brought about by the agency of Jupiter. The celebrated French mathematician, Laplace, afterwards examined the facts of this temporary conversion of a hyperbolic orbit into an elliptical one, and substantially confirmed the conclusion at which Lexell had arrived as to the cause of the comet's disappearance, and in doing this he further ascertained that on its second approach to Jupiter the comet had been nearer to the planet than its own fourth satellite, and that it was at that time in a position where the planet's attraction must have been two hundred times greater than the attraction of the sun. It was upon this auspicious occasion that the discovery was made of the surpassingly small mass of the comet, because the satellites of the planet did not suffer the slightest derangement or disturbance from the intrusion of this unlooked-for visitant into their system.

There is another of the group of 'short period' comets that also has a history requiring a few special words of notice. On February 27, 1826, M. Biela, an Austrian officer residing at Josephstadt, in Bohemia, discovered a comet in the constellation of Aries, which at that time was seen as a small round speck of filmy cloud. Its course was watched during the following month by M. Gambart at Marseilles, and by M. Clausen at Altona, and those observers assigned to it an elliptical orbit, with a period of six years and three quarters for the revolution. M. Damoiseau subsequently undertook to add to the calculations of its path an estimate of the influence that should be exerted over it by the earth, Jupiter, and Saturn, and found that the return of the comet should be retarded from this cause by 9'6642 days, and that, with this allowance, the comet was due at its next perihelion on November 27, 1832. In carrying out this investigation, M. Damoiseau remarked that the comet would cross the plane of the earth's orbit within 20,000 miles of its track, but about one month before the earth would have arrived at the same spot. Some measure of alarm was caused by the announcement of this close shave, and various speculations soon became rife as to what the consequences might have been, whether to the earth or to the comet, if the shave had been a yet closer one. The comet was fairly punctual in keeping the appointment for its perihelion return, and it came back again into the same position, with a like observance of the virtue of punctuality, both in 1839 and in 1846. On the latter occasion it was noticed, however, that either from its approximate contact with the earth, or more probably from some cause connected with the divellent action of the sun, it had been split into two

halves, and that the two halves were travelling on quite unconcernedly abreast, and about sixteen thousand miles, or twice the measure of the earth's diameter, asunder. The one half was a trifle fainter than the other, but each had a tail of its own, and both tails were carried symmetrically ranged at right angles with the line connecting the two heads. This very remarkable disruption of the comet was first noticed by Professor Challis, at Cambridge, on January 15; but it was also observed and put on record, almost simultaneously, by M. Wichmann at Königsberg, and by Lieutenant Maury at Washington, so that the evidence of the occurrence was altogether unimpeachable. M. Plantamour, of Geneva, forthwith examined the movements of the two halves of the disrupted luminary, and ascertained that they were travelling in the path which was approximately the proper one for the original comet, and that they were holding on their course steadily abreast of each other, and without changing the distance which severed them, as they moved on into space beyond the range of human vision.

From this period, however, the further destinies of the disrupted luminary were kept under a cloud for a considerable time, and the puzzled astronomers were left in a state of tantalising uncertainty as to what had become of it. At the beginning of the year 1866 this feeling of bewilderment gained expression in the Annual Report of the Council of the Royal Astronomical Society. The matter continued nevertheless in the same state of provoking uncertainty for another six years. The third period of the perihelion passage had then passed, and nothing had been seen of the missing luminary. But on the night of November 27, 1872, night watchers were startled by a sudden and a very magnificent display of falling stars or meteors, of which there had been no previous forecast, and Professor Klinkerflues, of Berlin, having carefully noted the common radiant point in space from which this star-shower was discharged into the earth's atmosphere, with the intuition of ready genius jumped at once to the startling inference that here at last were traces of the missing luminary. There were eighty of the meteors that furnished a good position for the radiant point of the discharge, and that position, strange to say, was very much the same as the position in space which Biela's Comet should have occupied just about that time on its fourth return towards perihelion. Klinkerflues, therefore, taking this spot as one point in the path of the comet, and carrying the path on as a track into forward space, fixed the direction there through which it should pass as a 'vanishing point' at the

other side of the starry sphere, and having satisfied himself of that further position he sent off a telegram to the other side of the world, where alone it could be seen—that is to say to Mr. Pogson, of the Madras Observatory—which may be best told in its own nervous and simple words.

Herr Klinkerflues' telegram to Mr. Pogson, of Madras, was to the following effect:—

'November 30.—Biela touched the earth on the 27th of November. Search for him near Theta Centauri.'

The telegram reached Madras, through Russia, in one hour and thirty-five minutes, and the sequel of this curious passage of astronomical romance may be appropriately told in the words in which Mr. Pogson replied to Herr Klinkerflues' pithy message. The answer was dated Madras, the 6th of December, and was in the following words:—

'On the 30th of November, at 16 hours, the time of the comet rising here, I was at my post, but hopelessly; clouds and rain gave me no chance. The next morning I had the same bad luck. But on the third trial, with a line of blue break, about $17\frac{1}{2}$ hours mean time, I found Biela immediately! Only four comparisons in successive minutes could be obtained, in strong morning twilight, with an anonymous star; but direct motion of 2.5 seconds decided that I had got the comet all right. I noted it—circular, bright, with a decided nucleus, but no tail, and about forty-five seconds in diameter. Next morning I got seven good comparisons with an anonymous star, showing a motion of 17.9 seconds in twenty-eight minutes, and I also got two comparisons with a Madras star in our current Catalogue, and with 7734 Taylor. I was too anxious to secure one good place for the one in hand to look for the other comet, and the fourth morning was cloudy and rainy. I used power 99 on the Equatorial of Troughton and Simms, eighteen inches in diameter, but I could see the comet well in the finder. At a guess I should describe it as three times as bright as cluster 80 Messier, in the field with R. S. and T. Scorpii.'

Herr Klinkerflues' commentary upon this communication was that he forthwith proceeded to satisfy himself that no provoking accident had led to the discovery of a comet altogether unconnected with Biela's, although in this particular place, and that he was ultimately quite confident of the identity of the comet observed by Mr. Pogson with one of the two heads of Biela. It was subsequently settled that Mr. Pogson had, most probably, seen both heads of the comet, one on the first occasion of his successful search, and the second on the following day, and the meteor shower experienced in Europe on November 27 was unquestionably due to the passage near the earth of a meteoric trail travelling in the track of the comet. When the question of a possible collision

was mooted in 1832, Sir John Herschel remarked that such an occurrence might not be unattended with danger, and that on account of the intersection of the orbits of the earth and the comet a *rencontre* would in all likelihood take place within the lapse of some millions of years. As a matter of fact the collision did take place on November 27, 1872, and the result, so far as the earth was concerned, was a magnificent display of aerial fireworks! But a more telling piece of ready-witted sagacity than this prompt employment of the telegraph for the apprehension of the nimble delinquent can scarcely be conceived. The sudden brush of the comet's trail, the instantaneous telegram to the opposite side of the world, and the glimpse thence of the vagrant luminary as it was just whisking itself off into space towards the star Theta Centauri, together constitute a passage that stands quite without a parallel in the experience of science. The 'Biela touched the earth on November 27. Search for him near Theta Centauri' of Herr Klinkerflues, well deserves to be placed on the tablets of scientific history by the side of Leverrier's instructions to Dr. Galle on September 23, 1846, to point his telescope to the previously unseen planet Neptune:

In connexion with this account of Klinkerflues' identification of the comet of Biela with a meteoric shower, it is necessary however to add that the great facts of the identity of meteoric streams with comets had been already suspected on other grounds. It has long been remarked that there are two nights in the year—namely, that of August 10, and that of November 13, when splendid displays of meteors commonly occur; and it has also been noticed that the meteors in each of these instances have a common radiant point in the heavens, from which they burst, as 'falling stars,' to complete their precipitation to the earth, through the earth's atmosphere. Professor Newton, of the United States of America, collected and examined thirteen several accounts of the occurrence of a meteor shower on November 13, and he came to the conclusion, as a result of his calculations, that the regular periodic fall of these meteors was due to the existence of a group of bodies which revolved in a settled orbit with a period of either 180, 185, 354, or 376 days, or of thirty-three years and a quarter. Professor Adams subsequently found that the first four of these presumed periods were inadmissible, but that the period of thirty-three years would really satisfy the conditions of the case. Professor Schiaparelli, the director of the Milan Observatory, then drew up a

memoir, which was printed in No. 1629 of the 'Astronomische Nachrichten,' in which he pointed out that the path assumed for this meteor stream was virtually identical with the course which had already been assigned to the comet of 1866, known as Tempel's Comet, for an orbit. He placed in his memoir, side by side, the corresponding places and elements of the meteors and of the comet, and showed by this comparison that they were in the closest agreement. He afterwards, in another communication, on December 31, 1866, traced a similar resemblance between a path that had been deduced for the periodic meteors of August 13, and the orbit that had been assigned to comet III, known as the Great Comet of 1862, by Dr. Oppolzer. It must, therefore, be understood that Herr Klinkerflues had these previous determinations to give the bent to his own brilliant and shrewd apprehension of the character of the meteor shower in 1872.

The comet of 1866, which has been identified with the November meteor showers, was first seen as a comet in the year A. D. 126. It returned in its regular periodic path at intervals of $33\frac{1}{2}$ years fifty-two times after that, but only gave indications of its approach to the neighbourhood of the earth on those occasions by the showers of meteors that it scattered upon it until the year 1866, when it was once again seen as a comet. This luminary moves in a very lengthened ellipse, which extends out from the sun a little beyond the planet Uranus, and as it does so it leaves a trail of material particles behind it in its path not less than 1,772 millions of miles long—so long in fact, that the earth pursuing its yearly course returns three times into the trail before this has swept along quite out of its way. The consequence is that there are meteor showers on this particular day of the year for three years in succession; but that after that there are no such showers for the next thirty years, which are consumed by the trail in getting through the rest of the comet's orbit, because the earth during that time only crosses the void portions of the track. The comet of 1862, which has been identified with the August meteors, has a period of 145 years, and moves in that period through an orbit which runs out from the sun as far again as Uranus, and which therefore extends quite to the remote confines of the solar system. But in this case there appears to be a continuous and absolutely unintermitting trail of material particles quite round the vast orbit, so that the earth always finds a meteor shower there every year, when it gets back to the part of its own orbit which touches the trail. The August meteors have thus been shown

to be a stream of minute bodies 4,043,520 miles broad where the earth plunges through it, and extending through an elliptical course that has a span of 10,988 millions of miles for its greatest diameter. This stream is annually crossed by the earth in six hours, and during those hours meteors appear in the sky of that portion of the earth that is to the front in encountering the stream.

There is no difficulty at all in apprehending what it is that takes place when the earth plunges in this way through the stream. The meteors are rushing on in their own proper path with a speed of about 1,660 miles in the minute, and at the instant of their encounter with the earth it is moving, on its part, with the speed of 1,140 miles in the minute. Entering the earth's atmosphere, under these conditions, the meteoric mass is stopped in its movement by the resistance of the air, and immediately becomes amenable to the earth's attraction, and begins to fall to the ground. As it does this the forward momentum of the mass is transformed into molecular vibration, which first takes effect in fusing, and then immediately afterwards in igniting, the substance, and so it becomes converted into a shining as well as a 'falling' star. The meteor is in this way raised to an intense white heat, and is then dissipated into vapour, which is seen trailing along in the sky either as a luminous track, or as a streak of gleaming white cloud. In most instances the burning meteor is extinguished before it strikes the earth. Few, indeed, of the meteors ever retain solid coherence so long, but are dispersed entirely into vapour, which blends itself with the atmosphere. When the meteors do strike the earth as solids they bury themselves in the soil, and may subsequently be disinterred from it in the form known as the Meteoric Stone, or Aerolite.

The meteoric masses which are encountered in the case of the August meteor shower are estimated to vary in size from nodules of ninety grains to nodules of eight pounds, and to be scattered through space with an average distance of 400 miles, but with occasional gaps of many hundred times greater extent. In reference to the enormous numbers of bodies of this class that are scattered in space, Professor Newton remarks that as many as seven millions and a half of meteors, large enough to make themselves visible to the naked eye, and probably as many as forty times that number of smaller ones, often enter the earth's atmosphere in a single night, and that the great circular stratum of space which contains the planets is in reality traversed by an altogether innumerable myriad of such bodies. It will, of course, be easily understood that this

estimate of the number of meteors is based upon the fact of the mighty stretch of nocturnal sky around the earth. The counting of 100 meteors by a single observer only means that 100 meteors have entered the comparatively narrow segment of the atmosphere that lies within the reach of that observer's vision, and of such ranges there are thousands comprised within a hemisphere of the earth.

The identification, in certain remarkable instances, of meteor streams with comets, thus conclusively settles the fact that comets do contain some solid elements in their composition. This is the assurance which meteors have added to telescopic and spectroscopic investigations of the physical nature of comets. It must, however, be understood that it is by no means meant that the tails of the comets are streams of meteors. The tails of the comets are vaporous emanations ejected out beyond the nucleus by the influence of the sun. The meteor streams are trails of solid corpuscles dropped behind the nucleus, as it rushes on in its curving path. The November and August meteors have been selected as the most convenient and perhaps striking instances of this periodic occurrence of star showers; but they do not stand alone, now, as the representatives of this class of bodies. At least one hundred other meteor-systems, of a similar character, have been either suspected or ascertained. It is also conceived to be most probable that comets are lengthened out, and drawn more into the state of continuous meteor trails, with successive returns into the sphere of the sun's attraction. In this point of view the November meteors may be held to be gradually and progressively passing on into the state of the August meteors, and to mark, as it were, the intermediate stage by which comets are transformed into meteor streams.

The sketch of this interesting fragment of Physical History has, so far, been one of continuous and smooth inductive progress, and the demonstration is, to this point, singularly complete. But even here the subject is not finally exhausted. There still remains one other, and one very remarkable, page to be turned. If there are these countless systems of connected and orderly meteoric streams setting in various directions through space, has science nothing further to say as to the sources from which these streams have been primarily issued? The answer which Nature itself immediately supplies to this question is in no sense less wonderful and complete than the other steps of the argument which have been passed in review. It has been, in the first place, for a long time known that the mighty sun is itself one fertile source of meteoric emanation. The coronal

halo of glory which is seen surrounding its eclipsed face when the dark body of the moon intervenes between it and the earth, is at that time observed to consist of radiant streaks shooting forth in all directions around, and is now held to be made up of jets of comparatively minute solid particles thrown off from the sun, and scintillating in its beams. The zodiacal light which stretches out so far beyond the coronal halo into the twilight is now deemed but the outer extremities of those jets reaching so far into space that the ponderable matter of which they are composed is left free to enter upon a course of sustained orbital circling round the sun, instead of falling back at once to the solar surface as the nearer ones which constitute the coronal appendage are constrained to do. The dark spots discerned from time to time upon the sun's bright disc are now looked upon as stupendous craters in the sun from which these radiant streams are cast forth in endless succession by a veritable process of eruption. Under appropriate management ruddy flames, or rather ruddy outbursts of hot vapour, are seen rising from the sun as a part of this eruptive process, to distances as vast as a hundred thousand miles; and a ready calculation has shown that if light vapours can be carried so far by the eruptive force, the more ponderable matters that accompany the vapours as the lava-bombs accompany the steam-jets of the terrestrial volcano, must of necessity be shot so much further than the light vapours that some of them must get to distances where they would be abandoned in the circumsolar space to their own momental impetuosities, and be left to circle in orbits of their own, around the great centre of attraction, under the well-known influences and laws of elliptical movement. The immediate neighbourhood of the sun, indeed, under successive discoveries of this class, has come to be contemplated as a shining ocean of meteoric emission, instead of, as it was once conceived to be, a desolate stretch of void space. In a remarkable book written by Mr. Mattieu Williams, and called 'The Fuel of the Sun,' in which the main object of the author is to suggest that the heat-energy of the great luminary is maintained by the rushing of the mighty orb, with a velocity of 500,000 miles per day, through a universally diffused thin atmosphere of mingled oxygen and nitrogen, a hundred thousand times more rare than air at the sea-level, Mr. Williams remarks in pointed and expressive allusion to the theme under consideration:—

'The zodiacal light presents exactly the phenomena required to satisfy these theoretical requirements. Here is a lenticular zone of nebulous matter having just the form and position which a dense

cluster of solid particles projected out from the spot-regions on either side of the solar equator should attain if those particles continued their journey far beyond the visible limits of the corona, and then, at varying distances, terminated their radial excursion in the curvilinear resultant of the two forces of explosive projection and solar gravitation.'

And then in another passage he as pertinently adds :—

'It is but a step from the Meteoric Zone, crossing the orbit of the earth, to the zone of the Asteroids, the pocket-planets beyond the orbit of Mars; a step that for a projectile is practically shortened by the continuous diminution of the reclaiming force of solar gravitation. It is but like a gradation from meteoric dust to meteoric grains, then to the meteoric pebbles, nodules, and masses weighing hundreds of pounds, and even tons, that have fallen upon the earth, to the smallest of the asteroids, and from them to Pallas, the giant of the series, whose bulk is 2,177 times less than that of the earth. It is perfectly consistent that the larger masses should be projected to the greatest distance; and also that the more tremendous and profound the whirling tempest in the sun, the greater must be the dimensions of solid masses that would be torn out of its depths.'

But yet once again. It has been observed that the great outer planets of our system are frequent stumbling-blocks to wandering comets; they are constantly getting in their way. In other words, there appears to be a marked tendency among certain individuals of the 'comets of short period' to group themselves into sympathetic relations with these planets, and to make them, as it were, secondary foci of their regulated movements. For a long time the frequent return of comets of short period into the neighbourhood of Jupiter and Saturn was conceived to be but an accidental exertion, by these ponderous giants of the system, of their attractive power for less massive aggregations of matter that chanced to come within the pale of their influence. More recent investigations into the physical aspect of these outer planets appear to have supplied a much grander and more comprehensive interpretation of the sympathy. There can now scarcely be a doubt that the restless eruptions and explosive operations which are so intimately connected with the inner life, and with the maintenance of the physical energy of the sun, are by no means confined to that mighty central sphere, but that they are reproduced in an inferior degree in the dependent system of planets. The great sphere of the planet Jupiter, which sweeps along so majestically in the outer confines of the system, is certainly anything but a fixed and settled orb of solid unchanging uniformity. As long back as November 1834, Schwabe had drawn attention to spots upon the disc of this planet which resembled small spots on the sun, having nuclei surrounded

'by penumbrae;' and which at times split up and dissolved, just after the manner of sun spots. The dark belts continually visible upon the planet are unquestionably the more transparent parts of a voluminous mobile atmosphere that afford glimpses into deeper regions of vapour still far above any nucleus of central solidification. They are the counterparts of the dark maculae of the sun, modified by the circumstances of different bulk, temperature, and rotatory impulse. Mattieu Williams says, in regard to this deeply interesting and most beautiful planet:—

'I have little doubt that Jupiter is still red-hot, or rather *white-hot*, that a vast depth of aqueous or other vapour surrounds it, and that these, together with the free oxygen and nitrogen, form a very much greater atmosphere than that which I have calculated. I think it extremely probable that the temperature of the dissociation of water' (that is, the separation of its constituent elements under the circumstance of a temperature too high to allow their chemical union to be maintained) 'has been reached by the original atmospheric compression of Jupiter; that it must have manifested some degree of general solar phenomena; and that if we could see it shaded from the solar rays it would appear like a phosphorescent, or rather fluorescent, ball, by the illumination of its vaporous envelope, due to the light which it absorbs from the glowing world within.'

Mattieu Williams calculates that the atmospheric pressure upon the surface of the contained solid nucleus of Jupiter cannot be less than 740 lbs. to the square inch, which would be only balanced by a column of mercury 134 feet high, and that the compression alone of this weight must generate a temperature in the lower regions of the atmosphere of at least 2,259 degrees of Fahrenheit, which is about the melting-point of cast-iron. Jupiter, therefore, must be ranked as a miniature or subordinate sun, rather than as a finished and consolidated world, reproducing in its outer region of rule many of the same operations and manifestations of energy and originative force that are evinced by its great solar prototype in the central focus of the system, and possibly conferring upon its little family of dependent satellites the same benefit and service that the vitalising sun affords to the nearer planets of its family. But if this is the case, Jupiter should have its streams of dependent meteorites moving in eccentrically recurring paths, as well as its cluster of satellite-worlds; and the comets of short period that return to the neighbourhood of Jupiter should be those meteor streams that have primarily issued from the planet itself as results of eruptive force, rather than chance wanderers, that have been drawn to the planet and

possibly have been of quite modern origin, and its sudden appearance very remarkably supports a conviction long entertained by Otto Struve, that these Saturnian rings are by no means fixed and permanent in their form. This exact and most careful observer points out that Huyghens had remarked at the latter part of the 17th century, that the ring of Saturn was not quite so broad as the interval separating it from the planet, although it is now, beyond all doubt, more than twice as broad as that interval. From this, and from other independent investigations and observations of his own, Struve concludes that the ring is gradually extending itself inwards, and that if the same inward growth is continued, it should be in contact with the planet itself in another hundred and twenty years. All this, it will be observed, is radically consistent with the idea that the ring is not a solid appendage, but a moving stream of revolving meteors; erupted nodules that have been shot from the planet at some epoch of violent disturbance, and that have since continued to revolve around the planet in a sustained orbit, as the stream of the August meteors revolves around our own sun. After all that has been said in the preceding pages upon a kindred theme, there should obviously be no very grave difficulty in the assumption that Saturn, like the other great orbs of space, must have its occasional periods of exceptional eruptive activity and of subsequent repose, and that the simultaneous inner growth of the bright ring, and development of the dark ring, are intimately associated phenomena indicative of this variable energy, the dusky rings being simply the smaller and more temporary results of an agency that would have made permanent additions to the inner portions of the brighter ring if the projectile efforts had been greater. Comets of short period, which return at regular intervals to the neighbourhood of Saturn, if contemplated in this light, become merely rings, or meteor streams, which have been shot forth with a projectile energy that served to confer upon them wide elliptical orbits, in the place of close circular ones.

It will be observed that there is nothing in this view of the eruptive and meteoric parentage of comets that in any way controverts, or supersedes, what has been previously said in regard to so many of these bodies being vagrants from the outer regions of space. The stars, it will be remembered, which are spread broad-cast through those outer regions in numbers transcending human powers of computation are all suns, essentially of the same nature as the glorious luminary which emits the coronal halo and the zodiacal light. They all shine with a fierce inherent incandescence, and must be the

seat of a similar process of unceasing change and energetic activity to that which our own fountain of light and life displays. In all probability each one of those stars has therefore its own tributary array of meteor dependents. A projectile stream shot out from any one of these external systems so far that it ceased to be amenable to the reclaiming attraction of the parent mass, would of necessity travel on in the line of its projection until it plunged into the vortex of some other system, and there tracked its sky, on its way to other depths of the immensity, with a passing comet's gleam. The vagrant comets, that travel in hyperbolas, are properly the outer fringes of meteor-systems that have been torn from the parent mass by the supreme strength of their explosive impacts, and so left to their own aberrant impulses in the void. They are the projectiles of the meteoric artillery that have been shot forth into space, so to speak, *with an infinite range.*

It is scarcely possible to turn from a survey of this fascinating department of physical research without giving a parting word to a speculation that bears very closely upon it, and that has been received with a considerable degree of favour by distinguished philosophers, foremost among them Mayer of Heilbronn, Helmholtz, Joule, Sir William Thomson, and Tyndall. It does not need any large effort of imagination to conceive that the great central luminary of our system must of necessity be expending its store of energy under the unceasing strain of the marvellous work it performs, unless there is some special provision in the arrangements of the physical universe for compensating this loss, and replacing the waste. According to the authorities who have been named, this renewal of solar energy may possibly be accomplished by the mechanical impact of the meteors that are for ever showering in upon the surface of the sun from the neighbouring regions of space, and especially from those portions of it that furnish the gleams of the coronal halo, and of the zodiacal light. It has been calculated by these advocates of the 'Dynamical Theory of Heat,' that the aerolite, or solid meteor, rushing in upon the sun from an infinite distance with the velocity of 390 miles in a second, which it would acquire under such circumstances, would generate, as the mere mechanical result of the concussion, 9,000 times as much heat as would be produced by the ordinary combustion of an equal mass of coal, and that if the earth fell to the sun from an infinite distance, it would generate enough heat by the concussion to maintain the calorific waste of the sun for an entire century. The sun would consume itself under its present rate of emission of light and heat, if it were a

mass of coal burning in the ordinary way, in 4,600 years. But a mass of meteorites of equal bulk, battered in upon it, would sustain the same emission 9,000 times 4,600 years. The necessarily restricted limits of a review alone prevent a more extended notice of this interesting theory, which, at least, furnishes a noteworthy and not unphilosophical suggestion as to what may possibly be the ultimate destination of comets and meteors, and the office which these bodies perform in the organised scheme of nature.

Our attention has been directed to a passage in the article on the 'Physical History of the Moon,' at page 93, line 3, of our last number alluding to the process by which Newton arrived at his first confirmation of the theory of gravitation, in which there are some inaccuracies and misprints in the statement of the method of procedure. The passage may be more exactly expressed as follows:—The moon circles about the earth at a distance of sixty of its half-diameters from its centre, and therefore in a position where, if attractive force diminishes, as affirmed by theory, inversely as the square of the distance, the attraction of the earth should be 3,600 times less than it is at its surface. The moon, at its distance of sixty half-diameters, or, in exact numbers, at the mean distance of 238,000 miles, moves round in a path which may be taken as 1,500,450 miles in extent, and performs this journey in 39,343 minutes, at an average rate of about $38\frac{1}{2}$ miles per minute. But in $38\frac{1}{2}$ miles the moon moves in such a circle through a curve that falls out of a straight line as much as $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, which is also exactly what a stone falls through in a second under the earth's attraction when 3,959, or a mean semi-diameter of the earth, away from its centre. The moon at 60 times 3,959 miles falls through 3,600 times less space in a second than it would on the earth's surface, that is it falls through the 0.0536th part of an inch; which is virtually the same thing as 193 inches, or $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, in a minute;—0.0536 of an inch multiplied by 3,600 being equal to 192.9600, or very nearly 193 inches. The moon, in this calculation, is considered to be travelling in a circle with its mean distance for a radius instead of in its actually elliptical orbit.

In lines 18, 19, and 31 of page 93 a decimal point was accidentally omitted in the figures 419; it was intended to be 41.9; but the exact velocity of the moon in its orbit, if estimated as an average from its mean distance, instead of in round numbers, is $38\frac{1}{2}$ miles per minute.

ART. VI.—1. *A Bill intituled 'An Act to provide for the Revision and Amendment of the Rubrics contained in the Book of Common Prayer.'* Presented to the House of Lords by the Lord Bishop of LONDON, June 19, 1874.

2. *Synodalia, Journal and Chronicle of the Convocation for the Province of Canterbury.* London: 1854–1874.

3. *Parliamentary Debates on Public Worship Regulation Bill,* 1874.

THE recent debates in Parliament on the Act for the Regulation of Public Worship revealed a spirit and a resolution at once refreshing and unexpected. Whatever men's views have been as to the real convictions of the country on ecclesiastical affairs, hardly anyone was prepared for the eager unanimity with which the Archbishop's Bill was taken up in the House of Commons, and carried through all its stages; the Government, at first reluctant, being drawn into hearty support, and pressing measures like the Judicature Bill being sacrificed for the one measure which had come to be of supreme importance.

The meaning of those debates was rightly summed up by Sir William Harcourt as a conviction, first, that the National Church must be upheld, and, secondly, that this could only be done by maintaining its Protestant character. But it is not Protestantism in its merely negative aspect which has inspired the new attitude of Parliament. It is the historical Protestantism of the nation, the conviction that religion is a matter of public and national concern. It is the determination that the Church shall be not in name but in reality national, and that the clergy shall obey the law framed by the will of the whole nation. Those who have watched with anxiety the course of ecclesiastical affairs during the last few years can hardly have failed to observe that the Church-organisation was drifting away from its national position. It was not merely that Ritualists were defying the convictions and common sense of their fellow-countrymen, and casting a slur upon the Reformation; nor even that the apparent impotence of the law enabled them to give the Church system the aspect of a mere engine for the promotion of Romanism; but, still more, that the clerical or sacerdotal views, of which Ritualism is but one expression, which would leave all matters of religion to the exclusive conduct of the clergy, had gained an undue predominance; and, further, that Parliament, the only body which could maintain the national as opposed to the clerical organisation, seemed to have abdicated its functions, and to be more and more unwilling to

touch religious questions. This probably was due in part to the supposition that the political Nonconformists who aimed at Disestablishment were the strongest support of the Liberal party then in power, and partly to a belief that the sacerdotal theories of an influential fraction of the clergy had a serious hold upon the laity of the Church. Both of these suppositions have been shown to be erroneous. We are convinced that the laity generally, while respecting the good done by many of the High Church clergy and welcoming a development of church art and music in the services, have no sympathy with theories of the divine right of the clergy, such as those lately expressed in the House of Lords by the Bishop of Lincoln and by the Bishop of Winchester. And similarly we believe that the country, while honouring the sturdy principle of the Nonconformist leaders, is quite unprepared to follow them in giving effect to their theory of a separation of religious affairs from the general affairs of the nation, and that the only thing which could persuade it to destroy its Church Establishment would be the conviction that the Church was being hopelessly driven into an anti-national position. We hail, therefore, the recent action of Parliament as a confirmation of our convictions. We believe that it has acted as a revelation to the country, which makes it conscious of its unity and its power, and which indicates the direction towards which its policy should turn.

It was pointed out that the Act for the Regulation of Public Worship could not stand alone; and neither the distinguished person who had charge of the bill in the House of Commons, nor those who supported him announced any doctrine of finality. On the contrary, it was assumed on all sides that what was done this year was but the prelude to further legislation. We venture, indeed, to think that the promise which seemed to be made to treat all clerical offences in the same manner is of very doubtful policy. The moral offences of the clergy belong to the criminal class, and should, we submit, after a preliminary investigation, be tried by the ordinary procedure of the Common Law. For offences of a doctrinal kind, on the other hand, the present cumbrous machinery, which gives many opportunities of reconsideration, is not ill-suited. But matters of Ritual should be treated mainly as administrative details; and for this purpose the law must be made absolutely plain.

We are quite aware that it is impossible to enforce a rigid uniformity in every detail for every church in the country. But what is possible is, first, to make the law unambiguous on all points in which uniformity is to be observed; secondly, to

prescribe distinctly what is to be left to discretion ; and, thirdly, to define with equal distinctness the authority to which the discretion is committed. We regard the discretion lodged by the Act of this year in the hands of the Bishops, of refusing to allow ritual suits to proceed, as an *Interim*, which is intended to last only till the law is made perfectly clear on the points we have specified. To this task the Church and country have now to apply themselves.

It is to Parliament that we must look for the settlement of the whole question ; and we must hope that this responsibility will be accepted fully, and not thrown upon others. It is natural that, on the first view of the matter, politicians should turn to the Convocations of the clergy and expect some valuable aid from them. It may be thought that the Convocations have some power to settle these questions, and even that Parliament is precluded from legislating on such matters without their consent. But a review of the history of the Convocations of Canterbury and of York will show how unfounded are any such suppositions, and how mischievous would be the policy which should invest the Convocations with new powers.

This subject has gained much in importance from the bill introduced at the end of last session by the Bishop of London, entitled ' An Act to provide for the Revision and Amendment of the Rubrics contained in the Book of Common Prayer.' This bill provides that the Archbishops, as Presidents, and the Bishops and clergy of the Convocations shall have power from time to time to prepare schemes for the amendment of the Rubrics : that such schemes, when certified under the hand and seal of both Archbishops, shall be laid before the Queen in Council, and be published in the Gazette and laid before both Houses of Parliament ; and that, unless an address be presented by either of the Houses of Parliament within forty days praying Her Majesty to withhold her consent, the scheme may then be approved in Council ; and that schemes so approved shall become law as if they were part of this Act. The Convocations would thus be erected into a department with power to frame Orders in Council. Of this proposal, though it emanates from a Prelate whose sober judgment might be expected to incur the charge of timidity rather than of rashness, it is not too much to say that it is a revolutionary measure of the most retrograde character. It is revolutionary because it proposes to give the Convocations a position which they have never before held, to transfer to them practically the whole power over the conduct of divine service. And it is retrograde because that power would certainly be used in the

interests not of the nation but of a class. It is clear that the bill takes the initiative out of the hands of Parliament. Its result must be, and we presume its intention is, not merely that some kind of initiative shall be given to the Convocations, but that no other body but the Convocations shall have the initiative. That is, at the moment when it has become imperative to deal with the Rubrics, it is proposed that all hope of an effective reform shall be stopped by erecting into prominence a body the tendency of which has always been anti-national and obstructive.

That such a measure should emanate from such a quarter is an indication of the need which exists for a presentation of the facts relating to the Convocations such as will enable the reader to judge of their true position and tendency. We shall show that it is unnecessary according to constitutional precedent to consult the Convocations in making changes in the Public Services of the Church; that the constitution of these bodies makes them unfit for the purpose; that it is contrary to the true principles applicable to these subjects to acknowledge such a power as would be thus attributed to them; and that their practical working has proved that nothing but harm can be expected from a measure which would give them the control.

1. It was said by Burke that the Convocations were a part of the Constitution, but that they had nothing but a legal existence. They had not at that time met for the transaction of business for more than sixty years. There are parts of every organism which are more vital than others; and we must look to history in order to see whether an institution has practically made good its position. There is a certain truth in Carlyle's paradox of 'the mights' being more important than the rights, and it is this, that the claims of an institution, if they are sound, will in the course of history establish themselves till it becomes a living power. The history of the Convocations shows no such vitality. It was sought by Atterbury to vindicate for them the title of a Spiritual Parliament; and their advocates have claimed for them at times a power to initiate or to supervise all laws relating to spiritual things. But these claims have never been admitted by the nation. It would be most in accordance with the facts of history to say that they are the councils of the Archbishops, which may be consulted or not, as may at any time be found convenient.

It was rightly said by Lord Hardwicke in his well-known judgment on the powers of Convocation, that little was to be gained by a study of the councils of Norman and Saxon times, because the clergy then frequently sat in the general council

of the nation. In the great constitutional changes of the time of Edward I., which gave a more definite form to the Convocations as well as to Parliament, it is evident that the attempt was made to bring the representatives of the clergy to sit in Parliament. This was successfully resisted by the clerical body, but the traces of it remain to the present day in the form, nearly six hundred years old, of the writs which summon the Bishops to Parliament. It is those writs, addressed to them as Peers of Parliament, and not the Convocation writs, which contain the *Præmunientes* clause, by which the representation of the clergy is settled. The clergy having chosen to separate their interests from those of the realm, the King nevertheless retained the right of summoning them, which was exercised by a writ directed to the Archbishop alone, in the form still used. The Convocations became a separate power, the action of which was jealously watched by the King and Parliament. The Convocations were necessary for taxing purposes; and the writ of Edward I., which we have alluded to, which gave Convocation its present form, bears witness to this, for the special object assigned for their meeting at that time is to help the King in the recovery of Gascony from the King of France. Thus the power of the purse was in the hands of the Convocations as truly as in those of the House of Commons; and it remained with them for nearly four centuries. The clergy were, during the early part of that period, a wealthy and powerful body; they were supported also, in any conflict with the King, by the formidable power of the Pope; and had there been any necessity in the nature of things for the existence of a 'Spiritual Parliament,' there is no reason why they should not have made good their position. The Convocations started fair by the side of the House of Commons. Yet the Commons have grown year by year throughout our history, while the Convocations have had but a shadowy existence. The taxing power in their hands proved a source of weakness rather than of strength; on the single occasion on which it was used effectively, it was used with disastrous results. The benevolence granted in 1640 to the King, then on the verge of his conflict with the Parliament, became, in conjunction with the canons then promulgated, the means of separating the clergy definitively from the interests of the nation, and was one chief cause of the downfall of the Church-system. And when, in 1664, the separate taxation of the clergy was given up by an arrangement between Lord Clarendon and Archbishop Sheldon, the change—which Bishop Gibson called the greatest change ever made in the Constitution—was made, not by Canon, but by

Statute, without any reluctance on the part of the clergy. But the change thus silently effected undoubtedly took away from the Convocations the chief constitutional ground for their existence. 'It was found,' says Dr. Cardwell, in allusion to this change, 'that Convocations were an empty pageant;' and he goes on to point out that they were of no value to the Government, that they were regarded with some degree of jealousy by the Bishops, and that it was only fears of possible dangers 'that made any party desire that Convocations should 'still maintain a decent and determinate existence.'

Putting aside then the taxing power which alone gave the Convocations the position which they hold as attached to Parliament, and summoned at every meeting of Parliament, they remain as Synods, but as Synods subject to the peculiar circumstances of England, a country in which Church affairs have never been separated from those of the nation. They are the councils of the Metropolitan; and, under the supreme national authority, are entirely under his control. The Royal writ is addressed to him alone; he fixes the days of meeting, and can prorogue, as is believed by the best authorities, even without the consent of his suffragans. He can prescribe what business shall be entered upon, and the order in which it shall be transacted; without his permission no member can absent himself; and he has a veto upon all that is done. Accordingly, the acts of the Convocations often run in the name of the Archbishops alone, or in the name of the Archbishops and their suffragans, without mention of the other clergy. And in the most important of the Acts of Uniformity, that of the first year of Elizabeth, the consent of the Metropolitan alone was made necessary for the exercise of the Royal prerogative in altering the services. When to this we add that the Archbishops and Bishops have a far more effective sphere of action in Parliament, it is clear that the objects of Convocations are much narrowed, and their meeting may well be thought to be superfluous.

There is no time at which the Crown as representing the nation has not claimed and exercised a right of intervention in the assemblies of the clergy, and of acting independently of them. The chronicler who records the important synodical acts of Archbishop Peckham, in 1281, a little before the establishment of the regular Convocations, describes the council in these words:—

'The Archbishop of Canterbury having called together (*convocatis*) all the bishops, &c., &c., of his province, held a solemn council at Lambeth, in which he renewed the constitutions of Otto and of Othobon.

In the same council he had proposed to annul certain liberties which belonged to our lord the king, and had been exercised from far-distant times, namely, the oversight of the right of patronage, and the royal prohibition in certain matters which appeared to concern the spirituality alone. But the king opposed himself publicly to him through certain of his own people, and with threats inhibited him from presuming to establish anything to the prejudice or depression of the king's liberty. Whence it came to pass that the Archbishop, being terrified, started back from his presumption.'

On the other hand, when statutes like those of *Præmunire* and *Provisors* were to be passed, the King and Parliament went their way without reference to the assemblies of the clergy.

Thus, during the times of the concurrent legislative power, there was perpetual liability to collision; no definite line was drawn between matters within the cognisance of Parliament and matters belonging to the clergy; and the King and Parliament never hesitated as to their course in any case in which the general rights of the nation were concerned. But at last the crisis came in the great business of the divorce of Henry VIII. (a purely 'spiritual' matter), and in the settlement of that great affair the nation knew that it was settling its own affairs also. The first Statute of Appeals (24 Hen. VIII. c. 12) determined that all causes, secular and spiritual alike, should be decided at home, none being sent to Rome. It was very far from granting, as has sometimes been hastily assumed from the language of its preamble, any limitation upon the powers of Parliament, for it assumed power to allow the Bishops and clergy to minister the Sacraments and Divine Services, notwithstanding inhibitions from Rome, then generally held to be binding; but it left for the moment the conflict of spiritual and secular jurisdictions within the realm, while asserting its own authority over both. This, however, was but the beginning of the movement. The question whether the nation was to be supreme over the clergy, both in legislative and in judicial matters, remained to be decided, and was decided the very next year. The petition of the Commons, which led to the submission of the clergy, declared that the acts of the clergy in their convocations constantly interfered with the rights of the King and his subjects, and subjected them to excommunication and the guilt of heresy. The petition or complaint, which had evidently the King's approval, was sent down to Convocation, and the Clergy, after a long negotiation, finally gave way. The Act of Parliament which embodies their submission establishes incontestably the supreme power of the nation as represented in Parliament over the whole

clerical system. It does not merely record the promise of the clergy not to do the things complained of, but *enacts* that they shall not meet without the King's authority, that they shall not make canons without his consent, nor promulge them without his sanction. The words used leave no room for any independent power. The authority of Parliament is vindicated as supreme in all departments. And in the matter of appeals the supremacy of the nation over the clergy is equally vindicated. The Ecclesiastical Courts are recognised; but from their law, as from an exotic system, like the Admiralty law, an appeal is given to the King in Chancery. And further, to prevent the interference of clergy-made law with that of the nation, a commission was appointed of thirty-two persons (all to be selected by the King) to review the canons then in existence; and power was given to the King to re-enact under his great seal all that they approved, the remainder being summarily abolished.

It is difficult in reading this statute to avoid the conviction that the intention of Parliament was to take all real power away from the Convocations. We see in it the uprising of a spirit which goes far beyond the limitation of the Convocations to a particular sphere of action. The whole range of their possible powers is touched, and in no part of it does there appear to be space left to them for action or useful movement. And, as a matter of history, their action, except in the way of obstruction or retrogression, has been hardly felt at all in the life of the English Church. All the beneficent reforms of the Reformation, of the Revolution, and of the present century have been made either in spite of them or with their reluctant consent. Not one has been originated by them and carried through by their power.

For this there were several causes, the chief of which was the impossibility, in a compact community like that of England, of separating one department of life from the rest; and on this we shall have to touch further on. Another cause was the comparative poverty of the clergy after the Reformation, which made their subsidies of far less value. Another was the unbounded extent of the Sovereign's supremacy, exercised in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. through the Council, and from Elizabeth's accession to the Rebellion by the Courts of High Commission, who undertook not only judicial and administrative, but legislative functions, as in the case of the memorable Advertisements of 1565.

But within their own sphere, that of religion, the clergy were now no longer supreme. The laity, among whom the Reforma-

tion had its greatest influence, began to rise to their true position in questions of public worship and religious teaching. The royal supremacy was regarded not as the super-position of a *mixta persona* over a double body, the moieties of which were to act separately under him, but as the assertion of the ultimate supremacy of the lay power in all matters. In the Act 37 Henry VIII. c. 17, for allowing lay and married persons to be ecclesiastical judges, the preamble states that the rules against such appointments had been introduced by the adherents of the Bishop of Rome, 'which, standing in their effects, did sound to appear . . . to be directly repugnant to your Majesty, as 'supreme head of the Church, your Grace being a layman.' The laity, in fact, being better instructed, and aroused to an interest in religious matters, began to hold strong opinions, and to assert them in the House of Commons, in matters in which a few years before they would have felt their own incompetence. It was stipulated in the Act of Submission that of the commission who should revise the canons one-half should be laymen; and the legislation of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. dealt boldly with all matters of doctrine and of worship. In Elizabeth's time, though the Queen sent messages to the Commons showing her displeasure at their dealing with questions of doctrine, they persevered and passed the Act for Ministers to be of sound Religion; and on a later occasion, in 1585, we find Archbishop Whitgift complaining to the Queen that, 'notwithstanding the late charge given by your Highness to the Lower House of Parliament for dealing with causes of the Church, yet they have passed a bill in that House touching that matter'—a matter which was nothing less than a proposal that the competence of all clergymen appointed to benefices should be tried by twelve laymen. In King James's time the Commons protested against the canons then passed, and nearly overthrew them; and in 1640 they asserted that no such canons had any validity unless confirmed by Parliament. This temper of the House of Commons has been maintained throughout our subsequent history, except in times of torpor; and we are probably now witnessing a revival of it which is pregnant with consequences. For while the 'omnipotence of Parliament' is at work, it is very unlikely that any other legislative machine should attempt to operate.

With these various causes drawing away the jurisdiction which might have been exercised by the Convocations, there was little room for their action. They had no initiative; it was competent for those with whom the initiative rested to consult them or not as they pleased. And they were accord-

ingly consulted only when it was thought safe to do so, and when their assent might facilitate the reception of a measure. 'Several matters,' says Mr. Lathbury in his 'History of Convocation,' written with the avowed object of showing its importance, 'which tended to advance the Reformation, were executed by the King himself without consulting the Convocation;' and he might have used much more emphatic terms. When Henry VIII. received power to exercise the supremacy, and to repress all heresies and offences, to suppress monasteries, to appoint a Vicar-General for ecclesiastical affairs who was to take his place even at the Convocation above that of the Archbishop, he obtained these powers from Parliament alone. The Primer which contained the rudiments of the Book of Common Prayer was issued by the King alone. When the Convocations in 1542 would have thwarted the publication of Cranmer's Bible, having first petitioned for a revision (how near a parallel have we had to this in later years!), the matter was at once taken out of their hands and referred to the Universities, and the Convocation was dissolved. On the other hand, when the retrograde Act of the Six Articles was framed, the authority of Convocation was invoked, not in vain, the ungrateful task being committed to Cromwell, the Vicar-General, of putting the questions to the Lower House of the clergy and eliciting their too ready reply.

The practice was the same in Edward VI.'s reign. Two very important steps were taken on his accession before either Parliament or Convocation could meet: the publication of the Book of Homilies, and the issue of the Injunctions which established the Reformation in all outward respects. When Parliament met it proceeded at once to the affairs of religion. There is reason to think that the proposal that the Communion should be administered in both kinds was accepted in the Convocation through Cranmer's influence, and that something was said there favourable to the repeal of the Act of the Six Articles. But in the Acts of Parliament effecting these changes there is no mention of Convocation, and its assent, if given, was not thought worth mentioning in the proclamation enforcing the Act for the Sacrament, though the advice of the Protector and the Council and that of the Archbishop are recorded. The chief anxiety of the Convocation seems to have been that the revision of the canons, the work of the Commission for Church services, and generally the proposed laws relating to religion, should be laid before them. But there is little reason to think that their wish was granted in any particular. It seems more likely that their demand for an over-

sight of all legislation touching religion appeared so extravagant that they were less consulted than before. It is certain that the most important part of the Liturgy, the Communion Office, was completed and published when Convocation was not sitting; and this gives a strong presumption that the First Prayer-book was not submitted to that body. The Ordinal, the Catechism, and the Act for the appointment of bishops which gave the nomination absolutely to the King, were set forth without any authority of Convocation. The records, indeed, of the Convocation of this period were destroyed in the Fire of London, and we have but side-lights to guide us. It can only be said that, if Convocation was consulted at all in these changes, its assent was thought so little necessary that it never appears on the face of the documents. But of the Acts of the last year of Edward we may speak more certainly. The Second Prayer-book, which is in all substantial respects that which we now use, was certainly not submitted to Convocation. 'It was not permitted,' says Cardwell, 'to pass its judgment upon the Second Service-book put forth by authority of Parliament; and for this plain reason, that it would have thrown all possible difficulties in the way of its publication.' This book contained the new rubric on the ornaments of the Church and its ministers, the rubric about kneeling at the Communion, and the Ordinal, and may be said to mark the consummation of the Reformation. There is a dispute as to the Articles of religion, which, as originally set forth along with Poyntet's Catechism, bore the singular title (differing greatly from the description of documents sanctioned by Convocation, e.g. of the Thirty-nine Articles in 1562) 'De quibus in Synodo Londinensi inter Episcopus et alios eruditos viros convenerat.' It was admitted the next year, both in Convocation and in Cranmer's examination at Oxford, that Poyntet's Catechism had received no sanction from Convocation; and Heylin, who had opportunities of searching the registers which still existed in his time, found no trace of the Articles there. It is therefore probable (as Heylin himself concludes) that their sanction by a committee of the Bishops was held to be the sanction of a Synod of sufficient authority.

In Elizabeth's time it was the same, though the Queen showed a disposition to thwart the independence of the Commons in matters of religion, and to act through the clergy alone as more amenable to her prerogative. The great Acts which re-established the Reformation at the beginning of her reign, restoring the whole power over religion to the Crown, were passed without any consultation with the Convocations; and the

dealing of the Queen and Parliament with the all-important question of public worship was decisive on the question we are treating. The Queen came to the throne in November 1558. In December she issued a proclamation ordering that the Litany, the Epistles and Gospels, and the Ten Commandments should be read in English. At the end of January Parliament met; the Commons at once (February 15th), sent up a bill on the new service book, but it was kept back—first, in order that a Commission which had been appointed to confer upon the changes in the service might report; and secondly, that a Conference might take place in Westminster Abbey, at which it is especially noted that the whole House of Commons was present. The Convocation meanwhile met, but were at once inhibited from making any canon. They precluded themselves from all influence by passing resolutions affirming the Roman view of the Sacrament, the supremacy of the Pope, and the sole power of the clergy to treat of matters of doctrine, the Sacraments, and the order of Divine Service. Meanwhile the Conference at the Abbey took place at the end of March, and by April 18th, the Commons sent up a new bill on Public Worship, which was passed by the Lords April 25th, all the Bishops dissenting. Thus the crowning act of the Reformation was done not only without Convocation, but against the expressed conviction of Convocation. The clergy came round afterwards; but it was the nation, not the clergy, that led the way. It is true that for matters of doctrine it was provided (1 Eliz. c. 36), that nothing should be adjudged to be heresy by the High Commission but what should be determined to be heresy by Parliament with assent of the clergy in their Convocations; and that three years afterwards the clergy were induced to ratify the Thirty-nine Articles of religion. But the recognition of the clerical assemblies was merely of a negative kind; and the assent of Convocation to the Articles was not procured till the whole bench of Bishops had been filled with Reformers, and the whole body of the clergy purged and brought into submission by means of the Oath of Supremacy enacted by Parliament, and the Injunctions and the Commission which rested on lay authority. The Advertisements, which followed in 1565, (issued by the Commissioners without special authorisation of the Queen, but enforced and reckoned valid throughout Elizabeth's reign,) settled the question of ornaments, which the Act of Uniformity had left to be decided by the Queen; and the settlement made by them, that with the exception of the cope at the Sacrament in cathedrals and collegiate churches, the

clergy should wear surplices in all their ministrations, was adopted in the canons of 1603 as the recognised practice.

From the issue of these Advertisements no changes took place in Elizabeth's reign. On the accession of James, the petition of the thousand ministers remonstrating against certain points in the Prayer-book and the Hampton Court Conference which followed it led to a few alterations in the Prayer-book, the chief of which were the addition of the Thanksgivings after the Litany, and of the part of the Catechism relating to the Sacraments. The Prayer-book thus altered by the King and the bishops, was set forth and enforced by royal proclamation alone; and the greatest work of King James's reign, the Revised Translation of the Bible, was also effected by the King's authority alone.

The Book of Canons, framed in 1603-4, is the one instance in which some kind of legal validity appears to have been given by the act of the Convocations alone. What amount of validity this is it is very difficult to ascertain; nor does there seem to be any good reason why they should be esteemed more valid than those of 1640, which are universally repudiated. The one point legally ascertained is that they do not bind the laity; and yet it is equally certain that they profess to do so, in such matters, for instance, as those of marriage or the enforcement of church-rates for particular things, the execution of which they entrust with the confident tone of preemptory laws to the High Commissioners. 'They were collected,' says Collier, 'by Bishop Bancroft out of the Articles, Injunctions, and Synodical Acts passed and published in the reign of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth;' and their chief importance is as evidence of what was at that time understood to be the law. The House of Commons opposed them, refusing a conference with members of Convocation as derogatory to their privileges, and the next year passed a bill (which was cut short only by a dissolution), declaring that no such canons could touch the laity. Many of the canons have become obsolete, many have been rendered invalid as opposed to subsequent Acts of Parliament, and many relate to insignificant matters usually left to the discretion of the clergy; and the penalties to which they appeal are those of excommunication, for which there has never been so much as a mode of procedure in the reformed Church of England; so that their validity has hardly been fully tested as binding upon the clergy, and they cannot be cited as showing any power of legislation in the Convocation even in those matters (if such there be) which concern the

clergy alone. But this attempt at legislation, coupled with the high sacerdotal theories of Bancroft who now became archbishop, served to alarm the country, and was one of the causes which led first to civil war and then to the prevalence and bitterness of Dissent. 'They added greatly,' says Cardwell, 'to the causes of disquiet which already existed in the Church of England. Up to this time the cause of the Church was ably and successfully maintained; from this period it sensibly and constantly declined.'

We need not trace that decline and fall; the infatuation of the Church rulers which led the King beyond his powers and his rights; the canons of 1606 which pledged the clergy to the extreme theories of Divine Right; the Declaration prefixed to and still published with the Articles, which tried to give powers to Convocation, and was promptly met by a counter-declaration of the Commons; the defiant canons of 1640, which amid the beginnings of the earthquake tried by the famous Etcetera Oath to bind the Church to a figment of immutability; the illegal subsidy which was designed to help the King to govern without his Parliament; and the final collapse under which the very names of Episcopacy and the Liturgy became objects of hatred to the nation. For our present purpose, that of constructive legislation, the period from 1603 to 1661 is a blank in our annals, and we pass to the important Convocation of the Restoration.

The work of the Convocation of 1661 and the following year is contained in the Prayer-book now in use, which has not been changed since that time. It was reckoned by Archbishop Tenison that the alterations then made by Convocation amounted to 600; but they were mostly of a slight character, and the reproach which attaches to that Convocation is, that it gave no help in the main difficulty, that is, in bringing about the reconciliation which was the first promise of the Restoration, but occupied itself wholly with minor details. The Parliament watched its proceedings with some jealousy; it is thought by some persons that the House of Lords made some alterations in the book; and the House of Commons, on receiving the amended book, scrutinised it through a Committee and then asserted their rights as follows:—The question was put, 'Whether debate shall be admitted to the amendments made by Convocation in the Book of Common Prayer and sent down by the Lords to this House?' This was resolved in the negative, but only by a majority of six, ninety-six to ninety. The question was then put, 'That the amendments made by the Convocation and sent down by the Lords to this

‘ House might, by the order of this House, have been debated,’ and this was affirmed without a division. The Parliament further, in the Act for the reinstatement of the Ecclesiastical Courts, expressly guarded themselves against giving any sanction to the supposed power of Convocations to make laws. Nothing in this statute, it is enacted, shall ‘ confirm the canons made in the year 1640, or any of them, nor any other ecclesiastical laws or canons not formerly confirmed, allowed, or enacted by Parliament, or by the established laws of the land as they stood in the year 1639.’

On one more occasion the Government committed an important measure to the discretion of Convocation, and they may well have repented of having entrusted it with power. In 1689 the opportunity which had been lost in 1661–2 of doing something for the general welfare of the nation was again offered to Convocation. Parliament in that year passed the great Toleration Act without consulting the clerical bodies; but when the Bill for Comprehension had been passed by the House of Lords, the Commons were induced, mainly no doubt by the professions of amity between the Church and the Nonconformists during their common danger in the time of James II., to propose to the King that a Convocation should be called according to ancient usage to deliberate upon ecclesiastical affairs. It was a fatal step for the cause of Christian charity and for the objects which the Government had at heart. There was a chance that, in the fervour of Protestantism which had been awakened the mass of the Nonconformists might have come within the widened embrace of the National Church. A Royal Commission was appointed, which, under the guidance of Tillotson and Burnet, proposed many judicious changes, of which at the present day the features which strike us are their extreme moderation, and the ingenuity with which the difficulties of a century of controversy and war were overcome. The greatest difficulty, that of the necessity of Episcopal ordination, was surmounted by a conditional form: ‘ If thou art not ordained, I ordain thee; ’ the objection to the surplice and to the cross in baptism was to be allowed, the bishop having power to appoint a curate to officiate for the objecting incumbent; the subscriptions were to be reduced to a single and simple form; the Athanasian Creed was to be recited fewer times and an explanation to be added; the form of ordination and absolution was to be modified; the Apocryphal Lessons were to be expunged, and additions made to the Catechism and to several of the services. We do not believe, with Macaulay, that these changes would have alienated the Conservatives and country

gentlemen ; for they are changes which would not strike the eye of the careless so much as respond to the scruples of the thoughtful ; and we may safely say, that the sympathies of the Dissenters would have been won by the enactment of such a measure, even if it had failed to incorporate them in the Church. But the Convocation when it met would not even go to work ; they showed a temper of sullen resistance ; and the Government having taken the false step of consulting them, were unable to proceed with the bill. Thus the Convocation gave a full proof which has been confirmed by the experience of other times, that if it has little power to originate it has great power to obstruct. It can perpetuate religious discord ; it has no power to heal it. It will at times accede to good measures if it is made clear that the Government intend to carry them through ; but as soon as substantial power is given it, all hope of improvement ceases.

Of the subsequent history of the Convocations till the present day there is very little to say, except that it demonstrates what we have just said of their tendencies. From 1662 to 1700, with the one exception just mentioned, Convocation was not allowed to meet except as a matter of form. It had then seventeen years of feverish existence, only a little less time than that occupied by its present revival, and was then laid aside for 135 years. During its revival at the beginning of the eighteenth century every effort was made to endow it with life. The ' Letter to a Convocation Man ' stirred the country for the time, and one of the most animated controversies ever known was that in which Atterbury boldly challenged for the Lower House of Convocation the privileges of a Spiritual Parliament. The works of Wake, of Gibson, and of Hody, and the numerous pamphlets accompanying them, fairly exhaust the subject as a field for literature, as do the conflicts of the Upper and Lower House as a field of practical action. In looking back upon it we see how hopeless was the task of assigning to the Convocations any real functions in the English Commonwealth. Even in those last glorious years of Queen Anne (as they appeared to the Tories and High Churchmen of the time), when Mrs. Masham was supreme and English policy was represented by the Treaty of Utrecht, when Sacheverell was a great divine, and Harley and Bolingbroke, champions of the Church, after triumphing over occasional conformity, could play into the hands of Atterbury and his friends in the Convocation, and when the majority of the judges even declared in favour of the judicial powers of Convocation, Convocation was as impotent for good as it had been in its worst depression. Their year's work is represented by the letters of business of

1713, which direct them to consult on proceedings in cases of excommunication (a function which was really non-existent), on forms for visiting prisoners (which might well be deemed a matter beyond the reach of forms), on the establishment of Rural Deans where they did not exist, on preserving Terriers of Glebes, and on regulating licenses of marriage. It is no wonder that with such programmes before them they should have enlivened their meetings with controversy, and that the range of their strictures should extend from Toland's Deism, through Whiston, Clarke, and Hoadly, to the pious liberalism of Burnet. Nor is it any wonder that the doors of Convocation should have been closed with the universal acquiescence of the nation, and remained closed for 135 years. But it is a matter for wonder that at the end of that period it should have been thought a wise measure to revive it; and it is also a matter of wonder that it should now, when Church-reforms are talked of, be thought possible to make use of Convocation to effect them.

The Church-reforms of the present century, and they are not few or unimportant, have been effected in all but very few instances without any regard to Convocation, whether before or since its revival. The Pluralities Act, the Church Discipline Act, the Church Building Acts, the salutary measures for dealing with Church property through the Ecclesiastical Commission, were passed during the abeyance of Convocation; but we may be quite sure that they would have been hindered rather than facilitated had Convocation been sitting. Since the revival, University Tests have been abolished, the Political Services expunged from the Prayer-book, clerical disabilities removed, facilities for public worship given, the law of Dilapidations settled, by Parliamentary action alone without any reference to the Convocations.

If we here look back over this review of the past, what are the results, especially in reference to Public Worship? Convocation has been consulted when it was thought that its intervention might be of use; but no distinct rights have ever been recognised as belonging to it; its action has always been feeble, and whenever power has been given to it, it has been retrograde and hurtful. There have been since the beginning of the Reformation six editions, so to call them, of the Book of Common Prayer, of which the account is as follows. 1. The Primer and English Services of Henry VIII.'s time were prepared and put forth by the King alone. 2. The First Prayer-book of Edward VI. (1548) was prepared by a Commission, and set forth by Royal authority, but may possibly

have had some sanction from Convocation. 3. The Second Prayer-book of Edward VI. (1552) was prepared by a Commission, and set forth by Act of Parliament, and not submitted to Convocation. 4. The Prayer-book of Elizabeth was prepared by a Commission, and set forth by Act of Parliament, against the protest of Convocation and the Bishops. 5. The Prayer-book of James was prepared by a Commission and set forth by Royal Proclamation alone. 6. The Prayer-book of the Restoration was prepared by a Commission and by Convocation, and enforced by Act of Parliament. To which we may add the beneficial proposals of 1689, which were thwarted by Convocation. If even the ultra Royalist and High Church Parliament of the Restoration asserted its power to override the decisions of Convocation, though it forbore to exercise that power, there can certainly be no reason for those who are redressing the wrongs done by that Parliament to submit their discretion to the judgment of the clerical body.

2. The causes of the feebleness of the Convocations are inherent in their constitution. They are the assemblies of the clergy alone. But the laity are the body of the Church, and the clergy its ministers or officials. In dealing with matters of legislation and government we venture to think that the common principles of political life are those which must be applied. If there is a consecration of the ministers which dignifies their official administration, there is also a consecration of the whole Church which dignifies popular rights. It was a significant mode of expression by which the early Latin Churches spoke of the laity as the Plebs; and with our modern experience becomes still more so. Who would think, in dealing with any other organisation, of entrusting all power to the paid officials, or of giving them a veto on all measures? Would Parliament ever subject a bill on medical diplomas to the discretion of the present practitioners? In what position would army reform or army purchase be if the wishes of the officers had been allowed full sway? Did Parliament stop the Judicature Bill when the Chancery Bar petitioned against the fusion of Law and Equity, or refrain from requiring the Judges to try Election petitions because they unanimously begged to decline the task? And yet in the Church the case is far stronger; for the interest of the laity in Church matters is constant, not occasional, and the part they are bound to take is not passive but active. It is impossible to separate the interests of the clergy from those of the laity, or those of the Church from those of the nation.

There are three things in the structure of the Convocations

which cause their incompetence as a legislative machine. The first of these is that they are not national but provincial. We are apt to speak of 'Convocation' as though it were a single body. But the Synod of York has to be consulted in all cases in which real action has to be taken. There is a well-known story of a council in the Middle Ages, which was broken up by a contention between the two archbishops for precedence. The Archbishop of York finding his brother primate already in the president's chair, and being unwilling to yield him the place of honour, sat down upon his lap, and being a portly person, eclipsed and nearly crushed him. The difficulty was settled by an uprising of the more numerous provincials of Canterbury, and by the Primate of York being borne away from the assembly in the arms of his suffragans. If it is difficult for two presidents to occupy one chair, it is also difficult for two assemblies to occupy the same ground. In early days the Sovereign occasionally overrode the rights of the Convocation of York. The canons of 1597 which had been debated only in Canterbury were made binding by the Queen in York as well; the same was the case with those of 1603, though the Convocation of York was afterwards allowed to pass identical canons for itself; and in 1661 pressure was put upon the Northern Convocation to send delegates to London whose consent to the deliberations of their southern brethren was to bind the whole province of York. But except in rare cases the double action of the Convocations would make legislation all but impossible; and in late attempts at the passing of canons this has proved a fatal hindrance.

A second difficulty lies in the relations of the Upper and Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury. The Lower House has no initiative except by means of addresses which it may present to the Upper House. Its business is controlled by the Archbishop, and its debates constantly cut short by his interposition. It retains, in fact, the form of its original constitution, in which, having met as one House with the Bishops, it was desired to retire while the Bishops deliberated, and was ordered to consider certain things during its retirement on which the President desired its opinion. It is merely fitted for a Consultative Committee, not for an independent and deliberative body. But it has a determining voice in all that is done. The Upper House being much more amenable to public opinion, is more capable of passing good measures. But for all purposes of action or inaction the common estimate is true which means by 'Convocation' the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury.

A third hindrance is that Convocation does not represent the Church. We tremble, while we say this, at the penalties denounced by the 139th canon against the man who denies the Convocation to be the true Church of England by representation, viz. excommunication, until he repents of this his wicked error. But we trust that the 'Edinburgh Review' may claim the benefit of Lord Hardwicke's judgment that the canons do not bind the laity *proprio vigore*; and we venture, under the shield of this authority, to assert that Convocation does not even represent the clergy. Just one half the Lower House, and by far the more important part, are the *ex officio* members. The proctors of the clergy are elected only by the beneficed clergy; and the amount of interest taken in the elections is small. It is true that the *ex officio* members are by far the most eminent. But this is precisely because they are least representative. A body which should merely reflect the opinions of the parochial clergy would be less than now able to look at national as opposed to class interests. The present Convocation has something of the discretion of a nominee council, but it lacks the energy which true representation gives. It does not represent the clergy; it in no sense represents the laity; and its relations to the lay bodies of the State, when it attempts to legislate, are simply insoluble.

These causes are sufficient to account for the impotence of Convocation. The individual members may be (and they are in many instances) very able and eminent men. But they are in the false position of being members of a representative body which represents nobody, a legislature to which legislation is impossible. The responsibility of legislation is exceedingly great, and its difficulties can only be overcome when the legislating body is armed with full authority, that is, in a free country, when it is in close sympathy with those for whom it legislates. Even the House of Commons varies greatly in its efficiency at different times according as it possesses more or less of this supreme qualification. After a general election in which the mind of the country has been fully declared, it advances boldly, its discipline is good, it discriminates clearly between important and fanciful proposals, and it is capable of doing its work admirably. But when it becomes doubtful of the real mind of the country, all this is reversed: unpractical suggestions gain an undue prominence; the House is broken into sections; time is lost, and the purpose and power of the assembly is dissipated. This, which is an exceptional state of the national, is the normal state of the clerical assembly, and makes it perfectly unfit to be the legislature of the whole Church.

Convocation as a clerical assembly has never shown an appreciation of any but clerical interests. In the discussions upon the Services which have taken place of late years, anyone who has assisted at or attentively read any of its deliberations must have been struck by this. Each member (with but few exceptions) seems to be intent on establishing his own position as a theologian or ecclesiastic, and the question is always, How will this matter agree with the Councils, or with a theory of Episcopal government and divine right of the clergy? hardly ever, How will it affect the general convictions and needs of the country? The proposal to restore 'discipline' in the Church instead of altering the Burial Service was adopted in consonance with old tradition, not considering that it is an impossibility in the present day. The Athanasian Creed was retained, not because it is edifying, but because, from the clerical point of view, it would seem to be 'degrading' an ancient document to leave it out. Vestments and postures are judged not according to convenience or decency, or to the feeling of the country generally, but according to an almost feminine sentiment of what they are arbitrarily made to symbolise.

But when what is proposed is consonant to the general wish, the impossibility of carrying it into effect becomes most striking. Nothing can show this better than the history of the attempt to change the 29th canon, and to allow parents to be sponsors for their own children. The proposal to make this minute but salutary alteration was originally suggested in a report in 1854: it was brought forward as a substantial measure in 1860, and the proceedings relating to it occupy a considerable space in the reports on to the year 1872, when the following account of the result was given by the Prolocutor:—

'Our Convocation, acting under the Royal license, agreed to an alteration of the canon in 1861. The alteration consisted of the removal of the restriction with regard to parents, and the change of the word "particeps" into "capax" in the latter part of the canon, so as to make its general intention more clear. These changes were also approved by the Convocation of York. But the latter part of the proposed changes having been disapproved by the law officers of the Crown, this amended canon, although "enacted" by Convocation, was not published by "letters patent." Four years afterwards, that is in 1865, another effort was made to deal with this canon; and in that year we again enacted an amended canon, which only changed the old canon so far as to remove the restriction which prevented parents from being sponsors. This new proposal was, however, unacceptable to the Convocation of York; and upon this ground the "law officers" again declined to issue the "letters patent;" so that the canon has not re-

ceived hitherto that last act of authority which is supposed to be necessary to make it legally binding.'

This incompetence of Convocation is not a merely negative quality. It acts in several ways most perniciously for the interests of the Church. The debates, since it is known that they lead to no practical issue, become unreal, and they are a by-word for all that is unbusinesslike. They are reported, except in the barest outline, nowhere but in the clerical organs. Thus the more liberal and enlightened among the clergy come to be identified with proceedings which in no proper sense represent them. And the supposition that Convocation has some power hampers Parliament in the discharge of one of its proper functions, and prevents the Church and nation from pressing upon Parliament the measures which they need. And there are times at which it commits those whom it professes to represent to actions, like the synodical condemnation of books and men, in which the commonest rules of justice are not observed.

3. What has been said may well make us feel that no practical good is likely to flow from the Convocations. But it may still be thought that the Church requires some council of its own apart from that of the nation. We see no such necessity. We are aware that there are powerful minds who, acknowledging what was so frequently dwelt upon in the late Parliamentary debates, that 'the conflict of the spiritual and temporal power was becoming the great and irrepressible question of the day,' think that the solution of this question is to be found in the separate organisation of these two powers. But it appears to us that this is merely to prepare for making the conflict more intense. The design of the national Church of England has been, in the view of the greatest men it has produced, to obviate the disruption of human life into separate spheres and to bind together the whole nation into one Christian commonwealth. It is true that the attempt has been imperfectly successful; but there is nothing which should induce us in this country to act on a counter-theory which arbitrarily divides the life of the community into distinct and hostile spheres. There have ever, indeed, been those who, like Warburton, have thought it more natural to speak of the relation of the Church and State of England as an alliance rather than a union, just as men like Rousseau in asserting individual independence spoke of society as formed by a Social Contract. But, while we admit the possibility of a disruption in the one case as in the other, we believe it to be in both cases unnatural. We are content to speak of an alliance or of a union provided

that it be admitted that national not sectarian interests are those with which the Church is concerned, and that the national organs are those through which its ends are to be wrought out.

The great argument of Hooker in the eighth book of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' in defence of the English system, is directed against the dualistic theory of Church and State. He hardly takes any notice of the Convocations. We believe he only once names them, and then only as an adjunct to Parliament. His contention is that there can be only one law-making power, and his conclusion is as follows:—

'Wherefore to define and determine even of the Church's affairs by way of assent and approbation, as laws are defined of in that right of power which doth give them the force of laws; thus to define of our own Church's regiment the Parliament of England hath competent authority.'

Quite similar was the view of Burke as to what is called the union of Church and State.

'An alliance between Church and State,' he says, 'is in my opinion, an idle and a fanciful speculation. An alliance is between two things that are in their nature distinct and independent, such as between two sovereign states. But in a Christian commonwealth the Church and the State are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole. For the Church has been always divided into two parts, the clergy and the laity; of which the laity is as much an essential integral part and has as much its duties and privileges as the clerical member; and in the rule, order, and government of the Church has its share. Religion is so far, in my opinion, from being out of the province or duty of a Christian magistrate, that it is, and ought to be, not only his care, but the principal thing in his care.'

We might add the great name of Arnold, the greatest philosophical educator of our times, to those of the greatest constitutionalists in Church and State; and we believe, notwithstanding superficial appearances to the contrary, that their perception of the true principles on which the English polity is grounded will commend itself increasingly to the mind of their countrymen. It is not true that the conditions of the problem have so altered as to make their views inapplicable. That liberty of worship and equal rights should have been allowed to all only brings out more into relief the remarkable unity which in all essentials binds together nine-tenths of the English nation. Nor is it true that Parliament is ill-fitted for legislating upon religious questions. No one can have followed the debates in the House of Commons on the Public Worship Bill without acknowledging that the spirit shown in them was as earnest as that of any assembly of ecclesiastics, and far more calm and

truthful. Nor again is it true that the views we have alluded to are merely theoretical; they represent the fundamental hypothesis upon which the law of England has been framed.

'It must not be forgotten,' said Mr. Richard, the Nonconformist Member for Merthyr, in the late debate, 'that according to the law they were all members of the Church of England; for the Church was a national institution supported by national property, and administered by national authority. That authority was exercised in the names of Nonconformists as well as others; and therefore they could not set their faces too strongly against the theory sought to be set up with regard to established churches, that as regarded endowments and privileges they were national churches, but as regarded the authority and rights of the people they were independent sects.'

There is a theory of the Church which is alluded to in this speech, which we may call the theory, not of the High Church, but of the Petty or Mean Church. It has not the confidence, like the old High Churchmen, to ban all but the members of the Anglican Communion, nor, like them, does it approximate to Rome; but it dislikes Protestantism, and it limits its sympathies to those of its own body. It does not deny all rights to the laity; but by successive restrictions it would concentrate all real power in the Clergy. And it thinks it enough to justify such abridgment of liberty, that those who disapprove can resort to other communions. It would be well pleased to see the so-called Anglican Church, whether in name established or not, disassociated from the national interests—one only, though the largest, among the sects which are occupied in the work of religion in its narrower sense. We can well understand how the holders of such views should wish to erect the Convocations, whether reformed or unreformed, into the legislative bodies of their community.

But there are others who have larger sympathies, who yet wish to give power to a 'Church body' separate from the national government. These are the advocates of the reform of Convocation, and their views claim some consideration from us.*

The reformers of Convocation denounce the existing Convocations, and desire to substitute for them one Convocation for the whole of England, which shall represent fully both the

* A Society exists, with Lord Lyttelton as its President, for the Reform of Convocation in the sense above indicated. The views of the Society are clearly expressed in 'A Speech delivered in the Convocation of York,' by Archdeacon Prest, and published through the Secretary, the Rev. J. Bandinel, Elmley Rectory, Wakefield.

clergy and the laity of the Church. We sympathise with their motives, but not the less do we believe that their proposal is retrograde and futile.

We submit, first of all, that what is thus proposed is not a reform but an entirely new creation. The Convocations are the councils of the Archbishops, by which they obtain the advice of their clergy. What is now proposed is to have one national Convocation, and to have the laity as well as the clergy fully represented; in short, to create an Ecclesiastical Parliament for the whole realm.

There are two questions which should always be asked of the promoters of these views, and to which no answer has ever been given. 1st. What is to be your basis of representation? 2nd. What scope or functions do you mean to give to this new and vast creation?

(1.) If it be said that the electors are to be the communicants of the Church of England, or the present worshippers, or those who will sign a declaration of membership, this at once denationalizes the Church. It makes it an Episcopal Sect with a strong sacerdotal bias. The Church of England at present, for all purposes of legislation and general government, embraces all Christian people; and if it embraces a few others also—and they are very few indeed—this is by no means all loss: at all events in the present comprehension the loss is far more than counterbalanced by the gain. But by the proposed change something like one half of the Christian people of this country would be by a single little sentence disfranchised and cut off from all influence over the Church; and this would be a cutting off of almost the whole of the most vigorous Protestantism. If the Church of England ceases to be national all its worst features are bound upon it by the very terms of its exclusions. Those who are cut off are cut off in many cases simply because they have an abhorrence of such practices as the sale of livings, or because they object to the obligation to use a stated form of prayers on every occasion, or because of some other matter of controversy which might at least be left open as regards legal church-membership. And those who give in their unqualified adherence to the new body which is thus created, do so in many instances just because they like the distinctive things which have offended their brethren. Thus we close the door in the direction of all Protestant or liberal reform, and open it only in the direction of retrogression. It cannot be too clearly pointed out that this would also be the necessary meaning of the process called Disestablishment, and independent Liberals are beginning to perceive this.

But take the other alternative. You give the suffrage to the householders, and have the same constituency as Parliament; we then ask in what the new Assembly will differ from Parliament. Fancy schemes of representation or nomination may be framed, but they have no solid ground to stand on. We should have the same constituency; and the Convocation would be but a second Parliament, composed mainly of the same men.

(2.) But suppose this surmounted, and your Ecclesiastical Parliament established, what is it to do? We presume that it is to have real power. If not, it will share the futility of the present Convocations. But what power can be given it unless you make it supreme?

The claim of Convocation has always been that which it put forward in 1547, 'That all such statutes and ordinances as shall be made concerning all matters of religion and causes ecclesiastical may not pass without the sight and assent of the said clergy.' A similar demand has been put forward almost every year since the revival of Convocation. Let us take as an example a recent expression of this request for separate action on the part of Convocation. A gravamen was brought up by the Prolocutor of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury on Friday, May 1, 1874, and presented to the Archbishop as President, bearing the signatures of twenty-eight well-known members of the Lower House. It runs as follows:—'That in all cases where matters of religion, or matters affecting the consciences or the spiritual rights or interests of the clergy are to be made the subjects of legislative action in the Imperial Parliament, the said matters and the scope and details of the legislation intended in regard to them should first, and as of course, be submitted to the consideration of the two Convocations of the Clergy attendant upon Parliament, with whom, of constitutional and moral right, legislative action in regard to matters religious and spiritual ought regularly to begin, as money bills begin only in the House of Commons.'

On which the President observed that the scope of the proposed legislation was very wide indeed. Nothing, for instance, could affect the consciences of the clergy more than the Education Act. This, therefore, ought not to have been touched by Parliament without the previous consent of the Convocation. If, further, the scope of this legislation included all the interests of the clergy, this would certainly include their pecuniary interests, and therefore all the temporalities of the Church would be withdrawn from the control of Parliament.

As to spiritual and religious questions, if the word 'religious' were taken in the technical sense of monastic, it was intelligible; but if not, every matter of deep conviction affecting the interests of men must be religious: and therefore one by one all serious social questions must be absorbed by the Convocations. And if by spiritual rights were meant the discipline of the clergy, the best instance that could be taken was the Clergy Discipline Act. Would it be pretended that Parliament should not touch a subject like this until the Convocations had agreed upon what was to be passed?

We really can add nothing to these forcible expressions of one who in his exalted ecclesiastical position has always shown a statesmanlike appreciation of the national requirements, except the general remark that the attempt to separate human life and laws into two parts, religious and secular, spiritual and temporal, church and world, is impossible, and is most definitely antichristian. But if this be not what is meant, we are at a loss to know what is the scope of the legislative functions which it is intended to assign to the new Convocation.

We have heard it proposed, indeed, that the reformed Convocation, though not exercising legislative functions, should yet act as a committee of advice, the legislative power remaining with Parliament. But what would be the character of the advice to be tendered? Would Parliament be free to act against it? If so, the institution of a vast advising apparatus would be a mockery. But if Parliament is to be bound by the Convocation, the legislative power is taken out of its hands. If the assent of both is required, the legislative machine is more than ever clogged, and nothing can ever be done.

We are persuaded that the proposals for a reform of Convocation look in the wrong direction, and that in a national Convocation the evils of the present Convocations would not be removed but intensified, because all its discussions would proceed on a false basis. It may be necessary to relegate a number of questions to the region of local self-government, or to take other means to relieve the legislature of details which belong more properly to the sphere of administrative discretion than to that of legislation. But there can be but one central legislature. And the history of ecclesiastical measures during the last twenty years proves that Parliament is both capable and ready to legislate where sufficient cause is shown for its action.

4. Yet we are willing to admit that, if the Convocations had in practice shown a special share of wisdom, they might have commended themselves, against all our anticipations, as a

standing committee of advice, urging upon the Government the measures most important to the spiritual interests of the community. Neither in old times nor since its modern revival have they shown any such capacity.

There is a celebrated sermon of Latimer's, preached before the Convocation of 1536, in which he plainly tells them that all that they have done in a long series of meetings is to exhume the bones of a dead man and to try to kill a living one. Allowing for the hyperbole of an epigram, this saying might be applied to the Convocations in reference to their whole history. They have lived in the past rather than in the present and future (the proper sphere of the legislator), and the spiritual life of the country, if left to their sway, would have been paralysed. We may ask with confidence what good the Convocations have ever done to the Church and nation?

They have originated nothing. Of all the great changes in old times not one originated in Convocation. They assented at times to what was proposed by Royal Commissions and by a reformed bench of bishops, as when in 1547 they assented to the giving of the cup to the laity; but this has invariably been in cases in which it was clear that, if they refused, the thing would be done without them. The Articles of 1562 were in all essentials those which had been put forth ten years before. The canons of 1604, as we have already pointed out, were a mere record of the existing practice; we see in them nothing of the prescient wisdom of true legislation; the only thing original in them is the attempt to use the Royal Supremacy to stereotype the Anglican system, and to make the Crown represent not the whole but a part of the nation. The Convocations were the abettors of the fatal policy of 1640, and the organs of the reaction of 1662; they shipwrecked the scheme of comprehension in 1689, and became a scene of scandalous controversy by trying to become an Inquisition in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Since the revival of the Convocations in 1853 their course has been similar in almost all respects. It is not, of course, to be denied that some good proposals have been made in the reports of the Committees of Convocation. The Convocations include many of the most eminent men among the clergy, such as the deans of our cathedrals, and when these men consent to serve upon committees it is always possible that good suggestions may be accepted in the report. But there, for the most part, they stop. The Houses proceed to go through the reports, and adopt or reject them as reports, not to take action upon them; each clause is discussed as in a debating club;

and since action is remote, if not impossible, the tendency is to emasculate whatever vigour there was in the reports; so that what is passed rarely contains anything that is valuable.

Yet we by no means deny that useful suggestions are at times accepted by Convocation, and we gladly touch upon one or two of these. The report on Intemperance, which was the work of the late Archdeacon Sandford, is laborious and exhaustive; and though from the nature of the case it could not lead to action in which Convocation as a body could bear a part, it has helped to stimulate the interest of churchmen in a cause of much importance. The reports also upon Patronage and Lay Co-operation have been of some value, though one of them at least is a subject of difference between the two Houses. But the reports and debates upon such matters as Church Discipline, Divorce, the Burials Bill, and upon Parliamentary matters, breathe quite the old spirit of exclusiveness, and show a dangerous tendency to interfere with the action of Parliament, and even with the settled law of the land. This statement may be verified by reference to a 'Code of Canons' agreed upon only last autumn by committees of the two Convocations, in which all who become Dissenters are proscribed, and men are solemnly warned not to do what the law expressly allows them to do; and it is declared that the Convocations have power to decree rites and ceremonies, and have authority in controversies of faith.

There are one or two matters of special importance in which the recent action of Convocation ought to be distinctly estimated by the country. Chief of these stands the Revision of the Authorised Version of the Scriptures, which is now in progress, and from which good results may be anticipated. The Convocation may fairly claim credit for having taken action in an enterprise which had been long contemplated and discussed without result; and we should be inclined to congratulate them entirely upon it but for two circumstances. The first of these is that it is probable that a very little pressure might have induced the Government to issue a Royal Commission for the purpose. The eager acceptance of the proposal by Convocation was thought by many to indicate a desire on their part, not so much that the revision should be made, as that the work should be done not through the national but through the ecclesiastical organs; and there would have been many advantages in the former course, particularly that some persons of eminence, whose absence on the Revision Companies has occasioned remark, might have been included under a Royal Commission. This however may well be let pass. But

what will always be remembered as a disgrace to Convocation is the bad faith in which an attempt was made to cast out one of the revisers who had been appointed in strict accordance with the original resolutions. The Committee of Convocation by which the revisers were to be named was appointed in May 1870, the resolutions of appointment authorising them to 'invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever race or religious body they may belong.' This form was adopted expressly in order that even Jews might be invited if needful; and in the Lower House a resolution was negatived after full debate which would have excluded 'such as deny the divinity of Christ.' It was soon known that a Unitarian minister had been invited to take part, and no objection was made to his appointment. Even when it was known that the revisers as a body had inaugurated their work by attending the Holy Communion together in Henry VII.'s Chapel, the gentleman in question being among them, though the attention of Convocation was called to this, only one member of either House took the opportunity to object to that gentleman's nomination. But in the beginning of the next year a discussion was raised in the Upper House, which was unfortunately persuaded to pass a resolution that no one who denied the Godhead of Christ should be a member of the company of revisers. Upon this the Bishop of St. David's refused to continue on the Committee of Revision, and it seemed likely that the whole scheme would be broken up. The Lower House fortunately were on this occasion better advised than the bishops, and after a debate, in which the Dean of Westminster was well supported by several of the more old-fashioned churchmen, a courteous request was sent to the Upper House to allow the question to be postponed till the Committee on Revision should have reported. This was explained to mean till the revision was completed; and a resolution for an earlier report of the Committee was refused; and further it was found that the Companies of Revisers had slipped out of the hands of Convocation, and had disposed prospectively of the copyright, which belonged not to the Convocation but to themselves. And thus while the Convocation is in the position of a mother who has been sorely tempted to devour her offspring, it will be saved in the future from the temptation to do so, at least until the child is full grown.

There are some persons who look with satisfaction and even a sense of triumph at the late instances in which the Convocations have assented to proposals which have been embodied in Acts of Parliament. There are however several things to

abate our satisfaction, so far as an estimate of the wisdom of Convocation goes. It is known that in 1865 the Convocation assented with something of eagerness to the new form of subscription which was embodied in the Act of that year. But what is not so well remembered, and indeed seemed opportunely to have slipped from the memory of the members themselves, is the preceding treatment of the subject in Convocation. In 1863, after a charge of the Bishop of London recommending an alteration of the subscriptions made by the clergy, a resolution was offered in the Lower House that it was inexpedient to make any alterations; and after examination of the subject by a committee, it was agreed that the only alteration needed was in one out of the seven or eight complicated forms by which the consciences of so many had been ensnared or alienated. This was in 1864, and we may therefore attribute the remarkable vote of the next year to the seasonable pressure of the Government, who were fully resolved to proceed with the measure whatever might be its treatment in Convocation. The new Table of Lessons proposed by the Ritual Commission was approved by Convocation; but a resolution which would have been fatal to it was only lost by the casting vote of the Prolocutor. And in the Act of 1872 for amending the Act of Uniformity, the Convocation, while it assented to the main provisions of the measure, was allowed to make considerable alterations for the worse. The Ritual Commission had recommended that upon week days, instead of the regular service, selections appointed by the ordinary might be used. This liberal proposal, which would leave the service to be adapted to varying needs, was reduced by Convocation to the prescription of a single uniform service. The Ritual Commission had proposed to acknowledge the rights of the laity; no alteration in the use of the Sunday services was to be made without due notice to the parishioners, and they were to have power to represent the matter to the ordinary, whose decision was to be given in writing; but this proposal was put aside by Convocation, who appeared to consider that a notice to the congregation that a change was about to be made was an ample recognition of their rights. The Government, in following Convocation instead of the Commission in all these points, justified the protest of Mr. Bouverie in Parliament against the recognition of Convocation in the Act—a recognition which had been wisely refused in the case of the Act for the Lessons in the previous year.

It is now proposed that Parliament should wait upon the Convocations for the reforms thought necessary in the use of

the Liturgy. We have the materials for estimating the wisdom of this proposal; for not only have many things been done in Convocation in reference to the Prayer-book, but letters of business were given to them in 1872 for the examination of the fourth report of the Ritual Commission; and an elaborate report upon the Rubrics was prepared by a committee, and adopted by the Lower House in July of last year. A pamphlet showing side by side the recommendations of the Commission and of Convocation was issued and printed with the 'Chronicle of Convocation' for 1873. It is not to be supposed that Convocation will in any material point recede from its deliberate and published opinions, though the Upper House, who have yet to go through the Rubrics, may possibly modify some of the conclusions of the Lower.

In the writings that precluded the revival of Convocation, nothing was more frequently insisted on than the importance of adapting the services of the Church to the growing wants of the population. Mr. Lathbury, in his 'History of Convocation,' published in 1842, dwells upon this as one main object of calling that body into activity. No one, he says, wishes to alter the prayers of the Liturgy, but the Rubrics want explanation and adaptation. Accordingly, one of the first things done by the Committees appointed at the revival was to make proposals upon this subject, among which we find most of the things which have now passed into law in the 'Act of Uniformity Amendment Act.' They also proposed special services, with some original prayers for various occasions, such as Harvest, or times of humiliation or of thanksgiving. But all these proposals split upon the rock of the impossibility of getting them enacted. Convocation wished not so much that the thing should be done as that itself should be the doer of it. Various devices were proposed, the passing of canons, the issue of royal proclamations—anything but the proper constitutional form through a Royal Commission and Act of Parliament. The secret of their want of success is to be found in a resolution of the Lower House, proposed by the late Chancellor Massingberd, that no alterations should be made in the Prayer-book without consulting Convocation, and without this being stated in the preamble of the Act—a sentiment which recurs again and again, and may be said to be the soul of Convocational action.

At length the Government determined to act, and in 1868 the Royal Commission on Ritual was appointed, which after sitting for three years published its fourth and final report. It cannot be said that the composition of the Commission was a

true reflection of the mind of the country. There was a great forgetfulness of the principle laid down by Convocation itself in its report on Ritualism, that 'great as is the value of the 'ancient ritual usages,' yet the genius of the English Church tends to simplicity of worship, and that 'the National Church of England has a holy work to perform towards the Nonconformists of this country.' The great section of the Church which would best insure the sympathies of the Nonconformists was all but unrepresented. And further, in the long-extended course of the Commission many of its best members fell out through sickness and other causes, so that the report is an inadequate expression of what the whole Commission would have recommended. Nevertheless, had their recommendations been embodied in an Act of Parliament, such an Act would have been a useful and healing measure. Whatever may be thought of the policy of submitting that report to the judgment of Convocation, there will be none, we expect, when that judgment is fully known, as to the impossibility of letting it govern the action of the Legislature. The report of Convocation was ably epitomised in a paper which appeared in the 'Times' about the end of last June, written evidently by one thoroughly conversant with the subject. We cannot put the matter more clearly than by giving the following extract:—

'It is not too much to say that in almost every instance of any importance the proposals for relaxation, whether emanating from the Commissioners or from others, were rejected, except so far as they favoured the strong ecclesiastical party dominant in Convocation; and that the few changes which Convocation itself proposed almost invariably leaned in the same direction. We will enumerate the several instances.

'The Royal Commissioners proposed that the daily service should not be considered compulsory. This proposal was rejected by Convocation. The Royal Commissioners proposed that the obsolete rule of public catechising should be relaxed. This was rejected. A proposal was made by some of the Commissioners that the sponsorial system, the cause of so much difficulty in so many parishes, should be relaxed. This was rejected. The Commissioners proposed that the Visitation Service need not be necessarily used by the clergyman in the pastoral ministrations to the sick. This was rejected. The endeavour to accommodate the Burial Service to the various needs of different classes in the parish by a variety of lessons and other such means, was rejected. The relaxation of the rubric which insists on the reading of the prayer for the Church Militant on all occasions, and the reading of the long exhortation before the Communion, was rejected. The proposal to render optional some parts of the Marriage Service was rejected. The permission to administer the Communion to more than one at a time, so urgently demanded by a large and respectable section

in the Church, and recommended by the Commissioners, was rejected. The permission to have the baptism of children other than in the public services was rejected. The rubric enforcing the use of the Communion Service was left unaltered.

‘The relaxation of the enforced recitation of the Athanasian Creed, which was recommended by a majority of 19 of the Commissioners to 7, was in Convocation rejected by a majority of 54 to 12. On the other hand, among the few changes proposed by the Convocation, almost all turned on minute modes of exalting the outward sanctity of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, or some like fanciful points of ceremonial.’

‘These were the results of the elaborate revision of the rubrics, in itself reluctantly undertaken by Convocation, during the last year.’

The writer goes on to allude to the cases, which we have dwelt upon above, in which Convocation has acted effectively, always under the pressure of active measures being taken in Parliament; and urges that, unless such pressure be now applied, ‘it is certain, from all its previous history, that Convocation will adhere to the principles to which it has hitherto pledged itself, and will admit of no other changes than those which further the interests of the party which now governs its majority.’

‘On the possibility of the active intervention of Parliament,’ the writer goes on to say, ‘and on this alone, depends the question whether the Church is to be for the future delivered over, bound hand and foot, to the mercies of an assembly which, with very few exceptions, has proved itself as one-sided in its action as it has proved itself almost uniform in its inaction in anything which concerned the real wants of the nation. What it has done, we know; what it has refused to do, we know. If it is for the future to have the sole initiation in ecclesiastical matters, this is not an encouraging prospect for those who, while willing to give every element in the Church fair play, are not prepared to resign its whole conduct to that element which has hitherto shown the least forbearance and the least magnanimity.’

Since this statement appeared, the Upper House of Convocation have begun the consideration of the report of the Ritual Commission, and have, in the matter of daily prayers, desired the Lower House to appoint a committee to reconsider their report. But the discussions in the Upper House were chiefly on a proposal for a distinct dress in the administration of the Sacrament, which the majority appeared to view with favour; and in the Lower House the only things to which the committee were specially desired to attend were the dresses and postures of the clergy; a member who proposed that other and more important matters should be re-opened being conjured for the sake of peace to withdraw his proposal. The

process from which the Bishop of London appears to hope so much has begun under very poor auguries.

But while our expectation of any good from Convocation is feebler than ever, the possibility of Parliamentary action has become, through the spirit lately shown by the House of Commons, a strong probability. It is allowed to us to hope that the nation will once more assert itself as a Christian community, and adapt its public worship to its needs. While dealing justly with all parties, it will no longer think it necessary to reckon at every turn with the sacerdotal party as though its theories had any serious hold upon the national conscience. The two things which it has to do are, first, to make the law which governs these matters, whether rubric or canon, perfectly clear, adapting it in the process to the actual convictions and desires of a Protestant nation; and secondly, to fix upon some power which shall, within a given range, be at liberty to suit the services to local needs. It is not a rigid uniformity which law-abiding men require, but (with a uniformity in essentials) a clear definition of the local authority in whom the discretion rests in all non-essential matters. If this be once made plain, it will be possible to relax to some extent the uniformity, whenever it is felt to be oppressive; and, as by the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity power was given to the Queen to take order as to the 'Ornaments,' and to ordain further ceremonies and rites with the consent of her Commissioners or of the Metropolitan of the realm, it is possible that now also a discretion for allowing such relaxations as may from time to time be required may be vested in some body deriving its authority from Parliament and acting under its general control.

But whatever is done in the present matter, or in wider questions which may gradually open before us, the essential thing is that it should be done by Parliament itself, as alone capable of acting on behalf of the whole nation and in harmony with its desires. The statesman who shall bring this about, and enable the country, under the new conditions of this century, to exercise its proper control in ecclesiastical affairs, will deserve to rank with those who in the sixteenth century restored the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the crown of England.

ART. VII.—*The Origin and History of the Grenadier Guards.*
By Lieutenant-General Sir F. W. HAMILTON, late Grenadier Guards. In Three Volumes 8vo. London: 1874.

WHEN General Trochu uttered those criticisms on the Third Napoleon's army which made his name a household word in France, and lifted him into chief power when she broke with the Empire, there was one that drew especial notice in this country. This was his absolute condemnation of élite corps as an integral part of any military force. What is gained in its perfection (so ran his general argument) is gained wholly at the expense of the bulk of the service. It is not possible to pick out of any army a specially good set of soldiers for such a corps, without giving it some material advantages. The temptations that these offer will not only drain from the ordinary regiments members that form their most vital element, but will tend to give the rest a sense of hopeless inferiority and neglect that must cause them insensibly to lose heart in their work. So far had this system of selection been carried in his own service for some seven years before he drew attention to it, that after taking privates away for the Guards, for the Zouave regiments, and finally for the flank companies of their own battalions, it had become a serious difficulty in the mass of the line battalions to find efficient noncommissioned officers; whilst to be among their rank and file was to wear a distinctive badge that a man was good for nothing else. But Guards, or Zouaves, or grenadiers, when under the enemy's fire, are just as likely to fall as other men. Their specially good services will not, therefore, even if they be fully admitted, avail to multiply their comparatively small number; and if to create them should inflict, as he contended, a serious injury on the whole of the army at large, the national account must on the whole be charged with a large loss under this system.

No one now doubts that Trochu was right in his strictures. However ill we may think of his own political or military conduct when the turn of events made him Governor of Paris and President of the Government of Defence, his work still remains unchallenged for its prophetic truth as to the results of the errors it exposed in the military organisation which Europe was wont to admire. Framed for show rather than use, and to give posts of honour and emolument to court favourites rather than to find leaders for the field, the military system of Napoleon III. proved itself under trial one of the most worthless institutions of his Empire, and its fall deservedly

brought with it his own amid the indignation of a great people who had trusted him with all their means in vain. The very apologies the ex-Emperor wrote in his banishment carry his condemnation with them; for throughout the pages of the *Wilhelmshöhe* and *Chiselhurst* pamphlets runs the admission that the writer knew and felt keenly the existence of defects which he yet was powerless to correct under the political system that owed its entire framework to himself.

It is false logic, however, that argues from the French example in this matter that an army must of necessity suffer deterioration by the maintenance of select regiments. To take the most patent example of military excellence; we see that the Prussians have deliberately adopted a large Guard Corps as a cherished military institution. The Austrians, on the other hand, for political reasons which only those can appreciate that know the suspicious nature of the reigning family, have always dispensed with any Guard Corps in their large army; yet this has never commended itself as a model for the imitation of other nations. What Trochu denounced was in fact not the creation of an Imperial Guard, or of special regiments of light infantry, but the creation of these at the expense of others. When once the practice is introduced of transferring good soldiers as a reward from their own battalions to élite corps, or from the mass of the regiment to its own flank companies (the latter an old practice in our own service most properly abolished) then indeed the bad effect on those left behind is certain to make itself felt. We have had a truly national warning of the evils of such a system as applied to the officer class in the old Company's Indian army, where the regimental cadres were mercilessly robbed of every man of energy and ability to feed the civil departments or to command irregulars. As a direct consequence those left to do duty with the regular Sepoy regiments were, as a rule, the dross of a large body. Weak often in numbers, these remnants of the cadres were weaker still in military qualities; and the fearful mutiny that almost swept our rule out of the land was the just Nemesis of a system that took away the natural security of a government dependent on a vast force of armed natives, by depriving the body that officered that force of all its best elements. There is no need to criticise this system now. It has condemned itself sufficiently by its results; as did that of which Trochu wrote with such bitter truth in 1867. But the Prussian Guard Corps is founded on a different basis altogether, being recruited direct from civil life all over the kingdom. A higher standard, no doubt, is expected from the men that enter it than from the

ordinary recruit of the line; and thus it is in truth an élite body, though not made so by the mistaken process of robbing the ranks of less favoured regiments than its own of their best soldiers.

Thus it is too with our own noble regiments of Foot Guards. Enlistment in the battalions is free, far freer indeed than it could be under any modification of the Prussian system, under which the peasant taken for the Guard Corps in Westphalia or Posen has usually little choice in the matter, and is only interested so far that his new lot changes the site fixed for his involuntary service with the colours. In both services, however, the broad rule is the same; selection out of the great mass of the population of men not already enrolled for duty. And in both the mainspring relied on for excellence is not the test of military training already passed through, but the glorious traditions and hereditary discipline of the body among which the recruit's lot is to be cast. Of each of the services we are for the moment comparing it may be said that its battalions are not creations apart from the army, much less made at its expense, but rather standing models of excellence to other regiments; more identified than these with the history of the land, and more honoured, because they have in their long past done more for its honour than their comrades.

Such is, above all, the case with our own First or Grenadier Regiment of Foot Guards, whose story General Hamilton has undertaken to tell. Objections may be raised to the method of his work as too laborious for such a limited subject as the history of a single corps. It may be said that he has weakened in some degree the interest of his tale by the very labour of love which he has spent upon its details; by the industry which has led him to ransack records new and old, British and foreign, for every particular that could throw light on his subject. The cumbrous illustrations will seem to some overdone. Others may object to the over-carefulness with which he has inserted trifling regimental changes amidst the recital of stirring national events. But the fact is that the *History of the Grenadier Guards* is a microcosm of that of the whole British army. At once its oldest and most distinguished regiment, it has shared not only its world-wide honour and successes, but those reverses and trials with which the varied history of the standards that have crossed the whole globe is chequered. It witnessed Fontenoy as well as Blenheim; it bore part in the surrender of Yorktown as in Cornwallis's fleeting triumph in Carolina; it retreated before the French through Flanders under York, as it pursued the French through Flanders under

Wellington. And ever in the darker as in the brighter pages of its story, it has maintained the same character for enduring steadfast courage and unshaken discipline, coupled with warm feeling between men and officers; high qualities which, we are proud to believe, are characteristic of the whole British infantry, of which this corps is but the brightest example. For these are the virtues which have drawn praise alike from ally and from foe; which the cold pen of the great Prussian critic who watched them through Waterloo, and the pithy comment of the rough conqueror of Algiers who retreated before them in the Peninsula, have done such full justice to, as patriotic admiration of our brave soldiers may gratefully accept as testimony that none can dispute.

But there is more than this lesson in the work that comes under our notice. For in its chapters may be traced the whole development of the adventurous and active side of our modern polity, which in days of increasing commerce and growing wealth, protected by imperial strength, we are too ready to ignore. We rest on our conquests now. There are some of us, indeed, so blind to history's teachings that they would call our colonies an encumbrance, the policy that reared them a dream, our fierce protests against would-be enslavers of Europe expensive and useless errors. For these men it would be the same had England never reached her armed hand to east or west to protect the adventurous pioneers that went forth to found new Englands where the sun rises and where it sets. The merchant and the manufacturer, they say, would be doing the same work now had we never sent sailor or soldier from our shores. They have forgotten how different the face of this world would have been had Englishmen never lifted arms out of England. Had such counsellors been in power when Chatham lived, Montcalm might have accomplished his dream of the universal domination of France in America, and the Latin race excluded the English from it for generations. Had they ruled later instead of Chatham's great son, half Europe might have still been governed by French prefects, and Ireland have been a hostile republic, threatening us in our vitals at every change of the political horizon. Had they controlled Clive and Clive's successors, India might have been a French dependency, or a mass of semi-barbarous states still, such as it was when we won the foothold, which when once won has grown steadily into an empire by a law we could not control. But their teaching has had little power over the national life, and their doctrines have passed into disrepute. There is little fear now-a-days that Englishmen will yield to foreign rivals what their

forefathers' blood and treasure have won; the blood and treasure which have guarded what English spirit and enterprise first gave the nation, whose offshoots to-day, notwithstanding the blunders in policy and reverses in war that have caused the mightiest of them to separate from its parent stem, make the race of our little island the foremost among peoples, and its language the most widespread of tongues. Those who would see how this came about, how the national spirit has created the national greatness, may find the story in epitome among the pages that are before us for review.

When, more than two hundred years since, this now loyal land of ours was governed by the great Protector; when forced by the Nemesis of revolution, Cromwell had given up all pretence of constitutional rule; when power was centred in one man as never before had been in England's chequered history; it was natural that her ruler should seek that popularity by a daring attitude abroad which the iron pressure of circumstances denied to his domestic measures. Reviving the audacious policy that carried Drake and Raleigh long before to America to check the growing power of the Spaniard in the New World, and fortifying himself for his undertaking by treaties with Holland, Portugal, and Sweden, he sent a well-equipped fleet to attack, without previous warning, the Spanish West Indies, and took possession of Jamaica, long afterwards one of our richest colonies. War followed as a matter of course, and the Protector, resolved to carry it home against the old enemy of the Protestant cause, whose predominance in Europe had decayed as her power rose in the New World, sought for his end to form an alliance with France against Spain. To do this would, of course, be to put an end to the lukewarm protection that King Louis had hitherto extended to Charles II. since his father's death on the scaffold, and, on the other hand, it would throw the weight of Spain into the cause of English royalty. But this new risk was worth running if the proposed treaty with France should give the Protector such a foothold in the Low Countries as would avail to check any attempt to be made thence at the dreaded invasion in favour of the exiled monarch. Moreover, Spain was in those days traditionally hated and feared far more than France had ever been by the Protestant body of the English and Scotch; and a king claiming to be such by virtue of help from the most Catholic of sovereigns would rouse afresh the fanaticism now dying in the reaction that had succeeded the strain of revolution. Cromwell's plans were indeed as far-reaching as though he

hoped to found a dynasty that should thrive on their results, and executed with a vigour equal to the sagacity of their conception. On September 2, 1655, the treaty with France was signed in London, which put English ships and soldiers at the service of the French king, who was preparing to attack the Spanish Netherlands. The natural answer to this was a counter-treaty entered into between the King of Spain and Charles II., formally engaging Spanish aid to assist the latter in the recovery of his throne. One strong inducement to this step on the side of the court of Madrid was the hope that Charles's name might be of service to draw from France the Irish regiments then serving under France; and the banished king, now changing his place of abode from Cologne to the Netherlands, to be nearer Don John of Austria, the governor of the country, entered into negotiations with him as to raising an English contingent out of his loyal adherents. Strange to say, the liberal estimate of 10,000 horse and foot put forward on Charles's side, instead of being treated for what it was, the sanguine vision of a refugee, seems not only to have been believed in by the Spanish ministry, but actually to have filled them with alarm, lest their new ally should prove too formidable even in his exile. Personal motives of the meanest kind had certainly at least as much weight in those days as now; for we hear of Condé, who had recently accepted a Spanish command, secretly opposing the acceptance of Charles's proposal, out of fear that he might be superseded by the chief of this new contingent, who, it was well understood, would certainly be the king's brother, James, Duke of York. And, far more strange than this, the curious intrigues characteristic of that age of petty statecraft appear to have brought the Duke of York soon afterwards into indirect correspondence with Cromwell himself. The good understanding that arose between these two utterly opposed natures actually caused the Protector to assent to the duke's remaining with the new ally of England; whilst Cardinal Mazarin increased his pension from the French Court with the same object of keeping him from joining Charles, and so of retaining the Irish regiments enlisted under the fleur-de-lys from loyalty to the exiled king: so valuable was good fighting material counted on the Continent in those days of sparse population and voluntary enlistment.

At this time Charles's treaty with Don John had not been ratified finally by the Spanish Crown. When this ceremony was performed, the king again urged his brother to join him, as he had done when the alliance was first broached; but he was still put off with excuses, until the Irish regiments them-

selves claimed their discharge from Mazarin under the terms of their enlistment, which reserved to them the right of joining their lawful sovereign. Notwithstanding official refusals, they gradually left the French lines without opposition to follow their officers into the Netherlands. Then at last the Duke of York (on whom a much higher value seems to have been set at this time than during any other part of his chequered career) took his leave of the French Court, and of the pension he had clung to, and joined his brother at Bruges, apparently with an ill grace enough. Thenceforward the embodiment of such regiments as Spain could find supplies for when raised, was duly proceeded with. Ormond, formerly Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, formed one of his own countrymen as an addition to those loyal battalions which had left better quarters behind them in France. Scots came from Germany, and even from distant Sweden, in those days accounted the most warlike State of Europe, and found their services accepted in a regiment raised under Lord Middleton; the lieutenant-colonelcy of which (we are told by Sir F. Hamilton) was 'procured by Sir James Levingston for a sum of money:' so thoroughly had the system of purchase been recognised even before the present standing army came into existence, as it was now about to do in its first regiment. Whilst Irish and Scotch were being enrolled according to their nationalities, their comrades in loyalty from England were not behindhand. About four hundred of these, 'all staunch royalists, who had commenced flocking to Charles's standard as soon as he raised it on his arrival in Flanders in the spring,' were formed into a separate corps to be known as His Majesty's Royal Regiment of Guards, which still lives in the First Regiment of Foot Guards, the subject of General Hamilton's work.

In creating such a regiment under the express condition that it was 'to do duty in the army like his other troops, until the King should be in a position to bring it about his person,' words which might stand for a motto to its whole history, Charles was but imitating his father's example. Indeed certain antiquarian guardsmen have been wont to trace the descent of their corps from that body of King's Guards which Charles I. raised at Oxford during his memorable sojourn there during the winter of 1642-43, when the general of his artillery was ordered to furnish it with arms before his other troops, 'they being in number 512 men, whereof there are 322 unarmed.' But though many of the individuals that served in this regiment up to its disappearance at the fall of the royal cause four years later, served also, as our author has proved, in the King's Guards of

Charles II., created ten years later than that fall in the Netherlands, the connexion is but personal and accidental. The real origin of the regiment is to be found amongst the contingents subsidised by Spain, from which its existence may be traced unbroken down to the present day. Yet it has always been doubtful, and the care with which General Hamilton tells this part of the story only brings this doubt more forward, whether Lord Wentworth's regiment of loyalists would have continued to exist under the restored monarchy, but for its happy amalgamation with another body which had almost equal claims on the royal gratitude, and more potent friends about his person than the faithful companions of his exile who received their commission at Bruges in 1656.

But we are anticipating matters. The King's Guards had not been two years formed when they had as fine an opportunity of displaying the undaunted valour that has long been admitted all over the world, as ever fell to the lot of the corps during its varied service in the two following centuries. The war so long talked of seriously began in 1657, though in the curiously methodical way that renders it difficult to regard the campaigns of that age with any serious interest or hope of profitable lesson. Turenne gained some advantages that year over the Spanish commander, Caracena, who faced him on the existing frontier of the monarchies between Calais and Dunkirk; and in 1658 the French general proceeded to invest the latter fortress, the approaches to which had been left by his adversary unguarded. Caracena, resolving to relieve the place, got within a few miles of it, and then took up a defensive position to wait for his artillery, which had been left behind on his march according to the fashion of the time. It was whilst waiting for it that he was attacked by Turenne, who thus brought on the famous battle of the Downs, the only one in England's long roll in which her sons have been opposed face to face under foreign banners. Generals Morgan and Lockhart, whom Cromwell had sent over to aid the French, commanded formidable contingents in Turenne's small army of 15,000 soldiers; whilst on the other side, in the Duke of York's mixed corps from the three parts of Great Britain and Ireland, which had never, it seems, numbered over 2,000 men all told, except on paper, were some companies of the Royal Guards, who were already thus beginning their duty fighting for the king who had raised them 'like his other troops.'

The course of the battle was of the simplest, and is naturally and clearly told in General Hamilton's pages. Caracena's line, following it from the right which rested on the sea, was com-

posed successively of Spaniards, English, Irish, Walloons, Germans, and a French corps under Condé; so many countries had to be searched for soldiers in those days in order to put 14,000 effectives on the battlefield. Turenne advanced to the attack, supported by a powerful artillery which told greatly in his favour, as did still more the effective action of his left wing, where the brigades of English, inured to victory in days of civil war now gone by, came on in the perfect order they had learnt under Cromwell. The Spanish gave way before them precipitately. Condé's troops on Caracena's left were as unfortunate against their own countrymen, and presently retreating, carried with them the Germans and Walloons. The Irish, seeing themselves thus abandoned, followed their allies to the rear; but the Duke of York had been ordered by his commander-in-chief to hold a certain commanding sand-hill with the pick of his troops, and had placed the Royal Guards there. What follows may well be told in General Hamilton's own words, which are the more impressive in their natural tone and disregard of pictorial effect:—

‘The account of their conduct given by the Duke of York, who was an eye-witness to their gallantry, will speak for itself. He relates that this regiment of Guards had been posted together with Lord Bristol's regiment on the left of the Spaniards near the elevated sand-hill, and stood firm notwithstanding that they saw all the regiments to their right and left routed and quitting the field, including Lord Bristol's Irish regiment. The officers of this latter corps had made strenuous efforts to rally their men, but seeing they were ineffectual, they retreated also, with the exception of Captain Strode, an English gentleman, who observing his own regiment retiring, came and joined the king's regiment of Guards, some of whose officers had gone for orders. None of these circumstances, however, in any way daunted the courage of the king's regiment of Guards, both officers and men continued firm and maintained their ground, while the first line of the French infantry passed them on their left-hand, and some of Cromwell's regiments on their right. The second line of the French then came upon them, commanded by the Marquis de Rambures, who having much esteem for Charles II., and observing this small body of men in the service of their sovereign, deserted by their allies, and standing alone in the field against the now victorious French army, went up to them himself, before his own men, to offer them quarter. They replied that they had been posted there by the Duke, and were therefore resolved to maintain that ground as long as they were able. Rambures remarked that it would be to no purpose for them to hold out as their whole army was routed and had left the field. They answered again, “that it was not their custom to believe an enemy;” upon which he proposed, that if they would send out one or two officers, he would himself accompany them to a sand-hill in their rear, from whence they

would perceive that what he affirmed was true. Two officers accordingly were sent out, and conducted by Rambures to the hill, whence they perceived that they alone of the whole Spanish army were left on the field. On their return to the regiment they reported what they had seen, when the officers, still determined, even in this their last extremity, not to yield except upon terms dictated by themselves, told him that in case he would promise that they should not be delivered up to the English, nor be stripped, nor have their pockets searched, they would lay down their arms and yield themselves prisoners of war. He agreed to this, giving his word for its due performance.*

Had this passage in the history of a regiment told its only good achievement, it would have been worth preserving; but what the newly-raised Guards were when abandoned on the downs of Dunkirk, that they have proved themselves wherever the banner of England has led them. It was the same unyielding spirit that nerved them more than a hundred years later, when outflanked by superior numbers, and abandoned by the local volunteer levies in the swamps of Carolina, they wrested victory for Cornwallis from what seemed desperate odds. But not even when thus successful against hope, still less when sharing the glory of the memorable advance that shattered Tallard's army into ruin at Blenheim, or that yet more famous charge that broke Napoleon's last reserve at Waterloo, is the character of this noble regiment seen at its brightest. For it is in a desperate hour of the warrior, when all hope of victory is gone, and there remains nothing left but to lose all save honour, that the highest part of courage is displayed, the cool fortitude that can bear as well as do, retreat undismayed as well as undauntedly advance. We shall illustrate this quality by later instances. For the present we return to the task of tracing from the materials carefully gathered for us the exact history of the formation of the regiment as it now appears in our Army List.

Though the officers of the Guard captured before Dunkirk were soon exchanged, the regiment itself had been almost annihilated. Nor was the Spanish commander in a position to keep the field after his decisive defeat. Dunkirk fell into the hands of the strange allies, and under the terms stipulated by Cromwell was made over to Lockhart, his representative, by the generalissimo of Louis XIV. Turenne's forces continued to advance into the heart of Flanders, and it seemed as though

* Captain Strode (General Hamilton adds) received the reward of his conduct by being appointed Captain of a company in the Royal Guards, and, twenty-eight years later, died in command of the regiment that he had voluntarily joined in the hour of danger.

Cromwell's designs were to be realised, and the Spaniard dislodged for ever from his threatening watch in the Channel, when an event occurred which changed the whole political state of Europe, with that of the British Isles which were most directly concerned. Two months after Dunkirk had passed into Cromwell's power, that power came to an abrupt end by the death of the great Protector, who had looked forward to this hold on the shore of the Continent as the surest means of keeping watch over the invasion he never ceased to dread. With his death the finer threads of his policy slackening, fell instantly into confusion abroad and at home. The attempt made to continue the succession in his family met no favour. Indeed it had such an air of unreality about it that the new Protector, by his own act, brought his power speedily to an end, and disappeared with little ceremony from the post he had unwillingly filled, history hardly deigning to record his rule. England then fell into political chaos; of no great violence happily, for party passion had burnt itself out in the long years of revolutionary struggle. Monk resolved to bring this confused state of things to a close by the restoration of King Charles. The very ease with which his design was carried out shows that it was the only possible solution of the national difficulty. The force with which he marched from Scotland had in it, until he distributed fresh commissions, but few officers that could be reckoned on for their general's views. There were still fewer inclined to favour royalty in the garrison left since Cromwell's death in London. Yet Monk had no difficulty, assisted by the Parliament he restored, in mixing loyal volunteers with the old regulars, removing from the metropolis regiments likely to be troublesome, and carrying out all other measures necessary for the peaceable and bloodless return of the King which followed four months later.

The remains of the Royal Guard did not accompany their monarch across the Channel. Of the reasons for their being left in Flanders General Hamilton tells us nothing; but the chief one was no doubt a politic as well as a courageous wish on Charles's part, to trust for his reception entirely to the goodwill that brought him home. From Namur, its last quarters under the Spanish treaty, the regiment was now moved to Dunkirk, and formed part of the same garrison as the late victors in the battle of the Downs. Yet so good was the discipline of the latter, or so weak their attachment to the Republic whose standards they had followed, that this sudden admixture of friend and foe seems to have given no one any trouble; and the whole of the garrison remained exempted from the disband-

ment of the large standing army maintained by Cromwell, which was one of the first acts of the new government, approving itself equally to Parliament and King. Our author repeats the praises prudently and justly bestowed by Charles on this occasion, on the order, discipline, and sobriety, as well as the 'manners, courage, and successes, which had made this army to be 'feared throughout Europe;' but only to express, in one of the weaker passages of a generally sensible work, his own dissent; thus proving unconsciously that a Guardsman of Queen Victoria's days may be more extreme in loyalist sentiment than one of the Stuarts themselves.

Seven months after the King had landed, the last of the old army that held England in awe during the Protectorate had been peacefully got rid of, with the exception of a small force devoted personally to Monk. Looking back upon the circumstances of the time, it seems wonderful that Charles put off from month to month, as it seems certain that he did, his design of raising any troops of his own to secure his authority. But the leading men of the Restoration party had a natural horror of that military government which the nation had just escaped from, a sentiment which, as Macaulay showed, they bequeathed for generations to the Tory gentry who succeeded them. The project was therefore mooted from time to time only to be combated by objections from the King's advisers. Drafts of intended establishments were prepared, to be laid aside. It was not until the end of November, when the last of the Republican regiments, except Monk's, had been got rid of, that Colonel Russell, a loyalist of tried fidelity, received a commission to raise a regiment of Foot Guards, twelve hundred strong, which became the second element, as will presently appear, in the formation of the modern Grenadiers, and which, by an order still extant in the State Paper Office, was 'to be held and esteemed the oldest regiment' of the royal army to be founded on it.

No reference was made on this occasion to the existence of the older regiment of Royal Guards left in garrison at Dunkirk, to whose story we must return. A petition to the King, prepared at Namur and signed by twenty-one of the officers, seems to show that they had feared their being left in Flanders would lead to their being altogether forgotten. If so, they did Charles injustice, for one of his first acts, after he was peacefully seated on his recovered throne, was to issue a new commission to Lord Wentworth as colonel, of a more valid and legal sort than that under which he had hitherto commanded them. By the time this was made out the regiment had been moved

to Dunkirk, and Wentworth, who had accompanied his sovereign to London, went over for a time to the fortress to reorganise his corps. At this time Dunkirk was held by a British garrison of over 4,000 men, of whom about a hundred only were professed loyalists, the 'skeleton companies' of Lord Wentworth's regiment; so that it is not surprising that in the early part of March 1661, the King's attention having been called to the risk to which the place was exposed should the old Cromwellian troops there show disaffection, it was resolved to take the precaution of raising the Guard to its proper strength of twelve hundred; and Lord Wentworth was authorised to enlist the necessary recruits, the order being carried out with so little difficulty as to show that either the pay given was deemed a liberal wage or that employment was very scarce.

Lord Rutherford, the new loyalist governor of Dunkirk (who fell afterwards in a sally against the Moors when holding the same post at Tangiers), was still uneasy at his responsibilities, and wrote of the republican spirit prevailing amongst the other regiments of his command, and of the probable necessity of removing many officers. But it would seem that the spirit of disaffection to the Crown, if really as widespread as he feared, was not very serious. The King's Guards fraternised honourably and easily with the rest of the garrison, 'their example tending,' according to General Hamilton, 'to spread the feeling of loyalty amongst the old 'Republicans.' This assertion may, of course, be taken as merely the panegyric of their historian; but it receives confirmation from the fact that, when in 1662, the officers of the Guards offered the Governor, with the consent of their men, to assist without extra pay in the large works undertaken for the improvement of the harbour and defences, the example of loyalty and good feeling proved contagious. The other regiments soon followed it by volunteering in succession, and 'whole 'companies were to be seen with shovels on their shoulders and 'drums beating, marching under competent officers to their 'daily labours.' 'The King,' it is added, 'was much gratified 'when he heard of these proceedings;' a natural feeling in the sovereign who had taken so personal a share in the formation of the regiment that led the way in this spontaneous proof of sound sentiments. Charles was thinking chiefly of the past, no doubt, and cared little for the inheritance of good traditions which such conduct in a regiment bequeaths; but those who know how gratefully our engineers before Sebastopol acknowledged the thoroughness with which the Guards Division gave itself during the weary siege to the labours of the trenches,

and what an admirable example its men set of the readiness good soldiers should have to do their full share of spade-work as well as of fighting at need, should not be unmindful of those early labours at Dunkirk which followed so soon on the regiment's first action near that place.

The fortress hard won by Cromwell's gallant troops in that battle, and strengthened by the volunteer labours of victors and vanquished; the place of arms which he had destined for England's watchtower on the opposite side of the Channel; was not to stay long in the hands of the nation to which he had bequeathed it. Charles had already met some of those pecuniary necessities to which his policy during the latter part of his long reign became enslaved. The expenses of garrisoning the singular dower of Tangiers brought him by Catherine of Braganza, were hardly less than those of holding Dunkirk. His sister, about to be married to the Duke of Orleans, had to be handsomely portioned. Fleets were at once more difficult to get rid of and far more popular with Englishmen of that age than battalions; and a large navy was therefore to be maintained even when a standing army ceased to exist. Arbitrary taxation had been rendered impossible to an English king since Charles's father had sacrificed his crown in attempting to enforce it; and it was accordingly necessary to economise. The possession of Dunkirk was the sacrifice selected for the immediate exigency, and after many doubts and delays a commission was signed on September 1, 1662, by Charles the King, under which it was to be ceded for a large sum to Cromwell's late ally, the monarch who, five years before, had openly betrayed the cause of Charles the exile and leagued himself with the usurper of the Stuarts' throne. Louis was only too anxious to possess himself of a fortress which, whether in Spanish or English hands, was a standing menace to the northern frontiers of his kingdom; and the bargain was pressed on with all possible speed on his side, the inhabitants themselves being called on for loans wherewith to supply all the needs of the garrison and hurry it away. Englishmen may be glad, in the light of modern policy, that their fathers so soon got rid of the dangerous possession added to the country by Cromwell's policy; but the manner in which it passed from her hands may well raise a blush in those who are jealous over her honour in past days. The contract was duly carried out by Charles's commissioners, and in November 1662 the Royal Guard was on its way back to that England which it had not yet seen, though it had carried her King's colours for six years with unblemished honour. As the French account of Louis's agents, in General

Hamilton's rendering, proceeds to say, 'they knew not without 'this successful negotiation [with the town authorities who 'made the advances] what might have been the result, as on 'the passage of the troops to England, they met the messenger 'carrying the order of the English Parliament to the governor 'not to deliver over Dunkirk into the hands of the French;' for Charles's Parliament was by no means submissive to his will in the matter of the bargain. Lord Rutherford, however, had executed his orders so promptly on receiving the necessary arrears due to his troops, that the time for this supposed intervention had gone by. Nor did he meet with the least opposition from the Cromwellian regiments about to be disbanded, of whom he reported, thus contradicting his own former fears, 'the most civil, obliging, and unparalleled carriage in laying 'down their arms, to the glory of the English soldiers, and 'thus giving the lie to those who would accuse them of mutiny.'

From this time until the death of Lord Wentworth in 1665, there were two distinct regiments of Royal Guards quartered in England; each admitted to have precedence over all other troops, and each claiming it over the other; 'Lord Wentworth's, as the oldest regiment in the service of the sovereign, raised in 1656, in Flanders; Colonel Russell's, as his 'was the oldest on the English establishment, having been 'the first raised in England after the Restoration.' Charles seems never to have had the courage to decide this difficult question; but he took the opportunity of Lord Wentworth's death to put an end to the controversy by amalgamating the two into one. Apparently the decease of the loyal nobleman was unexpected, for on the very day it occurred a warrant had been issued to augment the Russell regiment. This was never acted on; and shortly after the incorporation of the two corps was completed. So far as it was absolutely necessary, the original question of official precedence was now decided in favour of Colonel Russell's original command, since the companies in it were placed on the list before the others, and the lieutenant-colonel and major of the combined regiment were taken from his. As to Colonel Russell's own nomination to his new command, it was deemed a matter of such importance in the court circle of the day, that it seems to have led to a duel between that officer and another aspirant to the honour, the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, the last of the title who descended from the royal family of Scotland. Combatants and seconds were on this occasion treated with sharp displeasure, and committed for a time under royal warrant to the Tower; but Colonel Russell's detention did not operate against his just claim, although

it was made longer than the Duke's, as a sort of compliment to the latter's Stuart lineage: and his commission seems to have been actually made out whilst he was still in prison petitioning earnestly for the King's forgiveness.

It should be mentioned that if the date of this commission, which was also that of the appointment of the other field officers of the new regiment, were to be held as that of its proper formation, it would have to yield in point of antiquity to the only less famous Coldstreamers, originally Monk's own Guards, who were formally disbanded, and then re-enlisted in a body as a new regiment in the king's service, on February 14, 1661, having been the last of the old parliamentary army called on to lay down their arms after the Restoration. As this regiment had existed many years before, and as a document in the State Paper Office shows that in the previous January it had 'been determined to continue it,' it is not surprising that its claims to superior antiquity should have been put forward both on this historic ground, and also on that of the renewal of Colonel Russell's commission four years after the date above mentioned, when the two regiments of Royal Guards were made one under him. General Hamilton, speaking on behalf of his corps, bases its right to seniority distinctly on the technical ground that Colonel Russell's first commission as Colonel of Guards bears date some months before the disbandment and new formation of the Coldstream Guards. To us it seems that he unnecessarily weakens what should be an unassailable case by this too legal view. The historic facts are, that Charles was restored without opposition after Cromwell's death as the lawful sovereign of the country. Lord Wentworth's regiment had then been for years his first regiment and Royal Guard. It continued to be so after he was installed on his throne, and remained unchanged in form or substance; though, to avoid any legal doubts as to its payment from English sources when his Spanish subsidies were withdrawn, he very prudently re-commissioned its colonel. It was not, however, ever disbanded, or its continuity of existence suspended for an hour; and although joined to Colonel Russell's regiment some years later, when it lost its first chief, it was still the identical Guard whose members had cast their fortunes boldly in with those of their banished king, that fought in his cause against their republican countrymen before Dunkirk, and that shared in the prosperity of his return. History cannot parallel this instance of loyalty in a corps thus rewarded. No army list can pretend to produce its rival; and it is a mistake in sentiment as well as logic

to put the pretensions of the Grenadier Guards to be the first regiment of England on any lower ground.

Holding it to be no less than this, it would be well, before we dismiss the subject, to say a few words on the general question of precedency as concerns the various arms. The present conventional arrangement is a wholly erroneous one, being founded on no proper rule or historic precedent. If the mere antiquity of each service were to be the rule, there would be a fair excuse for putting cavalry at the beginning of the Army List; but then the artillery and engineers should obviously follow the infantry. But if the actual importance of the branch of the service governed their order, then beyond question that should stand first to which the others have been, and will be, ever more or less appendages. That victory must in the main depend on the infantry is a truth which successive wars only bring more and more into prominent light; and this fact, which all soldiers instinctively recognise, should be recognised officially whenever proper opportunity occurs. We have had more indefensible mistakes recorded in our Army List than that we are now concerned with, which the enlightened spirit that now presides over war administration has done away with; such as that which formerly gave the two scientific corps a distinct commander-in-chief in the Master-General of the Ordnance. The present arrangement of precedency is very much as though soldiers were valued in proportion to the quantity of ornament they carry on their persons. The contrary should rather be the rule; and if their importance to the sovereign and the nation were regarded as the special qualities which make them valuable, the British infantry, which even foreign critics have allowed to be unequalled, should stand at the head; and first of all the infantry would come, as now, the Royal Regiment of Grenadier Guards.

It is not our purpose to follow with General Hamilton the varied feats of arms this corps has performed from the days of the battle of Dunkirk to those of Sebastopol. But as before pointed out, it is in the time of defeat that the highest qualities of the soldier appear; and those who search the records of such important battles as Neerwinden (1693), Almanza (1707, the most terrible disaster a British general ever suffered in a European field), and Lauffeldt (1747), will find the Guards no less glorious there than at our more world-famous defeat of Fontenoy, where the stubborn courage of the undaunted battalions drew from Marshal Saxe the frank acknowledgment that the troops with which he conquered could not have rivalled it. 'No reinforcements'—General Hamilton says, in telling the

crisis of the first action we have cited, a struggle fought on the very ground made classic in military history by the Archduke Charles's first feat in arms just a hundred years later—'arrived at this moment to second the Guards and Hanoverians. They were the same forces rallied that had the credit of regaining their former post and beating back their numerous enemies; the rest of the allied infantry were only sufficient to line the intrenchments, and no more battalions could be spared.' So at *Almanza* (the story of which is but hastily told in these volumes), we find the Guards abandoned by their Portuguese allies, and encompassed by a host of hostile cavalry flushed with victory, yet retreating steadily in unbroken squares across the wide plain in which Lord Galway had rashly exposed himself, nor yielding until their ammunition was totally exhausted and all hope of rescue lost. At *Lauffeldt*, again, they were left almost alone, just as at their first action, in the midst of the enemy's line; but more fortunate than at *Dunkirk* in the character of their enemies, they drew off after their retreating allies, without being surrounded as they might have been; their conduct extorting from *Louis XV.* who witnessed it, the well-known praise testified to by his prisoner, *Sir John Ligonier*, that the 'English not only pay for all, but fight for all.' Or, passing down the stream of British military history to seek its darkest portion in the campaigns in *America*, the conduct of the Guards, wherever engaged, proves that they carried the same high spirit across the Atlantic against the tough republican levies that *Washington* trained to conquer, as they had shown in *Flanders* and *Bavaria* and *Spain* against the greatest French generals of the earlier part of the century. They had scarcely joined *Lord Cornwallis* in his gallant effort to win back the *Carolinas*, when we find their general writing, 'We passed the *Catawba* on the 1st. The Guards behaved gallantly, and though they were fired upon during the whole time of their passing, never returned a shot until they got out of the river and formed.' Such coolness and discipline alone could have borne them through the terrible action, very terrible indeed for its dimensions, of *Guildford*, that followed not long after this passage. Of this battle an eye-witness quoted by *General Hamilton* writes with the strictest truth words which we are the more anxious to quote because many of our countrymen, who have spent admiration largely on *General Sherman's* exploits in this very district, are in perfect ignorance of the glorious feats of arms the little band of *Cornwallis* accomplished in the similar march of that great general from *Charleston* to *Richmond*.

'There is not perhaps,' says this writer in warm yet faithful language,
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‘on the record of history an instance of a battle fought with more determined perseverance than was shown by the British troops on that memorable day. The battles of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, the glory of our own country and the admiration of ages, had in each of them, either from particular local situation, or other fortunate and favourable circumstances, something in a degree to counterbalance the disparity of numbers. Here time, place, and numbers all united against the British. The American general had chosen his ground, which was strong, commanding, and advantageous; he had time, not only to make his disposition, but to send away his baggage and every encumbrance. His cannon, and his troops, in numbers far exceeding the British, were drawn out in readiness to commence the action, when Lord Cornwallis approached to attack him.’

Or as General Hamilton less dramatically describes the close of the contest:—

‘The Guards and Hessians then again renewed the attack against the enemy’s third line, and eventually defeated it; but no sooner was this effected than they had to return to attack some more troops who appeared in their rear, and who were also finally driven off the field. The British showed great courage in this encounter; their numbers were only 1,445 against from 5,000 to 7,000 of the enemy, strongly posted; and it says much for the discipline of the Guards, that though on two separate occasions the two battalions were for a time thrown into confusion by an overpowering fire and superior numbers of the enemy, they were both rallied on the field of battle without retiring, and continued the attack till the enemy was finally defeated. The British lost nearly one-third of their numbers.’

We pass on to the close of the same century. The British are again in arms in Flanders to share the fleeting triumphs won by the Allies in the autumn of 1793, and the long train of disasters which followed their divided counsels in 1794, when Carnot hurled on them, with energy and decision, the rude but formidable levies of revolutionary France. The Guards had constant occasion during the former period to show that unshaken discipline which made their battalions bright exceptions to the low moral condition of the rest of the Duke of York’s English troops, and glorious opportunities in the latter to prove themselves worthy descendants of the men who fought for their king against all hope in their first action lost on the same frontier. The worst of these affairs was one of the earliest. The so-called battle of Turcoing, fought May 17, was in reality a series of severe skirmishes following some complicated movements ordered by the Emperor of Austria on the dangerous inspiration of Mack, the same officer who in later days lost him the flower of his army at Uln. General Hamilton does not in the least exaggerate when he writes that, had the Austrians

been sworn enemies of the British instead of allies, they could not have devised combinations more likely to destroy them, nor carried them out in a manner more certain to lead to that result. So isolated and exposed to superior numbers was the column in which the Guards moved with another brigade of British infantry, that it is not too much to say that no ordinary troops could have extricated themselves from the position, and that it would have been impossible for even these to have escaped had the French around them possessed the experience of war they were yet to win, or their generals the skill they showed in after years under Napoleon. As it was, the Guards, cut off from their immediate support, and totally separated from the rest of the army, lost their guns, and retired, to find the only road for retreat strongly occupied. With the enemy pressing vigorously on in front and flank, they had to strike across the fields and fight their way out to a point of safety; a feat most gallantly accomplished, though with the loss of two hundred officers and men from their muster-roll. Constantly exposed during the dreary months of retreat that followed; as at Boxel, where the conduct of the First Guards won special approval from Abercrombie, and where Wellesley first won distinction by his prompt support of them with his battalion when hard pressed, they endured unflinchingly and loyally the worst proofs that discipline and hunger can have to bear: and their light companies covered the painful retreat at its final close, when the Ems was crossed and Holland abandoned. Whatever trials future battles may have in store for them, it can bring none severer than those that fell to their share during those inglorious campaigns of York, the conduct of which may well be remembered as a warning by those who have most reason to be proud of the gallantry they called forth.

Twenty years elapsed and found them once more in Flanders, an integral part of a great army fresh from Peninsular glories, and nerved as only soldiers are who have long followed a victorious chief. The unknown colonel of the 83rd, who had skilfully 'wheeled up his ranks' as the First Guards passed through them at Boxel, and 'shattered with cool and 'well-directed volleys' the French hussars who were pressing on their rear, was now a renowned field-marshal, matched against the greatest general the world had ever produced. The decisive battle of Waterloo is so closely connected with the history of the regiment that it cannot be wholly omitted from our mention; but the episode which gave the corps the special title of 'The Grenadiers,' in memory of the overthrow of Napoleon's choicest veterans, is too threadbare a subject to

need dwelling on. We shall merely say that General Hamilton here deserves the highest praise as an annalist. In going over the ground of controversy between his own regiment and the 52nd, he does full justice to the former without depreciating the share taken by Colborne's glorious soldiers in the repulse of the last forlorn hope of the Empire. But those who really know the history of this battle are aware that the critical moment for Wellington was not at the desperate charge of the French Guards, but some hours before, when La Haye Sainte had been captured from us, and our centre was for a brief space laid bare. And the First Guards here performed a single-handed deed of arms, just at the time when many of their allies were most shaken, which is certainly as much to their credit as the famous charge they shared in later, and is but little known by comparison. We give it in General Hamilton's words:—

‘ Some French skirmishers were assembled under the shelter of some low ground west of the farm-house, who upon advancing from their comparative place of security were enabled to pour a flanking fire into the left flank of the third battalion First Guards, and the second battalion Ninety-fifth Rifles, a fire that became at last so serious that Maitland found it necessary to advance and dislodge them, and being himself in the square he gave directions to Lieutenant-Colonel D'Oyley, then in command of the Guards, to advance his men. The battalion was, as we have seen, in square, prepared to repel the repeated and constantly recurring attacks of the enemy's cavalry, who were still in the neighbourhood, at the foot of the slope, and it would have been hazardous under such circumstances to form line in the usual manner. The general, therefore, relying upon the steadiness of the men, merely directed the flank faces of the square to be thrown back in sections, and in that formation the third battalion advanced, being prepared to form square at the shortest notice. Though this forward and independent movement was necessary, it was not intended to be of long duration; but short as it was it at once attracted the notice of the batteries on the opposite hills, which, while the battalion was halted and firing into the skirmishers, mowed a passage two or three times through the faces of the square, the French cavalry on the right, at the time threatening another assault. Nothing daunted by this combined attack of the three arms of the enemy, the men, while continuing their fire with unshaken steadiness, closed up the gaps thus made in their ranks with promptitude and decision. Maitland having at last forced the enemy's infantry to retire, and finding the fire of their artillery too deadly to be longer resisted, if he remained thus in front of the general line of battle, ordered the battalion to retire about forty yards up the hill, which it did with the greatest coolness; nor did the French cavalry venture to attack it, either during the advance or during the subsequent return of the battalion over the brow of the hill to its original position, as it

would have done had any symptoms of unsteadiness been detected in the ranks of the British Guards.'

Yet not at Waterloo, nor in Carolina, nor on Fontenoy's bloody field; not even when, an untried battalion, they saw themselves abandoned on the Downs, did the ordeal of battle take a more dreadful form than on the cold November morning, when 60,000 Russians issued from the mist that shrouded Sebastopol to break through with one vigorous onset the lines drawn round their great fortress. The romance of war contains no tale more truly thrilling than the struggle which ensued, when 8,000 British infantry for hours met and repulsed the efforts of full fourfold their number of the brave enemies to wrest the key of the position from them. This strange disproportion of the combatants, until Bosquet's French came in, is as clear as anything in history. In order to take it out of the region of absolute romance, it is necessary to remember two points which caused an otherwise overwhelming combination to end in disaster to the Russians. In the first place, their system of fighting in dense masses was peculiarly ill-adapted to force in the line of an enemy that could not be daunted by mere show of weight, and it of course narrowed their own front of fire, even more than the nature of the ground chosen for their attack. And in addition to this, the mistake of General Simonoff in directing his flanking column of 17,000 men, threw it across the head of Pauloff's troops advancing to the direct assault of the hill occupied by the Guards, and made it worse than useless for the combined movement which the two were to have carried out. General Hamilton treats this important episode in the history of the Grenadiers with his usual painstaking care. It must suffice us here to show from his narrative how their colours were saved at the most desperate hour of the conflict.

'A general forward movement of the Russians took place, their left advanced against the Guards in the Sand-bag battery, while the main body was directed against the centre of the second division. The officers commanding the Fusilier and Coldstream Guards perceiving that their left was being turned and their communication with the second division endangered, ordered their battalions to take ground to the left, and thus reached the ground to the right of the second division. The Grenadiers in the battery were now reduced, what with their losses in killed and wounded, by the advance of several detachments, and the absence of one company on picquet [that of Prince Edward of Saxe Weimar, which was separately and severely engaged], to little more than one hundred men. The thickness of the brushwood prevented the above flank movement of the Coldstreams and Fusiliers being seen by them, they were occupied in repelling the attacks of the enemy in front, when suddenly the Russians were seen coming down upon them from

the rear. The enemy who had advanced towards the second division, observing from the higher ground a body of British troops still in the Sand-bag battery, keeping at bay the Russians in their front, had wheeled round on their left, and were coming down in rear of the battery with the intention of taking the remainder of the Guards prisoners. There was nothing left for these to do but to rally round the colours for their protection, and charge through the advancing line in their rear, while those who still had ammunition left, kept up a fire on the enemy in their front. This charge was effected with perfect steadiness, and the head-quarters of the battalion were halted as soon as they reached the right of the second division breast-work. The French, who were now seen advancing to their support, were received by the Guards with an enthusiastic cheer, to which an equally warm response was given. The Duke of Cambridge came up at the same moment to this small band of Guardsmen, rejoicing to see the men and colours of the Grenadiers all safe, and was informed by the officer in command that though he had been surrounded, they had cut their way through again.'

We close with this scene our notice of these records. The Grenadier Guards have in the work before us a new source of pride; for if few regiments can rival them in the interest of their annals, none can boast of a history which has so thoroughly done justice to them. The whole execution of General Hamilton's work, in its laborious research, its fulness of illustration, and the completeness of its handsome form, bears testimony not merely to the spirit of the publisher, but the devotion of the author to this self-imposed duty. As he served his regiment with intelligence and energy in peace, and distinction in the field, so he has crowned his attachment to it by devoting the first years of leisure following a long term of military duty in every grade, to setting forth, in a manner that none shall mistake, its high claims to national respect. It is well that this should have been done by so competent a hand. Guardsmen do not always take the surest ground in their assertion of what is due to their cloth: for the best defence of any special privileges is to be found, not in general orders, nor even in time-measured prescription, but in going back to the past history which justifies these pretensions. The brigade in which General Hamilton was brought up needed some such apology, for it has been warmly attacked of late years, and has suffered some unfair obloquy, which the publication of these volumes will go far to remove.

Our duty would be incomplete did we not point out that the jealousy which has been manifested of its privileges was not founded, as some may think, on the petty military precedencies of the Guards, but was an inevitable consequence of the political changes in our constitution. Those who go deep

enough in the search for the cause may find it in the constant struggle carried on in this country for two generations past, between the great middle class gradually wresting the governing power from the aristocracy, and the latter seeking vainly to retain it. This struggle has made itself felt in every social circle, and in every national institution. It reached the army in due course, and the Guards, as the element allied closely to the less popular side, have naturally suffered in popular esteem. It has even been the fashion with a certain class of writers to depict their officers as carpet-knights, their ranks as full of pampered hirelings enlisted and paid as an expensive show. How far this is from being a truthful view, those best know who are most concerned with them in their character as soldiers. They would be found to-day, we are assured, under trial, what these volumes prove them from their first call to battle: ready to do and dare; as ready to endure; the flower now, as they have been the model, of the finest infantry that modern warfare has brought under arms.

ART. VIII.—*L'Antechrist*. Par ERNEST RENAN. Paris: 1873.

IT was, not long ago, a favourite notion of the Continental divines that the English Church had succumbed to so fatal a form of theological sterility, that she could do nothing more than produce an endless series of commentaries on the Apocalypse. Now we will not undertake to say that our Keiths, and Elliotts, and Cummings, and the host of minor luminaries who feebly glimmer in the 'Quarterly Journal of Prophecy,' have really been actuated by any rationalising or far-reaching views. It is rather to be feared that the predisposing cause of their diligent and moderately successful labours on the Apocalypse is to be sought in quite another direction; that they were possessed of certain views as to the plenary inspiration of every word and letter in the Holy Scriptures; and that their imagination, accordingly, was set on fire by the delusive hope of discovering in this sealed book a key to all history and a clue towards the solution of that insoluble problem—the future of the world and of the Church. It is however fairly open to us, now-a-days, to reply to our Continental censors that, in selecting the Apocalypse as the main subject of our theological labours, we were, after all, in the van and not in the rear of scientific research. We may have gone the wrong way to work. But, at any rate, we were already in

1729 on the right track ; we had anticipated the direction in which the ablest and most advanced thinkers of a subsequent century would seek for full and sure information on some of the gravest problems of Christianity ; and were earning the praise of one of the very foremost divines of modern Germany, who confesses that ' the earliest attempts at a thorough, searching inquiry into the Apocalypse are to be seen in the English Church at the beginning of the eighteenth century.'

The lead thus taken by England, however, has since been indifferently maintained. In biblical, if not in historical and philosophical, research we have been during the last half-century entirely outstripped by Germany ; and in particular the Apocalyptic studies of Lücke, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Ebrard, and others have found as yet no rivals, or even imitators, in England. In France, on the contrary, in spite of the trammels by which Ultramontane or Protestant orthodoxy has repressed her theological activity, the spectacle of German industry has produced of late years some remarkable results. Reville, Nicolas, Reuss, and Coquerel have proved themselves no unworthy scholars of their Teutonic masters ; and the fascinating pen of the great writer, whose latest work we propose to review in the present article, has perhaps commanded a wider attention, and achieved for him a more distinctly European reputation, than has been attained by any other representative of the modern school of theology, not excepting even the celebrated Dr. Strauss himself.

Yet M. Renan, though he is great in history, is hardly a historian ; though he deals largely in criticism, he is hardly a critic ; still less, though he much delights in theology, is he a theologian. He is, first and above all things, an artist. The skill with which he can weave together—out of legends, inscriptions, memoranda of travels, scraps from the Talmud, coins, regular histories, fragments of all sorts—a consecutive and beautiful narrative, is really beyond all praise. No reader can fail to be carried along with the current of his ideas. And if occasionally a mawkish piece of sentiment or an awkward avowal of unbelief occur to ruffle our too placid concurrence, yet after all we resign ourselves to the interruption, as we should welcome the changeful humours of some wayward stream, and confess that, artistically, the effect is enhanced and not spoiled by a little break of continuity. But then it must be remembered that, with all the striking beauties and graces of a consummate artist, M. Renan also combines the faults and weaknesses which beset all artistic representation. Artistic truth is subjective rather than objective. It seeks to

throw the mind into a certain state. It is therefore careless of presenting the precise facts of the outer world as they really are, in their somewhat chaotic and prosaic incoherence. It groups, it 'composes,' it extends, it concentrates, it gives a meaning of its own to what it sees; in short, it is not photography, but painting; it is not imitation, but art. And therefore, while we accept with the utmost gratitude, and read with the keenest pleasure, such works as these, we can never remind ourselves too often that they present but one *phase* of the many-sided truth, and that they no more exhaust the subject they profess to handle than Miss Thompson's picture exhausts the subject of the Crimean War, or than Bach's 'Passions-musik' says all that can be said on the Passion of our Lord.

The present work, with its characteristically mis-spelt title—the Athenians and the Parisians have, alone among mankind, claimed to adapt the orthography of all nations to the exigencies of their own organs—'L'Antechrist,' forms in reality the fourth volume of a series. 'The History of the Origin of Christianity' is the running title of the whole series. The first volume contained the celebrated 'Life of Jesus;' the second was occupied with 'the Apostles' and the infant Church; the third was entitled 'St. Paul;' the fourth is now before us, and might almost have been entitled 'St. John;' and a fifth volume is yet to come, on 'The last Survivors of the Apostolic Age.' Among all these volumes we unhesitatingly assign the palm to the second, on 'The Apostles.' But it is impossible to deny that the volume before us is also a work of the very highest interest and importance, and that it sets forth the results which have been attained, especially by German research, in the history of the Church under Nero, with a vividness quite unequalled, and in that particular part of Church-history absolutely unexpected.

For if there were any period given up by universal consent as a dark and inexplicable transition-time—a tunnel (as it has been described) into which the train plunges, to emerge again a mile farther on—that period was the time which intervened between the latest events recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and the first opening of regular Church-literature in the Apostolical Fathers. The composition of the four Gospels and of the so-called Pastoral Letters, is indeed usually attributed to this period. But even then, such writings as these throw little light on the times in which they were being written; the Gospel narratives being histories wholly concerned with the past, and these epistles being in great measure of a merely hortatory and practical cast. But what if a work of that

period, long known yet wrapped in profoundest obscurity, should suddenly emerge into full daylight—a book not only written at the time in question, but written by one of the foremost men of the time; not only breathing in every page the most intense convictions and passions of the contemporary Church, but also offering the strangest points of conjunction with the strangest passages of secular history; and not only capable of being dated within wide limits of a century or a decennium, but traceable with certainty to a year, to a month, and almost to a day,—would not such a book as this be indeed accounted worthy of the profoundest study, and be regarded by all thoughtful men as a historical treasure of inestimable value and interest?

Such a book we have. It has been borne down to us safely from those far-off times—though with many a flaw and mark of rough usage and of hopeless misunderstanding—owing to its reputed apostolic authorship and its consequent asylum among the venerated books of Holy Scripture. It is, in short, the Apocalypse of St. John.

Whether indeed it be really by St. John is a point on which critics have been much exercised from the age of Dionysius of Alexandria, in the third century, down to our own. But the difficulties as to its authorship are almost entirely of an internal character. And they are based on two postulates, neither of which is nearly so certain as the well-attested fact which they are employed to contravene. The first objection is that, Millennial doctrines being false, the book which contains them cannot possibly be written by one of the twelve Apostles; the second is that, the fourth Gospel being certainly by St. John, a book whose ideas and style are so entirely different cannot have proceeded from the same hand. But in opposition to this there stands the clear external testimony of all the earliest and most trustworthy writers that this book is by St. John—a testimony (as it happens) more unanimous and more absolutely convincing than can be adduced in favour of the apostolic authorship of any other book of the New Testament.* And therefore we are driven to the precisely opposite conclusions, namely (1) that such Millennial doctrines as are to be found in the Apocalypse really do belong to apostolic times; (2) that, if the style and contents of the fourth Gospel cannot be reconciled with those of the Apocalypse, it is the fourth Gospel whose authorship must remain in doubt, and not the Apoca-

* This is pointed out by Mede, 'Works,' iii. 747; and by Bishop Wordsworth, 'On Apocalypse,' p. 87.

lypse. We cannot therefore agree with M. Renan in thinking that the true writer of the book was some companion, or secretary, or disciple, to whose work the Apostle afterwards good-naturedly lent the weight of his name. Still less can we agree with Ewald, who, following the patristic objectors, attributes the work to that shadowy, half-mythical personage, the Presbyter John of Ephesus. Least of all can we agree with those who, like Caius and others in the third century, venture to assign its composition to the heresiarch Cerinthus, the Gnostic opponent of St. John. Rather we give our full assent to the arguments of Lücke, Ebrard, and a host of other critics, who maintain that there is no sufficient reason to doubt that the traditional authorship of this book is the true one.

But if so, important consequences immediately ensue. For the next stage of inquiry into the contents of this curious relic of apostolic times leads our author to conclusions of a remarkable and interesting kind. In the first place, to quote the words of M. Renan, there is no doubt that

‘The book is Judæo-Christian, Ebionite. It is the work of an enthusiast, transported with hatred against the Roman Empire and the profane world. It excludes all hope of reconciliation between Christianity on the one hand, and the Empire and the world on the other. Its Messianic conceptions are wholly material. The reign of the martyrs for a thousand years is affirmed. The end of the world is announced as imminent. These views, in which the more rational Christians, obeying the direction of St. Paul and afterwards that of the Alexandrian School, saw nothing but difficulties, appear to us the guarantee of primitive and apostolic authorship. . . . Chimæras, impossibilities, materialist conceptions, paradoxes, enormities—such as tried the patience of Eusebius when he read the ancient Ebionite and Millenarian authors, (Papias, &c.)—these were the true “Primitive Christianity.” And in order that the dreams of these transcendent seers should become a religion capable of life, it was necessary that their work should be taken in hand by men of sense and genius—such as were the Greek converts of the third century—and that by them it should be modified, corrected, and pruned. But in that very process, these authentic monuments of the *naïvetés* of an earlier age soon became embarrassing witnesses, whose testimony must somehow be cast into the shade. And so that happened—which almost always happens at the first appearance of new religious creations, and which especially marked the first days of the Franciscan Order—the founders of the house were evicted by the new-comers, and the true successors of the earliest Fathers presently became suspected, if not attainted, of heresy.’ (P. xxxix.)

Some of the language here used is, no doubt, too strong and unguarded. But on the whole we believe that what M. Renan means to say is not far from the truth. He means

that all great and powerful religious movements have sprung from the people, and have appealed at first to the popular feelings and imagination; and it is not till a later period that the clarifying processes of the colder intellect have begun. First come the *Vedas*, and then the *Puranas* or theological commentaries upon them. First come the Wesleyan 'convulsions' or the Irvingite 'tongues,' and then follow calm and rational efforts to assign a meaning to these things and to found permanent societies upon them. That this was the case too, on the largest scale, with Christianity can hardly be doubted by anyone who will take the trouble to read the Acts and the Epistles distinctly as history and not as theology, and will carefully observe the 'behaviour' (as a chemist would say) of the Gospel leaven when it was fairly brought into contact with the world. Contrast, for instance, the tone and the contents of the (so called) Synoptical Gospels with those of the fourth Gospel. In the one case we have the discrepancies and unavoidable confusions of an oral narrative; in the other we find theology, reflections upon that narrative. In the one we have crude material; in the other form and purpose are manifest. And we see, accordingly, in St. John a sevenfold collection of typical miracles, two great cycles of discourse upon the Water and the Blood, and an Alexandrian Logos-philosophy applied to solve the ever-deepening, ever-reopening question, 'Whom say ye that I am?' Or watch, again, the unfolding of the drama of the Acts. Here we find, first, the confused and (apparently) inexplicable Pentecostal scene; and, thereupon, St. Peter's attempt to explain the phenomena of that scene, by attaching them to his hearers' existing notions about Old Testament prophecy; by showing that, after all, these events were no more than an intelligent reader ought to have been prepared for, and by proclaiming that they were, in short, nothing else than a revival, under new forms, of the ancient and venerable spirit of prophecy, no longer confined to a select few, but endemic among the congregation. Or study, once more, the demeanour of the infant Church in view of that, at first sight, paradoxical and astounding spectacle, the all but unanimous refusal of the Jewish race—after whole centuries of divine training and *propædeia*—to accept their Messiah when He came. At the outset there was nothing for it but to recognise this fact and honestly to face it. But very soon a theory was found to fit it. And from our Lord's lips was eagerly borrowed a quotation (Isaiah xxix. 10) which showed that this too was no more than Bible-readers ought to have expected; while St. Paul spends whole chapters of his Epistle to the

Romans in expanding a similar thought, viz. that God's procedure had always been by a system of 'selection' (*ἐκλογή*), and of 'remnants' (*λείμματα*); and that therefore the present difficulty was really the reverse of a 'difficulty,' being all of a piece with God's ways from Genesis to Malachi. Or, lastly—not to weary the reader with too many evidences of an undeniable truth—contrast the tone and animus of the earliest Epistles of Paul, written to the Thessalonians (about A.D. 50), with the later productions of his pen, Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians (about A.D. 63). In the former we seem to breathe a spirit analogous to that of the Apocalypse. It is not reasoning that we meet with there, but chaotic feelings and ardent hopes. But in the later Epistles, on the contrary, theory and intellectual reflection have made their appearance. Christ, who previously had been conceived of—in true Jewish form—as about to return immediately, with concomitants such as those we meet with in the Revelation of St. John, has in these later letters been reverently submitted to intellectual scrutiny. The best philosophical ideas of the time have been employed to explain His nature and His relations to the universe. And He is no longer merely the 'Lord descending from heaven' with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the 'trump of God,' but he has become the ideal centre and rallying-point 'of all things in heaven and earth,' the 'fulness of Him that filleth all in all,' the visible 'image of the invisible God,' the creator of all things, 'in the form of God,' 'equal with God.'

Such, we undertake to say, have been the first two providential stages in the growth of every religion which has had sufficient truth and fibre in it to seize the popular heart and to live. And such, accordingly, were the first two steps in the progress of Christianity, whose especial glory it is, not to be unnatural, but to be a consecration and transfiguration of the natural. We not only accept, therefore, M. Renan's theory about the polemical purpose of the Apocalypse, but we accept it cordially and as a matter of course. We have not a word to say against it. On the contrary, it seems to us—especially when worked out with his admirable industry and presented in full historical detail—to reflect a great deal of light on analogous cases, where detail is perhaps wanting, or where the diligence of critics has been more at fault.

Now the truth of this modern theory about the Apocalypse almost wholly hinges upon the truth of its assigned date. And the arguments which support the assignment of A.D. 68 as the date of its composition appear to us to be absolutely irresistible.

In the first place, there can be no question that some terrible and bloody persecution had lately happened. For chapter vii. 14 mentions 'a great multitude, which no man could number, 'with palms in their hands, . . . which came out of *great tribulation*, and have washed their robes and made them white in 'the blood of the Lamb;' and chapter xvii. 6 says, 'I saw the 'woman drunken with the *blood of the saints*, and with the 'blood of the martyrs of Jesus;' and chapter xx. 4 speaks of 'them that were *beheaded* for the witness of Jesus.' But the first persecution on any large scale took place under Nero, in A.D. 64. Again, there can be little doubt that Jerusalem was still standing when the author wrote, although it seems to be already seriously 'threatened by the Gentile armies. 'There 'was given unto me,' says he, 'a reed like unto a rod: and 'the angel stood, saying, "Rise and measure the temple of 'God and the altar and them that worship therein. But the 'court, which is without the temple, leave out and measure it 'not; for it is given unto the Gentiles, and they shall tread it 'under foot forty-and-two months.'" But Jerusalem was taken by the Gentiles, and the temple (not merely the outer precincts) was utterly destroyed, in A.D. 70. Within the six years, therefore, that intervened between A.D. 64 and A.D. 70 the Apocalypse must certainly have been written.

But even this narrow margin can, on further investigation, be reduced within still narrower limits. For one passage in this curious book—this 'open secret,' which seems to whisper to us (as St. Matthew also does), 'let him that readeth under-stand'—is evidently meant to give the precise chronological clue which we are in search of. *It furnishes St. John's own information as to the exact time at which he was writing.* The passage in question occurs in chapter xvii., where the vision of the scarlet woman riding on the beast with seven heads and ten horns is thus quite intelligibly explained:—

'Upon her forehead was a name written, *Mystery*, *Babylon* the great. . . . And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the Saints and with the blood of the Martyrs of Jesus. . . . And the angel said unto me: I will tell thee the mystery of the woman and of the beast that carrieth her, . . . the beast that was, and is not, and yet is. Here is the mind that hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven and goeth unto perdition. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings; which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind, and shall give their

power and strength unto the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for He is Lord of Lords and King of Kings. . . . And the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.'

We have transcribed this curious passage in full because of the singular certainty with which its riddles can be deciphered, and because of the remarkable interest and importance of its contents. The 'woman' is clearly the great imperial city of Rome. Five of the emperors have already fallen; viz. Augustus,* Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. *The sixth, Galba, 'now is,' and under his nine months' reign, therefore, the author was writing his book:* (May 1, A.D. 68—January 15, A.D. 69.) But Galba was an old man, and the world was full of bloodshed and revolt. A successor was soon to be looked for, whether Otho or Vitellius or some other, whom military violence would be sure to set up. And when he came, he too would 'continue but a short space.' And then, O horror! the BEAST, the hateful, blood-stained persecutor, would come back again and occupy his godless throne once more. He would come up from the sea. He would land from some foreign parts—no doubt from the East. Ten would-be kings (whether Parthian chieftains or upstart generals) in full revolt and burning hatred against the Roman senate, would support the revival of this long-vanished claimant's title to his abandoned throne. Yes: the rumour of his death was, no doubt, a mere invention. He would establish himself once more. He would rank as the 'eighth' emperor. And then would come the apparent triumph of all evil, the temporary victory of Antichrist, and of all that was most opposite to the pure and heavenly Christ; a victory, however, to be quickly followed by the return of Christ Himself in power and glory, and by the final 'putting 'of all things—even of Death itself—under His feet.'

And what then is the *name* of this returning Antichrist? Chapter: xiii. 18 shall answer this question for us: 'Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man: and his number is six hundred three score and six.' In other words, his name is NERO. For this name, when written down as it was well known by sight to all the provincials on their coins and standards and inscriptions—*Νέρων Καίσαρ*, or נרון קסר, if each Hebrew letter is given its proper numerical value, amounts precisely to 666.

* Ewald, 'On Apoc.' p. 5: 'Augustus was rightly reckoned, especially in Palestine, as the first Roman Emperor.'

And now add to all these remarkable coincidences the circumstance recorded for us by Tacitus and other heathen historians, viz. that Nero's disappearance was in fact so sudden, and his death witnessed by so few persons, that vague rumours very soon got abroad that he was not dead at all, but that he had slipped away from his enemies, had conveyed himself secretly to the East, and was preparing for a speedy return at the head of terrible Parthian auxiliaries and disaffected Roman generals, to reconquer Rome and to inaugurate afresh the horrible tragi-comedy of his former reign. Naturally there were not wanting impostors in abundance to take advantage of this delusion. Pretenders and Perkin Warbecks soon sprang up in all directions, especially in the credulous East, who gave themselves out as 'Nero redivivus.' We hear of them even so late as twenty years farther on, in the reign of Domitian, when the empire had been thoroughly re-established under the Flavian dynasty. But, of course, at an earlier time, when Nero's disappearance was a recent event, these mock-Neros would be far more numerous, and would attract a much more serious and anxious attention. And accordingly Tacitus informs us that 'about this time [i. e. about the end of Galba's reign], Achaia and Asia were terrified by the false news that "Nero was coming," there being various rumours afloat concerning his death, and many people being of opinion (or pretending to be so) that he was still alive. The adventures and attempts of other impostors shall be described farther on. But just at this time a slave from Pontus—or, as others said, a freedman from Italy—skilful in playing the lyre and in singing, (a skill which, added to some personal resemblance, made the imposture easier,) embarked with some deserters whom he found wandering about with empty pockets, and whom he drew to his side by enormous promises. Driven by violent tempests to the island of Cythnos [an Ægean island directly opposite to Patmos], he found some soldiers there on furlough from the East; and, cutting short all refusals with the sword, added them to his force. He then plundered the merchants and armed all the able-bodied slaves. At length, on attempting with various artifices to shake the fidelity of a certain Sisenna, a centurion on his way home with symbols of fraternisation from the Syrian army to the Prætorian troops [at Rome], Sisenna, seized with panic and fearing for his life, escaped secretly from the island. And then terror spread far and wide—some being thrown into excitement by the celebrity of the name [Nero], others by hoping to fish in troubled waters, and others by sheer discon-

'tent with the present state of affairs. At last a happy accident brought all these daily-growing rumours to an end.'

We have quoted this curious passage from Tacitus at full length that our readers may see for themselves how precisely it suits, and therefore how accurately it dates, the corresponding chapters of the Apocalypse. And no reasonable man, we think, can doubt that here we have the true key to the interpretation of a book so often given up, as a hopeless child's puzzle, to childish handling. And if so, then once more has bold criticism deserved well of the Church; for it has once more—as in the well-known case of the four unassailable Epistles of St. Paul—supplied a solid historical basis to a literary relic of the Apostolic age, given positive certainty to its very early date, and restored to its honoured place amid the Church's unquestioned archives an invaluable specimen, not now of the Pauline or Hellenic, but of the anti-Pauline and Hebraic, type of early Christian teaching.

It is precisely this Hebraic department of the Church's literature which (it so happens) has become just now of unusual interest and importance. For there is no question that the earliest Christian Church was a Hebrew Church. There is also no question that it was an offset from this Hebrew Church which planted itself with exceptional vigour at Rome; and that hence Roman Christianity, from that time to this, has been strongly tinctured with Jewish elements, has blazed with Jewish intolerance, delighted in Jewish gorgeousness, and fallen a victim to Jewish realism; while Pauline or Augustinian or Protestant idealism has struggled manfully indeed, but too often in vain, to overcome the dead weight of these lower ingredients in Catholic Christianity, and to assert for intelligence and freedom their true place in the Church. That this struggle of the Petrine and Pauline elements in Christianity is still going on under our eyes, as it has been going on in all ages, need not be said. But it is essential to the healthy solution of the problem that both views should be clearly understood. The lower, sensuous, realistic Roman type of churchmanship cannot be thoroughly understood without an understanding of the early Hebrew Christianity out of which it took its rise. Would anyone, therefore, see how much, and how little, Romanism has to say for itself, let him go to the Holy Scriptures, and, putting aside their Pauline ingredients

* Tacitus, 'Hist.' ii. 8: the same curious forebodings may be seen in Dio Cassius, lxiv. 9: in the 'Sibylline Verses,' bk. iv. line 117: and in Commaidon, *Instructio* 41, 'De tempore Antichristi.'

(St. Luke and the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles), he will then find that he has left upon his hands (1) the Jewish Old Testament complete; (2) the literalism of St. Matthew and St. Peter; (3) the sacramental mysticism of St. John; (4) the ascetic moralism of St. James and St. Jude; (5) the gorgeous ritualism of the Apocalypse; and out of these Hebrew materials he might perhaps be able to construct, in its main features, the Roman system of religion. Re-introduce, however, St. Paul, and all this wonderful phantasmagoria begins to break up. Its unity and completeness is troubled. Pauline freedom, individualism, and intelligence, entering into combination with the previous Hebraizing ingredients, produce that vivacious and wholesome effervescence which we see going on at this hour in all countries where Christianity is really alive, and where the Scriptures in their completeness are really studied.

As for the Apocalypse, its thoroughly Hebrew and anti-Pauline character is manifest on a very slight scrutiny. In the first place, the name of St. Paul never once occurs throughout its pages. But the *person* of St. Paul is, in all probability, introduced, and that under the mystical and uncomplimentary pseudonym of Balaam, 'who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols' (ii. 14), which is just what St. Paul did teach his converts to do (see Romans xiv. 14; 1 Corinthians x. 27). And again probably the same apostle is aimed at under the analogous Greek name of 'Nicolaus.' Thou hast tried them,' writes St. John to the Church at Ephesus, 'which say they are apostles and are not. Thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate' (ii. 2-6); a passage which receives much light from another Judæo-Christian work of the following century, the *Clementine Homilies*, in which St. Paul is covertly attacked under the pseudonym of Simon Magus. 'Some people,' says St. Peter in this curious romance, 'from among the Gentiles have rejected my lawful teaching, being led away by the lawless and worthless doctrine of a certain enemy. . . . And sayest thou, our Jesus appeared to thee in vision, and was known to and conversed with thee? It was in wrath, as to an opponent. . . . As if anyone by visions can be instructed so as to be a teacher! And if thou sayest, "he can," why (I pray) did the Master for a whole year abide and converse with us, while in full possession of our senses? . . . And if thou, by being seen and taught of Him during one hour, becomest an "Apostle," do not contend with me His companion! For thou didst "withstand me to

‘ “ the face ” as though I “ was to be blamed. ” ’ Now these last are the very words which, in Galatians ii. 11, describe St. Paul's conduct at Antioch ; and there can be no doubt whatever that here, at any rate, we have a covert attack on St. Paul. The probability, therefore, becomes great that—from amid the far more stormy passions of an earlier period (about A.D. 68), and on the morrow of that very opposition of the Jewish party which dogged his footsteps from city to city and ‘ preached ‘ Christ of envy and strife ’—we have here in the Apocalypse a decently concealed attack on the party of freedom and on St. Paul, the active and (as it seemed) unscrupulous favourer of Gentile laxity. If so, M. Renan may not be very far from the truth when he writes as follows :—

‘ Religious fanaticism very often produces in the same person the most opposite phenomena of hardness and softness of heart. Many an inquisitor, in the middle ages, who burnt hundreds of poor wretches for some insignificant subtleties, was at the same time the most gentle and (in a sense) the most humble of men. Now it was against the little conventicles of that man's disciples whom people were calling the new Balaam, that the animosity of John and his *entourage* appears to have been keen and profound. Such injustice belongs to all partisans ; and such passion inflamed these strong Jewish natures, that in all probability the final disappearance of the “ destroyer of the law ” was hailed with cries of joy by his adversaries, to many of whom the death of this damper to their success, this troubler to their serenity, must have been a veritable relief. We have seen that Paul at Ephesus felt himself surrounded with enemies. His last discourses in Asia are full of sad presentiments. And at the beginning of the year 69, we shall find the hatred which attached to him still keenly alive. After that the controversy will be calmed, and silence will reign around his memory. At the moment with which we are concerned, no one appears to have taken his part ; and it is just that fact which, later on, saved his cause. The reserve, or perhaps the weakness, of his partisans brought on a reconciliation. For even the most advanced ideas end by becoming accepted, if only they have patience enough to undergo for a long time in silence the objections of their conservative opponents.’ (P. 348.)

But it was not against any internal enemy that the thunders of the Apocalypse were really, or at least mainly, directed. A mere heresy within the Church demanded but a cursory attention. A discredited and almost abandoned pseudo-apostle needed no more than a passing sword-stroke. The direct and furious onslaught of the violent and concentrated hate which breathes through this book of the only surviving ‘ son of thunder ’ was aimed at what then seemed a far more threatening and powerful foe, viz. at ruthless, pagan, imperial ROME.

For, in point of fact, the old burning question, which had

gone on blazing and then smouldering again for centuries, had now at last flamed up into a conflagration only comparable to that which shall, at the last day, embrace the whole world. The blazing question was this:—*Should, or should not, God's own people succumb finally beneath the heel of a heathen and blaspheming world?* Let the reader only endeavour to place himself in imagination in the position of a Hebrew Christian, full of patriotism, steeped in Old Testament lore, schooled—not by St. Paul but—by the Targumists and the Rabbis whose teaching is echoed for us in the Talmud, and influenced by constant handling of such books as Daniel, Esdras, Enoch, and (it may be) the verses of the Judæan Sibyl; then let him conceive the time to be precisely the epoch between the almost maddening scenes of Nero's frightful persecution and the still more horrible scenes that accompanied the destruction of Jerusalem; and he will find less difficulty than he ever found before, not only in accounting for, but even in clearly understanding, the impassioned pages of the Apocalypse. First of all, he would have fully in remembrance that glorious passage of the nation's annals which seems to have left an indelible expectation of miraculous deliverance upon every Jewish mind—the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea. 'The Song of Moses' and 'the Song of the Lamb,'* the triumph over Pharaoh and the triumph over Antichrist, would thus be inseparably linked together, as the beginning and the end of Jewish history, in his mind. And he would gather, from so marvellous an introduction of his chosen race upon the theatre of the world, the absolute certainty of a similar miraculous deliverance, if it should prove necessary, from the brute force of the heathen empire before the consummation of all things should come. Next the thought of David and Solomon would occur, with their conquests over the surrounding nations, and the popular elevation of David to a pedestal of eternal honour as the hero-saint of the Jewish race and the type of a still greater Messiah (that is, a 'consecrated person,' a religious deliverer), who was yet to come. Was not Hezekiah, too, miraculously delivered, even in his utmost straits? Did not Cyrus set the chosen people free from Babylon, without the need of lifting so much as a finger in their own behalf? Had not Judas Maccabæus broken in pieces the iron rod of the accursed Epiphanes, and abundantly justified the glorious hopes which 'the Book of Daniel' had then awakened in all men's breasts? Now that Rome was the oppressor, now that

* See Rev. xv. 3.

'Esau' (the Idumæan Herods and their Sadducee supporters) had betrayed the nation into alien and pagan hands—nay, when Nero, the thrice-accursed persecutor of God's people, had perpetrated his horrible and unmentionable cruelties upon the saints, would not the bright forecasts of the Apocalypse, of Esdras, of Enoch, of the Sibyl, at last come true; and perhaps after some crowning enormity of successful tyranny and lawlessness, would not 'Nero redux' too—like Pharaoh and all his host—be smitten to the earth by the Messiah returning in His glory?

That such were the thoughts stirring in the breast of the Seer of Patmos there can be no doubt whatever. 'The Book of Daniel' was much in his mind; as is clear from a score of passages, but especially from the expression (in Rev. xiii. 5) 'forty and two months,' a period of three years and a half, which verbally coincides with the 'time, times, and a half' of Dan. xii. 7. The 'Sibylline Verses,' in their original form, were also probably known to him. These were the work of an Alexandrian Jew, about B.C. 150; and they were occupied with the same great problem, 'when and how should the kingdom of God appear?' The answer given by this pretended wife of Noah—for all the earlier Apocalyptic literature is pseudonymous and claims a primæval antiquity—is virtually as follows:—'When Rome shall have succeeded in destroying the last vestiges of Alexander's Empire (the "fourth empire" of Daniel,) by annexing Egypt, then "the reign of the Eternal King shall appear unto men." But ere long Belial shall come, destroying far and wide, and performing many miracles. At length, God shall send a king from the East, to put down war and fill the earth with good. The heathen kings shall gather against him, and shall even besiege the holy city. But God shall send fiery swords from heaven, and burning torches, and shall suddenly destroy them. And then the judgment-day shall come, and the reign of God.* A third work often in the Seer's hands was the celebrated 'Book of Enoch,' which was also used by St. Jude. This strange book was composed in the first century before Christ; and it contains such passages as the following:—'In that day the Elect One shall sit upon a throne of glory; and shall choose their conditions and countless habitations. In that day I will cause my Elect One to dwell in the midst of them; I will change the face of the heavens. . . I will also change the face of the earth.' 'That tree of an agreeable smell there shall be no power to touch,

* Cf. 'Sibylline Verses,' bk. iii. lines 652, &c. : and 766, &c.

' until the period of the great judgment. When all shall be punished and consumed for ever, then shall this be bestowed on the righteous and humble. The fruit of this tree [of life] shall be given to the elect.' ' At that time I beheld the Ancient of days, while he sat upon the throne of His glory, while the book of the living was opened in His presence. . . . In that hour was this Son of man invoked before the Lord of Spirits, and his name in the presence of the Ancient of days. Before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were formed, his name was invoked in the presence of the Lord of spirits.' ' In that day shall all the kings, the princes, the exalted, and those who possess the earth stand up; . . . trouble shall come upon them, as upon a woman in travail. . . . Trouble shall seize them, when they behold this Son of woman sitting upon the throne of his glory.'* Lastly, there can be little doubt that the ' Fourth Book (or Apocryphal) of Esdras ' was in the Seer's remembrance. For this work too was busied with the same eternal problem,—How can it be that the Law and the Prophets and the mighty deliverances of old seem all in vain, and that God's chosen people is hopelessly subjected to Idumæan Herods and to Pagan Rome? And the answer given is precisely that given also by St. John. The tyranny of Rome is the worst and the last tyrannÿ. And when Rome falls, the kingdom of God shall presently appear.† In short, to use the words of M. Renan :

' The time had now gone by when Paul and perhaps Peter had preached submission to the Roman dominion, and had even attributed to that dominion a character almost divine. The principles of the fanatic Jews who refused tribute, traced all secular power to a diabolic source, and scented idolatry in the commonest acts of civil life under its Roman forms, had carried the day. Such was the natural consequence of persecution. Moderate principles had ceased to be applicable. And without being so violent as in A.D. 64, the persecution went on by its own momentum. Asia was the province where the downfall of Nero had caused the greatest sensation; the general opinion being that the monster, healed by some satanic power, was hidden in obscurity and was about to reappear. And one may easily conceive what effect such rumours would produce among the Christians, many of whom at Ephesus—their great apostle perhaps among the number—had themselves escaped from the grand butchery of A.D. 64. " What! the horrible BEAST, that incarnation of luxury, of fatuity, of vain glory, to reap! The thing is clear. Even those must now be convinced, who before were sceptical about Nero being Antichrist. Here he is—this mystery of iniquity, this antipodes of Jesus—who must appear to assass-

* Cf. ' Enoch,' ch. 45, 24, 47, 61.

† ' Esdras,' xi. 40.

"sinate, to martyrise the world, before the dawning of the great day." These views were the more readily adopted by the Christians, inasmuch as the death of Nero had been too commonplace to suit such an Antiochus as he. Persecutors of this class had a habit of perishing with more *éclat*. And the natural conclusion was, that this enemy of God was reserved for a more tragical fate, which should be inflicted on him in presence of the whole world and of the angels, assembled by the Messiah. This idea, parent of the Apocalypse, took day by day more definite forms. . . . The form of an "Apocalypse" at length chosen by our author was not new in Israel. Ezeiel had already inaugurated a considerable change in the old style of prophecy; and, in a certain sense, one may regard him as the creator of Apocalyptic literature. Instead of ardent preaching, accompanied sometimes by symbolical actions of an extremely simple kind, he had introduced (no doubt, under the influence of Assyrian art) the method of *Visions*—that is to say, a complicated system of allegory, wherein abstract ideas were realised by means of chimerical creatures of an impossible kind. Zechariah had continued in the same line; and "visions" had become the recognised and regular method of prophetic teaching. Ultimately, the author of "the Book of Daniel," by the extraordinary popularity which he attained, fixed for good the rules of this style; and "the Book of Enoch," the "Assumption of Moses," and certain "Sibyline Poems," were the result of the powerful impetus then given.' (Pp. 350, 357.)

But was this hatred of the Roman empire well founded? Was this horror at the impending return of Nero a reasonable and a Christian feeling? M. Renan is inclined to think that it was exaggerated; and that the author's Jewish exclusiveness was partly due to the inability which members of small religious and trading communities always feel to comprehend great military states.

'A less agreeable trait was that sombre hatred of the profane world, which our author had in common with all the Apocalyptic writers, and especially with the writer of "the Book of Enoch." His rudeness, his passionate and unjust invectives against Roman society, are shocking; and they justify to a certain extent those who characterised the new doctrine as a "hatred of the whole human race." The poor virtuous man is always tempted to regard the world which he knows not as more wicked than it really is. The crimes of the rich and courtly classes appear to him singularly gross. And that kind of virtuous fury which, four centuries later, possessed the Vandals against civilisation, was felt by Jews of the prophetic and apocalyptic schools in the very highest degree. One recognises among them a trace of the ancient nomad spirit, a spirit whose ideal was the patriarchal system, and which cherished a profound aversion for great cities as foci of corruption, and a burning jealousy against powerful states founded on a military principle which they themselves were unable, or unwilling, to accept. Thus the Apocalypse became, in many respects, a dangerous book, the extreme expression of Jewish pride.' (P. 474.)

Yet even M. Renan himself is obliged to confess that the moral decadence of the heathen world, especially at that *colluvies omnium gentium*, the metropolis of the whole Empire, had now reached a pitch of tragic horror, such as the world had never seen before. It may be true that pure and virtuous homes were yet to be found in many a sequestered village, or even among the 'dusky lanes and wrangling marts' of the great cities. It certainly is true that, in refined and philosophic circles, a few individuals were raised by their philosophy and by the aversion with which the 'drunken Helots' all around inspired them, far above the festering mass. But if we are to believe a tithe of the stories collected by Suetonius, if we are to credit in any way the almost contemporary satires of Juvenal, if we are to listen to the noble protests of Tacitus, to read for ourselves the disgusting revelations of Apuleius, to cull at random among the 'Sibylline Verses,' to ask the meaning of the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and to study the not much later descriptions of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, we are driven to the conviction that heathen society was in the first century rotten to its very core, that the lower classes were absolutely steeped in vices of the most revolting description, and that the horrible crimes which came to the light of day in the higher and governing classes were but the more luxuriant fruit of the poison-tree whose roots were wrapped round the whole world. No wonder that the better sort of heathens were in a state of eager and almost despairing expectancy of something better. No wonder that Greek and Roman ladies were attracted by the superior purity of Judaism. No wonder that Christians, like the writer of the Apocalypse, saw in Nero—the bloodstained, infamous, popular favourite—Antichrist incarnate, or indulged in passionate hatred, not indeed 'of the human race,' but of a portentous evil which had gained possession of the human race.

'The moral, social, and political situation grew worse every day. Rumours of prodigies and calamities filled the air; and the Christians were more eagerly interested in such things than anyone else. The notion that Satan is the god of this world became more and more a fixed idea with them. The public spectacles appeared to them demoniacal. It is true they never went there; but they heard of them from those who went. In particular, an "Icarus" who in the wooden amphitheatre of the Campus Martius had attempted to fly through the air, and who had fallen on the very stall of Nero himself and had spattered him with gore, struck them profoundly and became the leading incident in one of their legends. The crimes of Rome had reached the extremest limits of an infernal sublimity; and it was already a habit of the sect—whether as a precaution against the police or through a

liking for mystery—to designate this city by the name of Babylon. . . . During the first thirty years which elapsed since the first preaching of Christianity the Jews alone had hindered the work of Jesus. The Romans had defended the Christians against the Jews. But now the Romans, in their turn, had become the persecutors; and from the capital these terrors and these hatreds had spread through the provinces and had provoked acts of the most crying injustice mingled with atrocious pleasantries. The walls of places where the Christians assembled were covered with caricatures, and with calumnious or obscene inscriptions, aimed at the Christian brothers and sisters; and the fashion was quite in vogue of representing Jesus under the form of a man with an ass's head.' (Pp. 35–40.)

But far worse things than these were to come, when Nero had conceived the truly diabolical scheme of making the innocent Christians pay, with their lives and with unheard-of mental and bodily torments, for his guilt in causing—or at least in thoroughly enjoying—the disastrous conflagration of A.D. 64, which destroyed two-thirds of Rome.

'Nero had no need of extraneous aid, in order to conceive a design of such monstrosity as to derange all the ordinary calculations of historical induction. . . . And, though persuaded that the conflagration was the crime of Nero, many serious Romans saw in this *coup* a means of delivering the city from an intolerable pest. Tacitus, notwithstanding some qualms of pity, was of this opinion; and as to Suetonius, he reckons among the meritorious acts of Nero the punishment which he had inflicted on the partisans of a new and mischievous superstition. Yet these punishments were something absolutely frightful. Never before had such refinements of cruelty been witnessed. Almost all the Christians who were arrested were of a humble class; and the usual punishment of such unfortunates, when treason or sacrilege was laid to their charge, was to be thrown to wild beasts, or to be burned alive in the amphitheatre, with an addition of cruel scourgings. One of the most hideous characteristics of Roman manners was that they converted punishments into a fête and public executions into a public entertainment. Persia, in moments of fanaticism and terror, had used frightful forms of torture; and on more than one occasion had tasted a sombre kind of pleasure in inflicting them. But never before the establishment of Roman dominion had these horrors been made a public diversion, a subject for peals of laughter and applause. The amphitheatres had become the regular places of execution, and the tribunals of justice furnished materials for the sport. The roads that converged on Rome were crowded with the criminals of the whole world, to provide victims for the circus and amusement for the populace. . . . But, this time, to the barbarity of the executioner was added a touch of derision. The victims were reserved for a fête, to which (no doubt) an expiatory character was attached. Roman annals had known few days so extraordinary. The *ludus matutinus*, usually devoted to combats of animals, saw to-day an unheard-of procession. The condemned persons, sewn

up in skins of wild beasts, were thrust out into the arena to be torn by dogs; others were crucified; others again were clothed in tunics dipped in oil, pitch, or rosin, and then found themselves attached to stakes and reserved to illuminate the nocturnal festivities. When dusk came on, these living torches were set on fire. Nero offered for the spectacle his magnificent gardens beyond the Tiber, on the site of the modern Borgo and of the precincts and Church of St. Peter.' (Pp. 163-165.)

But physical suffering was not enough to satisfy the infernal malice of the heathen world against these pure and patient servants of the Crucified One. Moral tortures, mental anguish, brutal and Satanic invasions of all that a Christian holds most sacred and most inviolable, must be undergone by them, ere the baptism of blood was complete, ere the infant Church could be (like her Master) 'made perfect through sufferings.' The pen almost refuses to write, the brain almost refuses to conceive, the atrocities which followed. The heart and conscience of the reader can do no more, even now at the distance of 1800 years, than cry to heaven, with the souls of the slain under the Apocalyptic altar, 'How long, O Lord holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge this blood on them that dwell 'on the earth?'

'Even women, even virgins, were mixed up with these horrible sports; and nameless indignities were inflicted on them, as part of the festivities. It had become an established usage under Nero to force condemned persons to play in the amphitheatre mythological scenes which involved at last the death of the actor. These hideous operas, to which the application of ingenious mechanism lent an astonishing effect, were the novelties of the day. Greece would indeed have recoiled with surprise, had such attempts been suggested to her, to supplement æsthetics by ferocity, to make torture minister to art! The unhappy wretch was introduced into the arena richly dressed as a god or a hero destined to death. He then represented by his sufferings some tragic scene of pagan myth, consecrated by the works of poets and sculptors. Sometimes it was Hercules, frantic and burning on Mount Ceta and madly tearing from his flesh the tunic of blazing pitch. Sometimes it was Orpheus torn in pieces by a bear, Dædalus thrown from heaven and devoured by beasts, Pasiphaë undergoing the attacks of the bull, or Attys put to death. . . . Nero, no doubt, was present at these spectacles. As he was nearsighted, he used to wear a concave emerald in his eye to serve as an eyeglass for watching the combats of gladiators. He loved to make a parade of his knowledge as a connoisseur in sculpture; and it is even said that he vented his odious remarks over the dead body of his own mother, blaming this feature and praising that. Worthy of a connoisseur like him must have been the plastic forms and the colours presented by a human frame palpitat-

ing under the teeth of beasts, by a poor timid maiden with chaste gestures veiling her nudity and then tossed by a bull and torn in pieces on the pebbles of the arena! Yes, he was there, in the front rank, on the *podium*, supported by Vestals and Curule magistrates—with his bad face, his lowering looks, his blue eyes, his cheanut hair dressed in rows of curls, his terrible lip, his air (wicked and stupid at the same time) as of a great silly doll, supremely self-satisfied, puffed up with vanity. Meanwhile a brass band vibrated through the air, which was moistened with a spray of spurting blood.' (Pp. 167–173.)

Yet even this, it seems, was not all. The atrocities of Nero were to reach a still higher pitch of frenzy. And this master of the world was himself to condescend to these men and women of low estate, these innocent Christian lads and blushing girls, in order to torment and violate and render, as nearly as possible, their last moments a hell upon earth.

'Antichrist—yes, it was this monster in human form, this compound of ferocity, hypocrisy, immodesty and pride, who had travelled the world as a sort of mock-hero, had lighted up his coachman's triumphs with flambeaux of human flesh, had drunk deep of the blood of the saints, perhaps had done even worse still. For one is much disposed to believe that it is to the Christians that a passage of Suetonius refers, where he describes a frightful entertainment which Nero had invented. Lads, men, women, and young girls were attached naked to stakes in the arena. Then from the *cavea* a beast emerged, who attacked and outraged these helpless forms. . . . It was Nero himself clothed in the skin of a wild animal. . . . The fitting name then for Nero is found. It shall be **THE BEAST**. Caligula was called the *Anti-god*: Nero shall be the *Anti-Christ*. The idea of the Apocalypse is conceived.' (P. 178.)

We would not willingly have pained our readers by presenting to them, from M. Renan's graphic pages, these horrible scenes, were not the knowledge of them absolutely indispensable for the comprehension (1) of Nero's character, (2) of the Apocalypse of St. John. And as these two points not only form by far the most interesting subjects for study during the de-cennium (A.D. 60–70) with which we are at present engaged, but are also the two matters which are most fully and ably set forth in the volume before us, we shall devote to them the few remaining pages at our disposal.

(1) Nero's character would be very much misunderstood if it were supposed that he were nothing else than a mere monster of ferocity and cruelty. Such phenomena have indeed been seen. They have been, in a hundred cases, the result of elevation to the solitary and suspicious pinnacle of despotic power. But Nero was something more, or something less, than a suspicious

despot. His soul was vulgar to its very inmost fibre.* His highest ambition was, not to govern well a world that lay at his feet, but to shine as a *primo tenore*, to receive the 'encores' of the gallery, to 'star it in the provinces,' to carry off from needy artists the prizes that properly belonged to them. His one absorbing care was, by a judicious use of lozenges and muffers, to preserve the quality of his voice. He took lessons from professors of music. He haunted studios. He got up the art-cant of the day. He aimed, not to be a dilettante, not even to be a connoisseur, but to be a serious *artiste*; and he was fully persuaded that, should his present position as Roman Emperor ever become untenable, he could easily provide for himself, not merely a modest competence, but even a world-wide reputation, as a singer and musician on the stage. By what irony of fate the destinies of the world were placed in the hands of such a man, at one of the gravest crises of history, is one of the insoluble problems of human experience. The results, however, of this man's elevation to the throne of the Cæsars were of the most serious importance. First of all, in him the line of the Cæsars came to an end. The remedy for the state's disorders had now become worse than the disease. And the terrible hazards of a military election seemed preferable to the ignominy and ruin combined, which were the certain consequence of a dynasty of Neros. But amid the wars, commotions, mutinies, rebellions, and massacres in which the lurid reign of Nero sank and the great providential half-century of peace came to an end, it seemed to many people—and to the Seer of Patmos among the rest—that the Roman Empire itself was drawing to an end. And so it came to pass that the Jews, among other subject nations, were encouraged to think of a successful struggle for emancipation—nay, of a possible transfer of empire to themselves; and that desperate throw was hazarded, which issued in the utter destruction of the Jewish Temple and polity, in the final rejection of the husk from the kernel of Christianity, and in the freedom of the Church to combine once more the Pauline with the Petrine ingredients of her catholicity, and, in the power of that combination, to establish the Messiah's kingdom throughout the world.

'In five months the insurrection had succeeded in establishing itself

* In thus characterising Nero, we regret to differ from M. Renan, who says more than once that he was a monster, but not a 'vulgar' one. We appeal, however, from the accomplished author's *epithets* to his own graphic and detailed *descriptions*. The word 'vulgar,' however, has not exactly the same sense in French as in English. It means here he was no 'common monster.'

in a formidable manner. Not only had it already mastered Jerusalem, but reaching across the desert of Judah it found itself in communication with the region of the Dead Sea, where it held all the fortresses. From thence it stretched out the hand to the Arabians and Nabathæans, who were more or less enemies to Rome, while Judæa, Idumæa, Peræa, Galilee were all friendly to the revolt. And at Rome, meantime, an odious despot was committing all the administration of the Empire to the most ignoble and the most incapable persons. Had the Jews succeeded in grouping around them the malcontents of the East, there had been an end of the Roman dominion in those parts. But unfortunately for them, the results were exactly the reverse. Their revolt inspired the whole population of Syria with redoubled fidelity to the Empire. For the hatred which they had enkindled in all around them sufficed, during the temporary paralysis of the Roman power, to excite against them enemies no less formidable than the legions. In a word, the whole East at this time seems to have obeyed the thrill of a universal impulse to massacre the Jews. The incompatibility of Jewish and of Græco-Roman ideas became more accentuated every day. One of the two races must needs exterminate the other.' (P. 247.)

Meanwhile the 'odious despot' had long been engaged in practising diligently with his cithern and his palette, and had, no doubt, attained a certain amount of success.

'Tigellinus was master of everything; and the Saturnalia was complete. Nero let it be understood more clearly every day that art alone was the serious business of life, that virtue was a mere pretence, that the "gallant man" was the man who was most frankly and avowedly shameless, that the "great man" was he who could best abuse everything, ruin everything, dissipate everything. A virtuous man was for him a hypocrite, a malignant, a dangerous person, and, above all, a rival. Whenever he discovered some horrible baseness which gave a certain colour to his theories, he experienced a transport of joy. . . Never before had been seen such an *extravaganza*. The despots of the East, terrible and grave, broke into no such mad laughter, indulged no such excesses of æsthetic perversity. The insanity of Caligula had been of short duration: it had been a passing fit. And besides he had been mainly a buffoon, and had displayed some real wit. But the madness of Nero, usually pointless, was sometimes terribly tragical. The most horrible thing of all was to see him, by way of declamation, play with his own remorse and make of it a subject for his verses. With a melodramatic air, peculiar to himself, he would complain that he was tormented by the Furies; and would cite Greek verses about parricides. . . . The cause of all these aberrations was the depraved taste of the period, and the unmeasured importance which was given to a mere declamatory art, with aspirations after the enormous, with dreams of nothing but monstrosity. The ruling fashion in all things was a want of sincerity, a tinsel unreality (like that of the tragedies of Seneca), a skill in depicting simulated feelings, an art of speaking like an honest man without being one. The gigantesque did duty for the grand. Taste was altogether gone astray. It was the time of colossal statuary, of that art—materialistic, theatrical, and falsely pathetic—of which the *chef-d'œuvre*

is the Laocoon. . . . An ignoble taste for "tableaux vivants" was widely spread. People were no longer contented to follow in imagination the exquisite creations of the poets. They demanded to see the myths represented in actual flesh and blood. They went into ecstasies at the groupings, the postures, of the actors. Statuesque effects were admired. And the applause of 50,000 persons, gathered in one immense oval and mutually inflaming each other, was a thing so intoxicating that the sovereign himself came to envy the triumphs of a coachman, a singer, or an actor; and theatrical glory passed for the truest glory of all. . . . The people went from fête to fête, talked of nothing but the shows of yesterday, hoped for nothing but the shows of to-morrow; and ended by becoming much attached to a prince who thus made their life one perpetual raree-show. That Nero obtained an ignoble popularity by this means is beyond question. It went so far, that after his death Otho was able to succeed him by appealing to his memory, by imitating him, by reminding people that he himself had been one of the favourites at court. Indeed one cannot absolutely say that the wretch was without a heart, nor deficient in a certain sentiment of the good and the beautiful. So far from being incapable of friendship, he often showed himself a good comrade; and it was precisely that which rendered him cruel. He was determined to be loved and admired for his own sake; and was irritated against those who did not manifest towards him these feelings.' (Pp. 126-132.)

But, strange to say, it was not his cruelties, it was his bad taste, which ruined him. It was not his crimes, but his blunders, which brought on the frightful catastrophes of the latter part of his reign. Why did he burn Rome—or at least so greatly rejoice at its burning that it became necessary to sacrifice a holocaust of Christians by way of expiation to outraged public opinion? M. Renan shall answer that question for us.

'Although his talents were but mediocre, he still possessed some traits of a good artist. He painted well and sculptured well. His verses were good, in spite of a certain school-boy emphasis; and, say what one will, he made them himself. Suetonius saw his foul copies covered with erasures. He was the first to be touched with the charming landscape of Subiaco; and he made himself there a delicious summer-residence. . . . One might see him, whole nights long, seated beside the musician of the day [Terpnos], studying his play, lost in enjoyment, hanging on the sounds, panting, beside himself, breathing eagerly the air of another world which seemed to open before him by contact with a great artist. This was the origin of his disgust for the Romans, who were poor *connoisseurs*, and of his preference for the Greeks whom he thought alone capable of appreciating him, and for the Orientals who always "brought the house down" with their plaudits at his appearance. . . . But Rome, above all things, preoccupied his thoughts. His project was to rebuild it from top to bottom and to name it afresh—Neropolis. For a century past, it had been one of the wonders of the world. In size it rivalled the ancient capitals of Asia,

and its edifices were fine, strong, and solid. But its streets appeared mean to the taste of the day: for that taste tended more and more to vulgar and decorative construction, it aspired to broad effects such as rejoice the heart of gaping sightseers, and it condescended to a thousand tricks unknown to the ancient Greeks. At the head of the whole movement was Nero. The new Rome which he imagined was something like the Paris of our own day—one of those artificial cities, built to order, in planning which the great point aimed at is to catch the admiration of visitors from the country and of foreigners. The crack-brained youth was enraptured with these disordered fancies. He longed too for something unheard-of, some grandiose spectacle worthy of an artist, some occurrence which should mark in the almanac a date for his reign. "Up to my time," said he, "no one had yet found out what wide licence is permitted to a Prince." (Pp. 136–143.)

'Elatus inflatusque tantis velut successibus, negavit quæquam Principum scisse quid sibi liceret.*' Such are the words of Suetonius; and they appear to sum up, with admirable conciseness, the character of the man and the causes of the catastrophe which he brought upon the Roman world. Cæsarism had tried in Nero the utmost limits of human patience,—and had found them. And so, at last, the world shook off the spell that held it; and Nero must die. What was the manner of his death?

'The discords that prevailed among the armies of Gaul, the death of Vindex, and the weakness of Galba, might have even yet delayed the deliverance of the world, had not the army of Rome in its turn pronounced for revolt. The Prætorian troops rose on the evening of June 9 [A.D. 68], and proclaimed Galba Emperor. Nero saw that all was lost. But his perverted intellect still suggested to him nothing but grotesque ideas. He would put on mourning, and would harangue the populace in that guise. He would employ all his scenic arts to excite compassion and so to obtain an entire condonation of the past—perhaps, if it came to the very worst, a relegation to the Prefecture or Egypt. He wrote out his speech. But as some one remarked that he would be torn in pieces long before he reached the Forum, he lay down again. Then, awaking at midnight, he found his guards gone and his chamber already given over to pillage. He went out, knocked at different doors, no one answered. He returned, wished to die, called for Spiculus (a certain hand with the poignard, one of the celebrities of the amphitheatre); but everyone keeps off. He goes out again, wanders down the streets alone, contemplates throwing himself into the Tiber, comes back again. The world seems to stand off from him on all sides. At last, Phaon his freedman offers him his villa, about four miles away, as an asylum. . . . His ridiculous wit, his schoolboy vein, did not even then forsake him. It was suggested to conceal him in a hole of the soft rock, such as frequently occur in those parts. He im-

* Suetonius, 'Nero,' § 37.

mediately seized the occasion for a word or two of stage-effect: "What destiny! to go down alive beneath the earth!" His reflections were like a continuous discharge of classical quotations, mixed with heavy pleasantries. For every circumstance he had some apt literary reminiscence, some unmeaning antithesis. "He who formerly was so proud of his numerous attendants has now but three freedmen at his bidding." At intervals the remembrance of his victims came back to him; but only to engender figures of rhetoric, never a moral act of repentance. The comedian outlived everything else. . . . Meanwhile an emissary of Phaon arrives from Rome, bringing a despatch. Nero seizes it from his hand, and reads that the Senate has declared him a public enemy and has condemned him to the customary death. What is this "customary death"? he cries. And learning that the victim, stripped naked, had his head secured in a forked stake, after which he was scourged to death and then dragged by a hook and thrown into the Tiber,—with a groan, he draws out two poignards that he had about him, tries the points, and sheathes them with a remark that "the fatal hour is not yet come." . . . Presently, he redoubled his citations, spoke in Greek, made scraps of verses. Suddenly the noise of cavalry is heard, coming to take him alive. "The thundering step of horses greets my ears," said he (quoting the Iliad.) Epaphroditus then leaned upon the poignard and forced it into his throat. The centurion, arriving at the same moment, tried to staunch the blood, and made believe to try and save him. "Too late!" said the dying man, whose eyes were starting from his head and were glazed with horror: "such is fidelity!" This was in his very best comic vein. Nero letting fall a melancholy plaint over the wickedness of his age, over the disappearance of good faith and virtue from the world!—Excellent!—the drama is played out.' (P. 309.)

We feel sure that our readers will thank us for presenting them, in considerable completeness, with this masterly portraiture, by the hand of a consummate artist, of a most singular and important historical personage. It is true that the materials from which M. Renan has composed this graphic sketch were fully accessible, and were perfectly well known to scholars. But we do not remember to have ever seen those materials so effectively used before; and we believe that so correct and at the same time so spirited a description of Nero, both as a man and also as an agent in the great unfolding drama of human history, has not hitherto been given to the world.

(2) Meanwhile, to the writer of the Apocalypse this man was not merely a curiosity, but a living horror. And it only remains that we offer a few concluding remarks on that extraordinary book in which Nero plays so dark and sinister a part. For that book, having been thought by the Church worthy of a place upon her list (or 'canon') of Holy Scriptures, has become part of the common stock of Christian literature; and for

one person who takes an interest in the biography of Nero there are probably ten thousand who take a profound and personal interest in this singular product of an Apostolic pen. How widely important and popular a field of inquiry, then, is at once opened to us, when we become fully awakened to the fact that here we have a book, the date of which is positively ascertained and the writer almost certainly known; while its contents are of a prophetic character and lay a marked claim to 'inspiration,' yet are so purely historical in their character, and deal with a period of history so perfectly well known down to its minutest details, that it can be checked and verified at every turn. Might we not almost say that we have here, as likewise in the Book of Daniel, a gauge by which to measure 'inspiration,' a sample by which to understand 'prophecy,' a key—providentially furnished for those who will faithfully use it—for a full and intelligent comprehension of what 'Holy Scripture' is and what it really means? So that, while the lessons to be drawn from Nero's life—lessons on the perils of Cæsarism, on the folly of governing by the 'residuum' of the least educated classes, on the fatuity of trusting to *panem et Circenses*—are patent to everyone, and indeed may be read at a glance between the lines of M. Renan's book on every page, it were a worthier task by far to enable the ordinary Christian to read between the lines of the Apocalypse some of God's teachings about His own ways with His Church and about the true meaning of His own Word.

That those ways should be different from our ways, and that 'Word' something in point of fact totally unlike what the heart of pious ignorance has been able to conceive, is no more than might reasonably be expected. And accordingly, on studying the Apocalypse, we discover two or three remarkable and (humanly speaking) very unlikely phenomena.

First of all, we discover that God's Word—meaning thereby His special method of teaching man religion through the lips of other highly-gifted races or men—has been, like everything else in the world, subject to certain laws of growth, culmination, and decline. If we are surprised at this, are not the growth, luxuriance, and decay of a literature, the ripening and then the gradual break-up of a language, the infancy, maturity, and senility of an individual mind, analogous and equally surprising phenomena? There is then a natural close, as there is a natural beginning, to the canon of Scripture. And just as the Book of Daniel is the closing cadence of Old Testament prophecy, so is the Apocalypse of St. John the true peroration of the New Testament. Previously, no doubt, to any written

system of religious training there is always the personal agency of strong and high-souled men. And subsequently to the written system there arise other agencies, which have all a history and sequence of their own. But with neither of these are we at present concerned. It is the *Scriptural* phase of man's religious education of which we are speaking. And within that zone we observe four or five successive stages: (1) religious lyrical poetry; (2) written legislation, ritual and disciplinary; (3) didactic history; (4) written 'prophecy;' (5) among Semitic races, Apocalypse.

'Apocalypse,' then, may be called the decay, the senility, of prophecy, just as a love for the gigantesque and the sensational marks the decay of true taste. It made its first appearance among the Jews under Assyrian influences, during the Captivity. There is no trace of it in Isaiah, B.C. 700; there is already some trace of it in Ezekiel, about B.C. 600. But it is in Daniel, about B.C. 170, during the fierce excitements of Greek persecution and of Maccabæan revolt, that this style attained its full proportions and became henceforth the favourite mode of religious instruction. Henceforward, in quick succession, we have a whole series of Apocalyptic writings: (1) the Sibylline Verses (book iii.), about B.C. 150; (2) the Book of Enoch, about B.C. 110; (3) the Fourth Book of Esdras, about B.C. 30; (4) the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; (5) the Ascension of Isaiah; (6) the Assumption of Moses; (7) the Apocalypse of Baruch; (8) the Apocalypse of Abraham; (9) the Prophecies of Hystaspes; (10) the Apocalypse of Adam; (11) of Judah; (12) of Moses; (13) of Isaiah; (14) of Zephaniah; (15) of Zechariah; (16) of Peter; (17) of Paul; (18) of Cerinthus; (19) of Thomas; (20) of Stephen; (21) the Shepherd of Hermas; (22) the Verses of Commodian. Of a great number of these works the dates are quite conjectural, and no copies appear to be now extant. But of their existence, and of the general nature of their contents, there can be no doubt whatever. The history of the 'Apocalypse of Paul' happens to be known, and is instructive; while it points to a modern instance of the same kind of forgery which has vexed the Church in our own day. 'They relate,' says Sozomen (a writer of the fifth century), 'that by divine revelation there was discovered, beneath St. Paul's house at Tarsus, a marble chest, inside which this book was found.' The 'Book of Mormon,' we all know, was discovered in the same way. And as its contents are of a similar character, we may perhaps reckon this as the twenty-third—and possibly as the last—Apocalypse.

The second point worthy of remark, in studying the Revelation of St. John, is the entire failure of this prophecy, as of all other Apocalyptic works, if it be regarded as a merely mechanical or oracular forecast of future events. It seems clear, on a really faithful study of Holy Scripture, that such mere soothsaying was never, in any marked degree, the intention of prophecy at all. But when Apocalypse began to busy itself with mere world-empires, and with the political succession of events, it cannot be a matter of surprise if its predictions went astray, and if—although full of sound moral and religious teaching for the period whose taste it suited—for people of a far different age and race and education it has proved a hopeless puzzle, and a mine from which industry or enthusiasm may dig out whatever they had previously put there. It is perfectly certain, for instance, that Nero did not in fact return, that the Roman empire did not in fact break up till more than three centuries later, that not a part but the whole of Jerusalem and of the Jewish Temple was destroyed, that the Second Advent of our Lord to judgment did not soon—nay, has not yet—occurred. But, in spite of all this, we venture to say that the Apocalypse of St. John, that Hebrew prophecy, on the whole has nevertheless *not* failed; that, properly understood, its forecasts have been, for every rational and religious purpose, successful; and that this kind of success is amply sufficient to warrant us in holding fast to the still larger and more distant vaticinations of the Church and of Holy Scripture, and in ‘maintaining our integrity’ as believers in the Gospel.

For it is religious confidence in God which is the essential teaching of all these books. The oldest religious poetry that we have—by ‘the prophet David,’ Moses, and others—is all inspired with this one glorious theme: ‘the world may seem against us, wicked men, may seem to triumph, God’s people may cry for a time, “My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?” But a reversal of all this disorder is sure one day to come. There is One who sits serene, above all this turmoil of waves and storms. And goodness, order, reason—we cannot prove it, but we know it, we feel it, we dogmatically assert it: let him that hath ears to hear, hear it!—shall ultimately prevail.’ Next comes written legislation. In the Mosaic Law, derived from Moses but reduced to shape at a later date, we have the same magnificent confidence in a higher order, ‘behind the veil,’ reduced into ritual and symbolical forms for daily handling. Then follows didactic history—the annals of the race, whose specialty was religion, reduced by the ‘earlier prophets’ into telling

narratives, with a view to teach the lesson, ever old and ever new, that to forget and despair of the higher ideals is a nation's ruin; and that a hundred recorded deliverances on the smaller scale should arouse a nation (or at least a 'remnant' of them) to energetic repentance and sanguine hopes of restoration. Then follow the 'later prophets'—distinct, rhetorical, outspoken preachers of the same grand truths; couching their message in forms suitable to their day, and varying both in style and matter according to the varying horizon of their times and the different personal gifts and characters of the speakers. Last of all comes 'Apocalypse.' And this, too—in colossal imagery and wild sensational language, suited to excited periods of terrible catastrophe, of captivity and persecution—aims still to say the same thing. The oppressor may *seem* to flourish. The Syrian empire, or the Roman, may *seem* to be carrying all before them. The bitter persecutor may *seem* to be having it all his own way. The righteous may cry, 'How long, O Lord, 'holy and true?' But there is looming, behind the veil, another and a higher order than all this. It only awaits God's own time to be revealed. For History too, as well as Nature, is subject to God's laws and is no matter of caprice or chance. Man too will find, at last, that the little eddy of his own misused freewill was being borne along the majestic slow-paced tide that issues in the sea. And they who have *believed*, who have gone out from an idolatrous world 'not knowing whither they 'went,' have trusted to the higher order and not the lower, have lived by the ideal not the real; these will find at last that they were not deceived, that Christ (not Antichrist) rules the universe, that Reason and not un-reason, Order and not chaos, God and not the devil, are supreme and must in the end be triumphant.

Now all this is precisely what that wonderful Semitic lesson-book of religion, the Bible, sums up in the single word FAITH. All ethical action is there concentrated in that one burning focus of human emotion, 'love.' All ethical speculation is there reduced to its ultimate and most practical terminology in the word 'faith.' In short, the Bible bids us shape our character and guide our conduct, amid the intricate mazes of life, rather by the conscience than by the intellect or the senses; it tells us that the natural law written on our hearts by the finger of God is as true and indelible as the physical laws written by sunbeams on the sky; it encourages us therefore to uplift our eyes confidently to that ideal of a perfect humanity which has been presented to us in Christ; it tells us that the ingrain sense of the stability of justice, of the godlike majesty of

goodness, are really a revelation of the truth, woven by our Maker's hand into the very texture of our being; and that a faith which risks all—nay, sacrifices all—for that, will not find itself disappointed at last. But it also warns us that in *details* we are very likely to be—not indeed disappointed, but—entirely mistaken. It narrates for us how thoroughly unlike, yet how infinitely surpassing, all their previous anticipations was the Messiah of the Jews. It bids us comprehend how, contradicting the letter of prophecy, a post-captivity 'dispersion' reached the Gentiles by a thousand unexpected avenues, and so more than fulfilled its spirit. It shows us how a series of Apocalyptic efforts to sketch out the future triumph of 'God's kingdom' over the world-empires, signally failing in time, in place, in circumstance, yet more signally came true in the barbaric overthrow of the Roman empire and the establishment of modern Christendom. And it thereby encourages the belief that—not in any expected way, but in some totally unexpected and unimagined way and time and place—its teachings and the teaching of our hearts' deepest instincts will, on the larger scale, come true; that we shall somehow survive our death; that we shall see once more those whom we have loved and lost; that Christ will, in some shape, return; that the victory of truth and righteousness and wisdom will, one day, be assured; and that the 'children of wisdom' will share it.

ART. IX.—*A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV.* By the late CHARLES C. F. GREVILLE, Esq., Clerk of the Council to those Sovereigns. Edited by HENRY REEVE, Registrar of the Privy Council. Three Volumes, 8vo. London: 1874.

THE three volumes, the title of which we have prefixed to this article, are a very curious and interesting work. They are the Journal of the late Mr. Charles Greville, kept by him during the reigns of George IV. and William IV., and containing notices, memoranda, and remarks from time to time on men, politics, and society during that important and eventful period. The author was a man whose social position gave him access to all circles, and whose friendship with many of the distinguished men of the time afforded him unusual opportunities of information. The Journal dates as far back as 1819, while the author lived until 1865, but the portion now published ends with the accession of her present Majesty in 1837. It

has one singular characteristic: that it faithfully reflects the author's impressions at the moment; and these remain recorded, however much subsequent events may have altered or qualified them. We have these impressions substantially in their original form; and relating as they do to all the most prominent men and most remarkable public and political events of the day, they are a valuable addition to the history of the times. Now and then the author interpolates a note expressive of the effect of subsequent reflection or occurrences on the tenor of his narrative, or his recorded opinions. But, on the whole, the book contains the contemporaneous impressions, thoughts, and sentiments of a very acute observer, regarding all that is most interesting to the student of history during the years embraced in these volumes.

The editor, in his Preface, gives the following account of the circumstances to which the present publication owes its origin:—

‘The author of these Journals requested me, in January 1865, a few days before his death, to take charge of them with a view to publication at some future time. He left that time to my discretion, merely remarking that memoirs of this kind ought not, in his opinion, to be locked up until they had lost their principal interest by the death of all those who had taken any part in the events they describe. He placed several of the earlier volumes at once in my hands, and he intimated to his surviving brother and executor, Mr. Henry Greville, his desire that the remainder should be given me for this purpose. This injunction was at once complied with after Mr. Charles Greville's death, and this interesting deposit has now remained for nearly ten years in my possession. In my opinion this period of time is long enough to remove every reasonable objection to the publication of a contemporary record of events already separated from us by a much longer interval, for the transactions related in these volumes commence in 1818 and end in 1837. I therefore commit to the press that portion of these Memoirs which embraces the reigns of King George IV. and King William IV., ending with the accession of her present Majesty.

‘In the discharge of this trust I have been guided by no other motive than the desire to present these Memorials to the world in a manner which their Author would not have disapproved, and in strict conformity to his own wishes and injunctions. He himself, it should be said, had frequently revised them with great care. He had studiously omitted and erased passages relating to private persons and affairs, which could only serve to gratify the love of idle gossip and scandal. The Journals contain absolutely nothing relating to his own family, and but little relating to his private life. In a passage (not now published) of his own writings, the Author remarks, “A Journal, to be good, true, and interesting, should be written without the slightest reference to publication but without any fear of it: it should be the transcript

“ of a mind that can bear transcribing. I always contemplate the possibility that hereafter my Journal will be read, and I regard with alarm and dislike the notion of its containing matters about myself which nobody will care to know.”

Upon these principles this Journal has evidently been written. It is perfectly fearless, independent, and, as far as the information of the writer extended, true. Mr. Greville's own position, partly from the nature of the permanent office he held in the Privy Council, and partly from his personal intimacies with men of very opposite opinions, was a neutral one; but he used that neutral position with consummate judgment and address to remove obstacles, to allay irritations, to compose differences, and to promote, as far as lay in his power, the public welfare. Contented with his own social position, he was alike free from ambition and from vanity. No man was more entirely disinterested in his judgments on public affairs, for he had long made up his mind that he had nothing to gain or to lose by them, and in the opinions he formed, and on occasion energetically maintained, he cared for nothing but their justice and their truth.' (Preface, p. viii.)

No man was better qualified, by talents and by position, than the late Clerk of the Council to leave such a record of his times behind him. He had no political functions; he had no official knowledge of any political secrets; and he occupied a very favourable position for the observation of those who were more actively engaged in public life. But perhaps his own independence and impartiality rendered him too severe a critic of the mistakes and shortcomings of those who had to bear heavier responsibilities.

A sharp, keen, critical man of society, moving in all circles and having access to all sources of information, but entirely removed by his office from political action, and for the most part a bystander, not a combatant, has no doubt many advantages when he records in private, day by day, what he has heard, and what he thinks of passing events. He looks on while the game proceeds; he watches its progress, and having no interest personally in the gain or loss, he is fairly impartial in his estimate of the skill and qualities of the players. Perhaps, however, he has some disadvantages also. The heat and collision of action and contest is an element in judging of public men which the cool spectator cannot possess. Seeing close at his side the errors, the blunders, the weaknesses of the actors, even those whom the outside audience applaud to the echo, the latter is apt to lack the toleration which the actual difficulties and responsibility of the crisis demand, and which the performers willingly accord. With a keen desire for the right, as he holds it, it chafes him to see the end

sacrificed to the frailties from which none are free, and the contingencies against which the ablest cannot provide. So that such a man is often apt to think 'a plague of both your 'houses,' and expresses his irritation in the retirement of his study in sharp and bitter phrases. Many of these harsh expressions, however, are but the reflection of temporary and passing moods of thought, which, as the book proceeds, are sometimes recanted altogether, and almost always qualified or balanced by hearty praise. The strength and pungency of Mr. Greville's language is unreserved, and he dashes off a man's character by his least amiable trait, as if he presented a complete and accurate portrait, whereas his mind was only occupied at the time by the quality on which he dilates. Hardly one of his great contemporaries escapes this process in the course of these volumes; yet the result is, in most instances, neither unfriendly nor untrue, and leaves the real character of the man not lower but more distinct than before.

A man who writes history from well-informed gossip in social circles contributes an important, although an unstable, element to truth, and many of the most interesting portions of Mr. Greville's *Journal* throw a great deal of light on the causes of public events, although he himself truly says, in a very notable instance, that anecdotes are not historical facts (vol. i. p. 113). It is always a question of time when such materials can be legitimately used, for the freedom and confidence of social intercourse would be much restrained were the words which pass in the openness of friendship, however authentic and remarkable, to be treasured and forthwith given to the world. But the events which are here written of are nearly half a century old. The chief actors in them have passed away, and the topics which were current when this *Journal* was penned, have long melted into the domain of history.

One more remark we must make, on a feature which adds little or nothing to the information of the reader, and which recurs too frequently in these volumes. We allude to the broad and sometimes severe terms in which he speaks of the two sovereigns whose reigns he illustrates. Royalty, of course, must, like other actors in public events, fall under the pen of the historian and the estimate of the critic; but mere personalities, however true in themselves, war with the instincts of this country, when used with regard to their sovereigns. In an hereditary monarchy like ours we have not always had the advantage of living in a reign in which, as in the present, the personal character and early training of the sovereign has yielded so large an addition of stability and lustre to the throne.

That her immediate predecessors fell far short of this standard is true; but there is little advantage in reviving old Court gossip, notorious, though not forgotten, or in parading the weaknesses or follies which in those days were to be found behind the throne. Of the Court and character of George IV. there is nothing left for the public to learn, and little it can be profitable to remember. But his successor, although far from intellectually able, did his best to govern honestly in very difficult and trying circumstances. Mr. Greville himself says of him in 1830, soon after his accession, 'The fact is he is an incomparable king, and deserves all the encomiums lavished on him' (vol. ii. p. 63). We therefore regret to find expressions erring as much in the way of disparagement as the sentence we have just quoted is extravagant in that of praise. The part of the book relative to the Royal Family which we have read with the greatest pleasure is the notice of the Duke of York, from whom Mr. Greville received much attention in early life, and which are conceived in a pleasant and kindly spirit, and are interesting in themselves. But we pass on to matters which have more novelty, and are more likely to attract the attention of our readers.

The Journal has two aspects of interest: one as a commonplace book, and a portrait gallery of remarkable men; the other as a key to important political events at a momentous period of the history of this country. Even when he relates occurrences and transactions which have been previously described by others the author's point of view is so unusual, his observation so acute, and his pen so sharp and racy, that we have derived much pleasure and amusement from his treatment of familiar scenes.

It is impossible, either by criticism or extracts, to convey any sufficient impression of the merits of these volumes as a commonplace book. Their resources are inexhaustible; and although strung together without method, all incongruous topics jostling each other, there is hardly a page which does not contain materials both novel and interesting. The sketches given by Mr. Greville of the distinguished men of his time have the advantage of being drawn from life. With most of them he lived on terms of intimacy, and with all of them on terms of equality. He is not dazzled by greatness, and speaks his mind with a freedom which sometimes runs into censoriousness. Even with those he most admired and liked, of whom there are not many, he does not scruple to press heavily on their foibles; and if these have a harsh name, he gives it. As we have already said, his estimates are hasty, sometimes entirely

at fault. Yet the critic is kindly after all; acknowledges great qualities when he finds them; and finds them sometimes in quarters where it is plain he did not look for them. The result of all is not to lower great men in our eyes, but to make us know them better than we did.

Some of these hasty judgments are amusing enough: it is diverting to see in the course of his memoranda how time falsifies his opinions. He ventures on prophecy with considerable boldness; and he has courage enough to leave his prediction uncancelled, and even to give expression and point to his failure. He foretells perpetuity to Cabinets, when a few pages farther on record their downfall, and perpetual exclusion to statesmen who ruled this country for years afterwards. So in his appreciation of men. Lord Althorp's leadership of the House he treats with derision when he first assumed that office: and in this instance, although he admits on various occasions the ability he displayed, his final judgment is much the same as his first. But he was wrong. Lord Althorp was not a great orator or debater; but he had qualities which made him a great leader of the House of Commons, if leading consist in inducing others to follow. He ruled with absolute sway in the first Reformed Parliament, and in individual influence might fairly compare with the greatest of his successors: and when his leadership came to an end, the reign of his party ceased also.

Lord Russell also he entirely misjudged, which is the more remarkable that he had, and expresses, the strongest personal regard for him. When he first assumed the leadership of his party in 1835, Mr. Greville writes under date April 3rd:—

'If John Russell does come in, it is clear that he will have both Peel and Stanley in opposition to him, against whom in the nearly balanced state of parties he could not struggle on for a month. He was miserably feeble in this debate (in his opening speech), and though he may just do to lead an Opposition which wants no leading, and merely sticks him up as a nominal chief, he could no more lead a Government in the House of Commons than he could command an army in the field.' (Vol. iii. p. 240.)

But he adds within brackets, under the date 1837, 'So much for my prediction. Stanley's followers dropped off and left him alone, the Government had no difficulty, and John Russell proved a very good leader.' And so to be sure, in less than a year, the Journal sounds a very different note. In February 1836 Mr. Greville thus writes:—

'February 25th.—Lord John Russell immortalised himself on Tuesday night. After a speech from Hume of three hours, in which he pro-

duced a variety of the most inconceivable letters from Kenyon, Wynford, Londonderry, and other Orangemen, but made the most miserable hash of his whole case, and instead of working up his ample materials with dexterity and effect stupidly blundering and wasting them all—after this speech John Russell rose, and in a speech far surpassing his usual form, dignified, temperate, and judicious, moved a resolution of a moderate and inoffensive character. The speech actually drew tears from the Orangemen, enthusiastic approbation from Stanley, a colder approval from Peel, and the universal assent of the House. . . . In accomplishing this by moderate and healing counsels, by a conciliatory tone and manner, Lord John Russell deserves the name of a statesman. His speech is worth a thousand flowery harangues which have elicited the shouts of audiences or the admiration of readers, and he has probably conferred a great and permanent benefit upon the country.' (Vol. iii. p. 344.)

Mr. Greville lived to see Lord Russell become a most successful leader and a formidable debater; holding his own with effect and spirit against all comers, and quite able to cope with Peel even in his most powerful days. It is remarkable, as the editor points out, that of a man who was twice Prime Minister, and who led his party in the House of Commons for more than fifteen years, Mr. Greville should tell us that on the formation of the Grey Government in 1831, 'John Russell was to have the War Office, but Tavistock entreated that the appointment might be changed, as his brother's health was unequal to it; so he was made Paymaster' (vol. ii. p. 70).

The notices of Lord Palmerston very dimly foreshadow his future greatness. The author did not mean or expect him to be great; and yet, in the very few fragmentary references to him there lurks evidently an uneasy suspicion that he might be wrong. The first time it flashes on him that there were the germs of distinction in the careless man of fashion, is on the debate on the Catholic question in 1829. 'A speech from Lord Palmerston,' he says, 'which astonished everybody.' 'An imitation of Canning, and not a bad one' (vol. i. p. 191). In 1834 our author writes:—

'Madame de Lieven told me that it was impossible to describe the contempt as well as dislike which the whole corps diplomatique had for Palmerston, and pointing to Talleyrand, who was sitting close by, "surtout lui." They have the meanest opinion of his capacity, and his manners are the reverse of conciliatory. She cannot imagine how his colleagues bear with him, and Lord Grey supports him vehemently. The only friend he has in the cabinet is Graham, who has no weight. His unpopularity in his own office is quite as great as it is among the foreign ministers, and he does nothing, so that they do not make up in respect for what they want in inclination.' (Vol. iii. pp. 56, 57.)

Again, on the election in 1835 he writes:—‘Palmerston is ‘beaten in Hants, at which everyone rejoices, for he is marvelously unpopular’ (vol. iii. p. 197). But alas for Madame de Lieven’s estimate—she had her own grievance about the Russian Embassy—and the gossip of the clubs, Mr. Greville tells us, ten pages on, of this inefficient and unpopular minister:—

‘The other night I met some clerks in the Foreign Office to whom the very name of Palmerston is hateful, but I was surprised to hear them (Mellish particularly, who can judge both from capacity and opportunity) give ample testimony to his abilities. They said that he wrote admirably, and could express himself perfectly in French, very sufficiently in Italian, and understood German; that his diligence and attention were unwearied—he read everything and wrote an immense quantity; that the Foreign Ministers (who detest him) did him justice as an excellent man of business. His great fault is want of punctuality, and never caring for an engagement if it did not suit him, keeping everybody waiting for hours on his pleasure or caprice. This testimony is beyond suspicion, and it is confirmed by the opinions of his colleagues; but it is certain that he cut a very poor figure in Parliament all the time he was in office before.’ (Vol. iii. pp. 210, 211.)

And a year afterwards he inserts this palinode, which shows how misleading had been the elements on which his original judgment had been formed:—

‘It is surprising to hear how Palmerston is spoken of by those who know him well officially—the Granvilles, for example. Lady Granville, a woman expert in judging, thinks his capacity first-rate; that it approaches to greatness from his enlarged views, disdain of trivialities, resolution, decision, confidence, and above all his contempt of clamour and abuse. She told me that Madame de Flahaut had a letter written by Talleyrand soon after his first arrival in England, in which he talked with great contempt of the Ministers generally, Lord Grey included, and said there was but one statesman among them, and that was Palmerston. His ordinary conversation exhibits no such superiority; but when he takes his pen in his hand his intellect seems to have full play, and probably when engaged exclusively in business.’ (Vol. iii. p. 366.)

Talleyrand’s good opinion had been previously noticed. The old statesman had recognised the ring of true metal, although the clubs were deaf to it. It is certainly not impossible that Lord Palmerston may have given no measure of his real capacity during the twenty years that he filled a subordinate office in a Tory Government, and may, when he assumed the direction of Foreign affairs, have exerted himself to make up for past deficiencies; for no man was more sensible of failure, and he never allowed false pride to impede his endeavours to

repair an error. This, indeed, was one secret of his ultimate and unquestioned supremacy.

Of the gay, witty, *insouciant*, and able Melbourne our author had a more just and discriminating estimate. He was an unlucky Minister, for he hardly ever had a majority; but his services to the Crown and the country at the commencement of the present reign have laid the nation under obligations they have not forgotten. 'He is certainly a queer fellow,' writes Mr. Greville in July 1834, 'to be Prime Minister, and he and Brougham are two wild chaps to have the destinies of their country in their hands. I should not be surprised if Melbourne was to rouse his dormant energies, and be excited by the greatness of his position to display the vigour and decision in which he is not deficient.'

There is no detailed character of Melbourne, but many characteristic notices scattered up and down the book illustrative of the man, with whom the author was on terms of intimacy. He mentions earlier in his Journal a conversation he had with him about Palmerston, when Lord Melbourne assured him that there was no foundation for the assertion that he was unpleasant and haughty to his colleagues; in fact that he was quite the reverse. More interesting, however, to the general reader than his political career are some instances given by Mr. Greville of his wonderful literary knowledge. There are a couple of pages devoted to the description of two dinner parties at Holland House, which are well worthy of being preserved, if it were only to teach a younger and more superficial generation how the last generation were wont to converse. Greville himself says of one of these parties:—

'September 5th.—At Holland House yesterday, where I had not been these two years. Met Lord Holland at Court, who made me go. . . . Spring Rice and his son, Melbourne, and Palmerston dined there: Allen was at Dulwich, but came in the evening, and so did Bobus Smith. There was a great deal of very good talk, anecdotes, literary criticism, and what not, some of which would be worth remembering, though hardly sufficiently striking to be put down, unless as forming a portion of a whole course of conversations of this description. A vast depression came over my spirits, though I was amused, and I don't suppose I uttered a dozen words. It is certainly true that the atmosphere of Holland House is often oppressive, but that was not it; it was a painful consciousness of my own deficiencies and of my incapacity to take a fair share in conversation of this description. I felt as if a language was spoken before me which I understood, but not enough to talk in it myself. There was nothing discussed of which I was altogether ignorant, and when the merits of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Crabbe were brought into comparison, and Lord Holland

cut jokes upon Allen for his enthusiastic admiration of the "De Moribus Germanorum," it was not that I had not read the poets or the historian, but that I felt I had not read them with profit.' (Vol. iii. pp. 126, 127.)

And so they discussed poets; 'Philip van Artevelde,' Madame de Staël, Sappho, Quintus Curtius, and Klopstock. Two days after this he again dines there:—

'September 7th.—At Holland House again; only Bobus Smith and Melbourne; these two, with Allen, and Lord Holland agreeable enough. Melbourne's excellent scholarship and universal information remarkably display themselves in society, and he delivers himself with an energy which shows how deeply his mind is impressed with literary subjects.

'After dinner there was much talk of the Church, and Allen spoke of the early reformers, the Catharists, and how the early Christians persecuted each other; Melbourne quoted Vigilantius's letter to Jerome, and then asked Allen about the 11th of Henry IV., an Act passed by the Commons against the Church, and referred to the dialogue between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely at the beginning of Shakespeare's "Henry V.," which Lord Holland sent for and read, Melbourne knowing it all by heart and prompting all the time. Lingard says of this statute that the Commons proposed to the King to commit an act of spoliation on the clergy, but that the King sharply rebuked them and desired to hear no more of the matter. About etymologies Melbourne quoted Tooke's "Diversions of Purley," which he seemed to have at his fingers' ends.' (Vol. iii. pp. 130, 131.)

In another passage he says that John Allen told him that Melbourne being a very good Greek scholar had compared the 'Evidences' and all modern theological works with the writings of the Fathers. The man who could acquire so much solid knowledge, living as he did the life of an easy man of pleasure and society, must have had powers and capacity which should have made him more than Prime Minister of England.

Of Sir James Graham when he first took office the author formed an absurdly low estimate, as he himself afterwards confesses. The passage is so curious that we quote it entire:—

'Graham's elevation is the most monstrous of all. He was once my friend, a college intimacy revived in the world, and which lasted six months, when, thinking he could do better, he cut me, as he had done others before. I am not a fair judge of him, because the pique which his conduct to me naturally gave me would induce me to underrate him, but I take vanity and self-sufficiency to be the prominent features of his character, though of the extent of his capacity I will give no opinion. Let time show; I think he will fail. [Time did show it to be very considerable, and the *volvenda dies* brought back our former friendship, as will hereafter appear; he certainly did *not* fail.]

'He came into Parliament ten years ago, spoke and failed. He had been a provincial hero, the Cicero and the Romeo of Yorkshire and Cumberland, a present Lovelace and a future Pitt. He was disappointed in love (the particulars are of no consequence), married and retired to digest his mortifications of various kinds, to become a country gentleman, patriot, reformer, financier, and what not, always good-looking (he had been very handsome), pleasing, intelligent, cultivated, agreeable as a man can be who is not witty and who is rather pompous and slow, after many years of retirement, in the course of which he gave to the world his lucubrations on corn and currency. Time and the hour made him master of a large but encumbered estate and member for his county. Armed with the importance of representing a great constituency, he started again in the House of Commons; took up Joseph Hume's line, but ornamented it with graces and flourishes which had not usually decorated such dry topics. He succeeded, and in that line is now the best speaker in the House. I have no doubt he has studied his subjects and practised himself in public speaking. Years and years ago I remember his delight on Hume's comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero, and how he knew the passage by heart; but it is one thing to attack strong abuses and fire off well rounded set phrases, another to administer the naval affairs of the country and be ready to tilt against all comers, as he must do for the future.' (Vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.)

Their early friendship was afterwards renewed and ripened into mutual confidence, and Sir James Graham exerted himself more than once with great vigour and effect in matters touching Mr. Greville's interests. The description of the part he bore when Lord Stanley left the Liberal ranks is more respectful to his ability, but by no means so to his political character. But Mr. Greville might be pardoned for not foreseeing the very distinguished position which Sir James Graham afterwards gained. He acquired it slowly; and even after he had become one of the most formidable debaters in the House he owned, and it was true, although no one who heard him would have thought so, that he never addressed it with entire self-possession. He was bold and clear in thought, but nervous in action, and more a leader of men in private than he was in public. As an administrator of a department he had few equals.

One of the men whom Mr. Greville disparages in his earlier notices, and to whom at last he yields his tribute of unfeigned admiration, is Macaulay; and it is interesting to observe, as the Journal proceeds, how his impressions change. His first meeting with him is amusingly described:—

'February 6th.—Dined yesterday with Lord Holland; came very late, and found a vacant place between Sir George Robinson and a common-looking man in black. As soon as I had time to look at my neighbour,

I began to speculate (as one usually does) as to who he might be, and as he did not for some time open his lips except to eat, I settled that he was some obscure man of letters or of medicine, perhaps a cholera doctor. In a short time the conversation turned upon early and late education, and Lord Holland said he had always remarked that self-educated men were peculiarly conceited and arrogant, and apt to look down upon the generality of mankind, from their being ignorant of how much other people knew; not having been at public schools, they are uninformed of the course of general education. My neighbour observed that he thought the most remarkable example of self-education was that of Alfieri, who had reached the age of thirty without having acquired any accomplishment save that of driving, and who was so ignorant of his own language that he had to learn it like a child, beginning with elementary books. Lord Holland quoted Julius Cæsar and Scaliger as examples of late education, said that the latter had been wounded, and that he had been married and commenced learning Greek the same day, when my neighbour remarked "that he supposed "his learning Greek was not an instantaneous act like his marriage." This remark, and the manner of it, gave me the notion that he was a dull fellow, for it came out in a way which bordered on the ridiculous, so as to excite something like a sneer. I was a little surprised to hear him continue the thread of conversation (from Scaliger's wound) and talk of Loyola having been wounded at Pampeluna. I wondered how he happened to know anything about Loyola's wound. Having thus settled my opinion, I went on eating my dinner, when Auckland, who was sitting opposite to me, addressed my neighbour, "Mr. Macaulay, "will you drink a glass of wine?" I thought I should have dropped off my chair. It was MACAULAY, the man I had been so long most curious to see and to hear, whose genius, eloquence, astonishing knowledge, and diversified talents have excited my wonder and admiration for such a length of time, and here I had been sitting next to him, hearing him talk, and setting him down for a dull fellow. I felt as if he could have read my thoughts, and the perspiration burst from every pore of my face, and yet it was impossible not to be amused at the idea. It was not till Macaulay stood up that I was aware of all the vulgarity and ungainliness of his appearance; not a ray of intellect beams from his countenance; a lump of more ordinary clay never enclosed a powerful mind and lively imagination. He had a cold and sore throat. the latter of which occasioned a constant contraction of the muscles of the thorax, making him appear as if in momentary danger of a fit. His manner struck me as not pleasing, but it was not assuming, unembarrassed, yet not easy, unpolished, yet not coarse; there was no kind of usurpation of the conversation, no tenacity as to opinion or facts, no assumption of superiority, but the variety and extent of his information were soon apparent, for whatever subject was touched upon he evinced the utmost familiarity with it; quotation, illustration, anecdote, seemed ready in his hands for every topic. Primogeniture in this country, in others, and particularly in ancient Rome, was the principal topic, I think, but Macaulay was not certain what was the law of Rome, except that when a man died intestate his estate was

divided between his children. After dinner Talleyrand and Madame de Dino came in. He was introduced to Talleyrand, who told him that he meant to go to the House of Commons on Tuesday, and that he hoped he would speak, "qu'il avait entendu tous les grands orateurs, " et il désirait à présent entendre Monsieur Macaulay." (Vol. ii. pp. 245-47.)

This was the first—here is the last—a comparison between Brougham and Macaulay in 1836 :—

'Brougham, tall, thin, and commanding in figure, with a face which, however ugly, is full of expression, and a voice of great power, variety, and even melody, notwithstanding his occasional prolixity and tediousness, is an orator in every sense of the word. Macaulay, short, fat, and ungraceful, with a round, thick, unmeaning face, and with rather a lisp, though he has made speeches of great merit, and of a very high style of eloquence in point of composition, has no pretensions to be put in competition with Brougham in the House of Commons. Nor is the difference and the inferiority of Macaulay less marked in society. Macaulay, indeed, is a great talker, and pours forth floods of knowledge on all subjects; but the gracefulness, lightness, and variety are wanting in his talk which are so conspicuous in his writings; there is not enough of alloy in the metal of his conversation; it is too didactic, it is all too good, and not sufficiently flexible, plastic, and diversified for general society. Brougham, on the other hand, is all life, spirit, and gaiety—"from grave to gay, from lively to severe"—dashing through every description of folly and fun, dealing in those rapid transitions by which the attention and imagination are arrested and excited; always amusing, always instructive, never tedious, elevated to the height of the greatest intellect, and familiar with the most abstruse subjects, and at the same moment conciliating the humble pretensions of inferior minds by dropping into the midst of their pursuits and objects with a fervour and intensity of interest which surprises and delights his associates, and, above all, which puts them at their ease.

'[*Quantum mutatus!* All this has long ceased to be true of Brougham. Macaulay, without having either the wit or the *charm* which constitutes the highest kind of colloquial excellence or success, is a marvellous, an unrivalled (in his way), and a delightful talker.—1850.'] (Vol. iii. pp. 338, 339.)

Of Sir James Mackintosh the journalist had the highest opinion, and never mentions him excepting with praise and admiration. The first notice of him is at a party at Middleton in 1819. Under date March 5, 1819, he says :—'The other night Sir James Mackintosh made a splendid speech on the 'Criminal Laws; it was temperate and eloquent, and excited 'universal admiration.' June 14 :—'The other night in the 'House of Commons, on the Foreign Enlistment Bill, Sir 'James Mackintosh made a brilliant speech: all parties agree in 'commending it. Canning answered him, but not successfully.' (Vol. i. p. 20.) These were two great occasions. The tide

of public opinion has swept so thoroughly over the subject of the first as to have obliterated all traces of the abuses which the oration denounced, and has left only the wonder that such things ever were. The second has been too much forgotten; but those who are solicitous for the international law of the future may study it with profit as well as admiration. It contains an elucidation of principles too much neglected, illustrated and enforced with elegance and power; nor will it be long, we venture to predict, before its authority assumes a prominent place.

Sixteen years afterwards Mr. Greville thus moralises on the career and fate of one whose promise had been so brilliant:—

‘ We dined at Burghley on the way [to Doncaster], and got here at two on Sunday; read Mackintosh’s *Life* in the carriage, which made me dreadfully disgusted with my racing *métier*. What a life as compared with mine!—passed among great and wise men, and intent on high thoughts and honourable aspirations, existing amidst interests far more pungent even than those which engage me, and of the futility of which I am for ever reminded. I am struck with the coincidence of the tastes and dispositions of Burke and Mackintosh, and of something in the mind of the one which bears an affinity to that of the other; but their characters—how different! their abilities—how unequal! yet both, how superior, even the weakest of the two, to almost all other men, and the success of each so little corresponding with his powers, neither having ever attained any object of ambition beyond that of fame. All their talents, therefore, and all their acquirements, did not procure them content, and probably Burke was a very unhappy, and Mackintosh not a very happy, man. The suavity, the indolent temperament, the “*mitis sapientia*” of Mackintosh may have warded off sorrow and mitigated disappointment, but the stern and vindictive energies of Burke must have kept up a storm of conflicting passions in his breast. But I turn from Mackintosh and Burke to all that is vilest and foolishlest on earth, and among such I now pass my unprofitable hours. . . .

‘ I have finished Mackintosh’s *Life* with great delight, and many painful sensations, together with wonder and amazement. His account of his reading is utterly incomprehensible to me; he must have been endowed with some superhuman faculty of transferring the contents of books to his own mind. He talks in his journals of reading volumes in a few hours which would seem to demand many days even from the most rapid reader. I have heard of Southey, who would read a book through as he stood in a bookseller’s shop; that is, his eye would glance down the page, and by a process partly mechanical, partly intellectual, formed by long habit, he would extract in his synoptical passage all that he required to know. (Macaulay was, and George Lewis is, just as wonderful in this respect.) Some of the books that Mackintosh talks of, philosophical and metaphysical works, could not be so disposed of, and I should like much to know what his system or his secret was. . . .

'What are we to think of the necessary connexion between intellectual superiority and official eminence, when we have seen the Duke of Richmond invited to be a member of the Cabinet, while Mackintosh was thrust into an obscure and subordinate office—Mackintosh placed under the orders of Charles Grant! Well might he regret that he had not been a professor, and, "with safer pride content," adorned with unusual glory some academical chair. Then while he was instructing and delighting the world, there would have been many regrets and lamentations that such mighty talents were confined to such a narrow sphere, and innumerable speculations of the greatness he would have achieved in political life, and how the irresistible force of his genius and his eloquence must have raised him to the pinnacle of Parliamentary fame and political power.' (Vol. iii. pp. 314-18.)

It is as difficult sometimes to say why a man succeeds as why he fails; but the reason in both instances lies, in the large proportion of cases, in the man himself. The race-horse may have speed, but if he cannot 'stay' he cannot win. The rewards of political life do not always fall to the brilliant or the learned. Mr. Greville says very truly, speaking of Brougham:—'The life of a politician is probably one of deep mortification, for the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; and few things can be more galling than to see men far inferior to ourselves enabled by fortune or circumstances to attain what we tried after in vain, and to learn from our own experience how many things there are in this life of greater practical utility than splendid abilities and unwearied industry.' Mackintosh probably wanted vital energy, decision, and that adaptability which enables a man not only to say the right thing, but to say it at the right time, and above all, not to say it at the wrong time. But all must regret that his vast powers produced so slight an effect on his times, and have left so little which is commensurate behind them.

These are mere casual sketches. Before going on to the author's more elaborate and finished portraits, we may extract the following incidental notices:—

'Jan. 2nd, 1830.—At Roehampton; William Howard, Baring Wall, and Lady Pembroke's son, the best sort of youth I have seen for a long while' (vol. i. p. 261). This was Sidney Herbert, whose life and character, as the editor says, did not belie the promise of his youth. He was too early lost to the party with whom his lot was ultimately cast, and had he lived was destined to have played an important part in public affairs. But the author seems to have forgotten his early impressions, for we find him grumbling over his appointment as Secretary to the Board of Control in 1835. He says:—

'Peel has just made Sidney Herbert Secretary to the Board of Con-

trol, an office of great labour and involving considerable business in the House of Commons. He is about twenty-two or twenty-three years old [he was twenty-four], unpractised in business, and never spoke but once in the House of Commons, when he made one of those pretty first speeches which prove little or nothing, and that was in opposition to the Dissenters. He may be very fit for this place, but it remains to be proved, and I am surprised he did not make him begin with a Lordship of the Treasury or some such thing, and put Gladstone, who is a very clever man, in that post. Praed is First Secretary to the Board of Control, and will do the business.' (Vol. iii. p. 194.)

The following is the only notice of the present Premier in these volumes :—

'December 6th.—The Chancellor called on me yesterday about getting young Disraeli into Parliament (through the means of George Bentinck) for Lynn. I had told him George wanted a good man to assist in turning out William Lennox, and he suggested the above-named gentleman, whom he called a friend of Chandos. His political principles must, however, be in abeyance, for he said that Durham was doing all he could to get him by the offer of a seat, and so forth; if, therefore, he is undecided and wavering between Chandos and Durham, he must be a mighty impartial personage. I don't think such a man will do, though just such as Lyndhurst would be connected with.' (Vol. iii. p. 170.)

One or two more passages, taken nearly at random, may interest our readers :—

'I saw the day before yesterday a curious letter from Southey to Brougham, which some day or other will probably appear. Taylor showed it me. Brougham had written to him to ask him what his opinion was as to the encouragement that could be given to literature, by rewarding or honouring literary men, and suggested (I did not see his letter) that the Guelphic Order should be bestowed upon them. Southey's reply was very courteous, but in a style of suppressed irony and forced politeness, and exhibited the marks of a chafed spirit, which was kept down by an effort. "You, my Lord, are *now* on the Conservative side," was one of his phrases, which implied that the Chancellor had not always been on that side. He suggested that it might be useful to establish a sort of lay fellowships; 10,000*l.* would give 10 of 500*l.* and 25 of 200*l.*; but he proposed them not to reward the meritorious, but as a means of silencing or hiring the mischievous. It was evident, however, that he laid no stress on this plan, or considered it practicable, and only proposed it because he thought he must suggest something. He said that honours might be desirable to scientific men, as they were so considered on the Continent, and Newton and Davy had been titled, but for himself, if a *Guelphic* distinction was adopted, "he should be a *Ghibelline*." He ended by saying that all he asked for was a repeal of the Copyright Act, which took from the families of literary men the only property they had to give them, and this "I ask

“ for with the earnestness of one who is conscious that he has laboured “ for posterity.” It is a remarkable letter.’ (Vol. ii. p. 112.)

‘ I am just come home from breakfasting with Henry Taylor to meet Wordsworth; the same party as when he had Southey—Mill, Elliot Charles Villiers. Wordsworth may be bordering on sixty; hard-featured, brown, wrinkled, with prominent teeth and a few scattered grey hairs, but nevertheless not a disagreeable countenance; and very cheerful, merry, courteous, and talkative, much more so than I should have expected from the grave and didactic character of his writings. He held forth on poetry, painting, politics, and metaphysics, and with a great deal of eloquence; he is more conversible and with a greater flow of animal spirits than Southey. He mentioned that he never wrote down as he composed, but composed walking, riding, or in bed, and wrote down after; that Southey always composes at his desk. He talked a great deal of Brougham, whose talents and domestic virtues he greatly admires; that he was very generous and affectionate in his disposition, full of duty and attention to his mother, and had adopted and provided for a whole family of his brother’s children, and treats his wife’s children as if they were his own. He insisted upon taking them both with him to the drawing-room the other day when he went in state as Chancellor. They remonstrated with him, but in vain.’ (Vol. ii. p. 120.)

‘ Johnson liked Fox because he defended his pension, and said it was only to blame in not being large enough. “ Fox,” he said, “ is a liberal “ man; he would always be “ aut Cæsar aut nullus; ” ” whenever I “ have seen him he has been *nullus*.” Lord Holland said Fox made it a rule never to talk in Johnson’s presence, because he knew all his conversations were recorded for publication, and he did not choose to figure in them.’ (Vol. ii. p. 316.)

‘ *January 22nd.*—Dined with Talleyrand the day before yesterday. Nobody there but his *attachés*. After dinner he told me about his first residence in England, and his acquaintance with Fox and Pitt. He always talks in a kind of affectionate tone about the former, and is now meditating a visit to Mrs. Fox at St. Anne’s Hill, where he may see her surrounded with the busts, pictures, and recollections of her husband. He delights to dwell on the simplicity, gaiety, childishness, and profoundness of Fox. I asked him if he had ever known Pitt. He said that Pitt came to Rheims to learn French, and he was there at the same time on a visit to the Archbishop, his uncle (whom I remember at Hartwell).’ (Vol. ii. p. 344.)

‘ *September 10th.*—At Gorbambury on Saturday till Monday. Dined on Friday with Talleyrand, a great dinner to M. Thiers, the French Minister of Commerce, a little man, about as tall as Sheil, and as mean and vulgar-looking, wearing spectacles, and with a squeaking voice. He was editor of the “ National,” an able writer, and one of the principal instigators of the Revolution of July. It is said that he is a man of great ability and a good speaker, more in the familiar English than the bombastical French style. Talleyrand has a high opinion of him. He wrote a history of the Revolution, which he now regrets; it is well done, but the doctrine of fatalism which he puts forth in it he thinks

calculated to injure his reputation as a statesman. I met him again at dinner at Talleyrand's yesterday with another great party, and last night he started on a visit to Birmingham and Liverpool.' (Vol. iii. p. 31.)

'Prince Esterhazy told me a great deal about the Duke of Reichstadt, who, if he had lived, would have probably played a great part in the world. He died of a premature decay, brought on apparently by over-exertion and over-excitement; his talents were very conspicuous, he was *pétri d'ambition*, worshipped the memory of his father, and for that reason never liked his mother; his thoughts were incessantly turned towards France, and when he heard of the days of July he said, "Why was I not there to take my chance?" He evinced great affection and gratitude to his grandfather, who, while he scrupulously observed all his obligations towards Louis Philippe, could not help feeling a secret pride in the aspiring genius and ambition of Napoleon's son. He was well educated, and day and night pored over the history of his father's glorious career. He delighted in military exercises, and not only shone at the head of his regiment, but had already acquired the hereditary art of ingratiating himself with the soldiers. Esterhazy told me one anecdote in particular, which shows the absorbing passion of his soul overpowering the usual propensities of his age. He was to make his first appearance in public at a ball at Lady Cowley's (to which he had shown great anxiety to go), and was burning with impatience to amuse himself with dancing and flirting with the beauties he had admired in the Prater. He went, but there he met two French marshals—Marmont and Maison. He had no eyes or ears but for them; from nine in the evening to five the next morning he devoted himself to these marshals, and conversed with them without ceasing. Though he knew well enough all the odium that attached to Marmont, he said to him that he was too happy to have the opportunity of making the acquaintance of one who had been among his father's earliest companions, and who could tell him so many interesting details of his earlier days. Marmont subsequently either did give or was to have given him lessons in strategy.' (Vol. iii. pp. 374, 375.)

These are examples, and almost every page would furnish others equally interesting, of the varied contents of these volumes. As we have shown, the author is not always right; but at least he speaks his mind, as he formed it at the time, and photographs vividly the lights and shadows as they passed.

The more studied descriptions are those of Canning, Wellington, Peel, Brougham, Grey, Lyndhurst, Stanley, and O'Connell; and of his estimate of these distinguished men we shall say a few words. In regard to all of them there is an infusion of the cynical in the style in which he writes of them; nor does he spare hard words to express his disfavour. But when all the passages are put together, as forming his ultimate opinion, as we have already said, they rather gain than suffer

at the critic's hands. On the whole, the author's sympathies seem to have been more with Canning than with any of the great statesmen he mentions. He admired his genius, which all did, but he seems to have had a higher estimate of his qualities as a Minister than has always been accorded him by posterity. We are inclined to think that in this respect Mr. Greville does him no more than justice. The natural liberality of his mind, and his perspicacious insight into the present and future, were heavily weighted by his past political career and associates. Had he survived he would probably have been a great Minister; although it is quite possible that the popularity he would have acquired might have delayed longer the strong exhibition of public opinion which carried the Catholic Relief Bill and the Reform Bill. Mr. Greville allows him little weight of character: but the atmosphere of the Court of George IV. was not favourable to the highest forms of political integrity, and the dislike of many of the Tory party was probably as much owing to his want of fortune and aristocratic connexion, combined with the Liberal tendency of his views, as it was to any supposed shortcoming in that respect.

There is no better account extant of the circumstances which led to the dissolution of Lord Liverpool's Government, and the formation of that of Canning, than that which is contained in the first and second of these volumes. The author does not appear to have been much acquainted with Canning, but he was so with many of his friends, in particular with Lord George Bentinck, who was his private secretary, of whom he says that he did not believe such another man as Canning ever existed. After relating the details of his illness and death, the seeds of which were sown at the Duke of York's funeral, he goes on:—

'Canning concealed nothing from Mrs. Canning, nor from Charles Ellis. When absent from Mrs. C. he wrote everything to her in the greatest detail. Canning's industry was such that he never left a moment unemployed, and such was the clearness of his head that he could address himself almost at the same time to several different subjects with perfect precision and without the least embarrassment. He wrote very fast, but not fast enough for his mind, composing much quicker than he could commit his ideas to paper. He could not bear to dictate, because nobody could write fast enough for him; but on one occasion, when he had the gout in his hand and could not write, he stood by the fire and dictated at the same time a despatch on Greek affairs to George Bentinck and one on South American politics to Howard de Walden, each writing as fast as he could, while he turned from one to the other without hesitation or embarrassment.' (Vol. i. p. 106.)

'The Duke of Wellington talked of Canning the other day a great deal at my mother's. He said his talents were astonishing, his compositions admirable, that he possessed the art of saying exactly what was necessary, and passing over those topics on which it was not advisable to touch, his fertility and resources inexhaustible. He thought him the finest speaker he had ever heard; though he prided himself extremely upon his compositions, he would patiently endure any criticisms upon such papers as he submitted for the consideration of the Cabinet, and would allow them to be altered in any way that was suggested; he (the Duke) particularly had often "cut and hacked" his papers, and Canning never made the least objection, but was always ready to adopt the suggestions of his colleagues. It was not so, however, in conversation and discussion. Any difference of opinion or dissent from his views threw him into ungovernable rage, and on such occasions he flew out with a violence which, the Duke said, had often compelled him to be silent that he might not be involved in bitter personal altercation. He said that Canning was usually very silent in the Cabinet, seldom spoke at all, but when he did he maintained his opinions with extraordinary tenacity. He said that he was one of the idlest of men. This I do not believe, for I have always heard that he saw everything and did everything himself. Not a despatch was received that he did not read, nor one written that he did not dictate or correct.' (Vcl. i. pp. 167, 168.)

Mr. Greville suggests that the Duke of Wellington disliked and suspected Canning, because at the time of the breaking up of the Liverpool Government he thought he was negotiating with the Whigs: in which surmise perhaps there was some truth. He also states, on the authority of Lord George Bentinck, that the recognition of the South American Republics was opposed by the Duke of Wellington, and was very distasteful to the King; who, however, was reconciled to it in the end, and took credit for it. Of the celebrated speech 'I called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old,' Mr. Greville says 'the "I" was not relished.'

With all his admiration, however, for the man, his summary of his character is, as usual, severe. He says (vol. i. p. 267), writing in 1830, 'I believe it to be impossible for a man of 'squeamish and uncompromising virtue to be a successful politician;' and he proceeds as follows:—

'If Canning had had a fair field, he would have done great things, for his lofty and ambitious genius took an immense sweep, and the vigour of his intellect, his penetration and sagacity, enabled him to form mighty plans and work them out with success; but it is impossible to believe that he was a high-minded man, that he spurned everything that was dishonest, uncandid, and ungentlemanlike; he was not above trick and intrigue, and this was the fault of his character, which was unequal to his genius and understanding. However, notwithstand-

ing his failings he was the greatest man we have had for a long time, and if life had been spared to him, and opposition had not been too much for him, he would have raised our character abroad, and perhaps found remedies for our difficulties at home. What a difference between his position and that of the Duke of Wellington's! Everybody is disposed to support the latter and give him unlimited credit for good intentions. The former was obliged to carry men's approbation by storm, and the moment he had failed, or been caught tripping, he would have been lost.' (Vol. i. p. 268.)

These are strong expressions, probably too strong for the subject of them, although they may truly indicate where his political character was weakest. The unquestionable personal influence which Canning acquired, when he wished, seems inconsistent with the absence of high spirit; and there are many things in this book which go far to produce the opposite impression.

The Duke of Wellington is the principal figure in these volumes. The author lived on terms of intimacy with him, and was admitted to much of his confidence. So close an observer could not fail to see the faults and weaknesses, if such there were, as well as the great and noble qualities he possessed. Nor does he escape the censor's lash, laid on in unmeasured terms. But we are bound to say, after reading this very curious record of his political life, for the book embraces a large proportion of it, that differing as we have always done from the politics of the Duke of Wellington, we think he comes out of the scrutiny entirely untarnished, a high-minded, patriotic man, bound up no doubt with the movements and even the intrigues of his party, but for the most holding his head loftily above them, and always ready to sacrifice his personal ends to what might seem to be the general benefit. Mr. Greville does not always seem to give him this credit, but we think he comes to this conclusion in the end.

Mr. Greville follows the Duke of Wellington's political career with considerable minuteness from the breaking up of the Liverpool administration in 1826, to the conclusion of this part of the Journal in 1837. Sometimes he is full of praise and admiration: sometimes very critical and disparaging, but in the end his respect and veneration for the Duke far preponderate over every other consideration. He says of his position in 1829, when at the head of the Government, and during the debates on the Catholic Relief Bill:—

'The fact is, he is a man of great energy, decision, and authority, and his character has been formed by the events of his life, and by the extraordinary circumstances which have raised him to a situation higher than any subject has attained in modern times. That his great

influence is indispensable to carry this question, and therefore most useful at this time, cannot be doubted, for he can address the King in a style which no other Minister could adopt. He treats with him as with an equal, and the King stands completely in awe of him. It will be long before a correct and impartial estimate is formed of the Duke's character and abilities; his talents, however, must be of a very superior, though not of the most shining description. Whatever he may be, he is at this moment one of the most powerful Ministers this country has ever seen.' (Vol. i. p. 176.)

He praises his style of speaking frequently. 'I like his speaking: it is so much to the point: no nonsense and verbiage about it, and he says strongly and simply what he has to say' (vol. i. p. 278).

The first elaborate criticism on his political character occurs in 1830, when revolution was striding over Europe, and all was anxiety and foreboding. He says:—

'In these difficult circumstances, and in the midst of possibilities so tremendous, it is awful to reflect upon the very moderate portion of wisdom and sagacity which is allotted to those by whom our affairs are managed. I am by no means easy as to the Duke of Wellington's sufficiency to meet such difficulties; the habits of his mind are not those of patient investigation, profound knowledge of human nature, and cool, discriminating sagacity. He is exceedingly quick of apprehension, but deceived by his own quickness into thinking he knows more than he does. He has amazing confidence in himself, which is fostered by the deference of those around him and the long experience of his military successes. He is upon ordinary occasions right-headed and sensible, but he is beset by weaknesses and passions which must, and continually do, blind his judgment. Above all he wants that suavity of manner, that watchfulness of observation, that power of taking great and enlarged views of events and characters, and of weighing opposite interests and probabilities, which are essentially necessary in circumstances so delicate, and in which one false step, any hasty measure, or even incautious expression, may be attended with consequences of immense importance. I feel justified in this view of his political fitness by contemplating the whole course of his career, and the signal failure which has marked all his foreign policy. If Canning was now alive we might hope to steer through these difficulties, but if he had lived we should probably never have been in them. He was the only statesman who had sagacity to enter into and comprehend the spirit of the times, and to put himself at the head of that movement which was no longer to be arrested. The march of Liberalism (as it is called) would not be stopped, and this he knew, and he resolved to govern and lead instead of opposing it. The idiots who so rejoiced at the removal of this master mind (which alone could have saved them from the effects of their own folly) thought to stem the torrent in its course, and it has overwhelmed them. It is unquestionable that the Duke has too much participated in their sentiments and passions, and, though he never

mixed himself with their proceedings, regarded them with a favourable eye, nor does he ever seem to have been aware of the immensity of the peril which they were incurring. The urgency of the danger will unquestionably increase the impatience of those who already think the present Government incapable of carrying on the public business, and now that we are placed in a situation the most intricate (since the French Revolution) it is by no means agreeable to think that such enormous interests are at the mercy of the Duke's awkward squad.' (Vol. ii. pp. 41, 42.)

This is followed by a still sharper condemnation of him as a Minister when his government came to an end in the end of 1830. He says of him :—

'His is one of those mixed characters which it is difficult to praise or blame without the risk of doing them more or less than justice. He has talents which the event has proved to be sufficient to make him the second (and, now that Napoleon is gone, the first) general of the age, but which could not make him a tolerable Minister. Confident, presumptuous, and dictatorial, but frank, open, and good-humoured, he contrived to rule in the Cabinet without mortifying his colleagues, and he has brought it to ruin without forfeiting their regard. Choosing with a very slender stock of knowledge to take upon himself the sole direction of every department of Government, he completely sank under the burden. Originally imbued with the principles of Lord Castlereagh and the Holy Alliance, he brought all those predilections with him into office. Incapable of foreseeing the mighty events with which the future was big, and of comprehending the prodigious alteration which the moral character of Europe had undergone, he pitted himself against Canning in the Cabinet, and stood up as the assertor of maxims both of foreign and domestic policy which that great statesman saw were no longer fitted for the times we live in.' (Vol. ii. p. 81.)

The remainder of the passage is still more severe, but it ends with this note :—

' [Memorandum added by Mr. Greville in April 1850.]

'N.B.—I leave this as it is, though it is unjust to the Duke of Wellington; but such as my impressions were at the time they shall remain, to be corrected afterwards when necessary. It would be very wrong to impute *selfishness* to him in the ordinary sense of the term. He coveted power, but he was perfectly disinterested, a great patriot if ever there was one, and he was always animated by a strong and abiding sense of duty. I have done him justice in other places, and there is after all a great deal of truth in what I have said here.' (Vol. i. p. 84.)

He resumes the subject again in 1831, at considerable length: laments that the Tory party should have its deliberations ruled by the obstinacy and prejudices of the Duke. Again he adds a note, dated in 1838, but thinks he has not done him

injustice. He says afterwards (vol. ii. p. 305), June 1, 1831, that he met the Duke of Wellington at dinner yesterday and afterwards had a long talk with him, not on politics. 'I never see and converse with him without reproaching myself for the sort of hostility I feel and express towards his political conduct; for there are a simplicity, a gaiety, and natural urbanity and good humour in him which are remarkably captivating in so great a man.' The critic's heart is still further softened as this volume proceeds; for in 1833, on the occasion of a ride with him through St. James's Park, and in relation to the respect evinced to him by the public, he says:—

'Much, too, as I have regretted and censured the enormous errors of his political career (at times), I believe that this sentiment is in a great degree produced by the justice which is done to his political character, sometimes mistaken, but always high-minded and patriotic, and never mean, false, or selfish. If he has aimed at power, and overrated his own capacity for wielding it, it has been with the purest intentions, and the most conscientious views.' (Vol. ii. p. 373.)

Putting epithets and adjectives aside, in which he deals much too freely, the picture Mr. Greville gives us of the Duke of Wellington as a politician and a minister is graphic, and we think not far from just. His pride in his own quickness and decision, his tenacity where he thought he could succeed, and his courage in yielding where he saw he could not; his sympathy with old absolutist principles, and yet a clear-sighted prevision that their day was nearly over; the entire fearlessness and courage of the man, and his patriotic loyalty to his sovereign and his country, come out in the end in the most distinct colours. He was not a great politician, or a great minister, in any sense. His views of policy were not large, and he had no popular leanings or sympathies. But he was, in addition to being a great soldier, a very clever man; and both his natural simplicity of character, and what he felt due to his great reputation, raised him above much of the littleness of party.

More interesting to us than Mr. Greville's estimate of his political career are one or two notices of conversations with him on some of his military performances.

The following, as reported at first hand from the Duke of Wellington himself, are well worth transcribing:—

'Upon one occasion only the Spaniards gained a victory, the day on which St. Sebastian was stormed. Soult attacked a Spanish corps commanded by General Freyre. When the Duke was informed of the attack he hastened to the scene of action and placed two British divisions in reserve, to support the Spaniards, but did not allow them to

come into action. He found the Spaniards running away as fast as they could. He asked them where they were going. They said they were taking off the wounded. He immediately sent and ordered the gates of Irun, to which they were flying, to be shut against them, and sent to Freyre to desire him to rally his men. This was done, and they sustained the attack of the French; but General Freyre sent to the Duke to beg he would let his divisions support him, as he could not maintain himself much longer. The Duke said to Freyre's aide-de-camp, "If I let a single man fire, the English will swear they gained the victory, and he had much better do it all himself; besides, look through my glass, and you will see the French are retreating." This was the case, for a violent storm of rain had occurred, and the French, who had crossed a river, finding that it began to swell, and that their bridges were in danger of being carried away, had begun to retreat. The Spaniards maintained their position, but the Duke said he believed they owed it to the storm more than to their own resolution.' (Vol. i. p. 69.)

'The Duke said he had been struck down by a musket shot whilst reconnoitring the enemy as they were retreating in the Pyrenees. The people round him thought he was killed, but he got up directly. Alava was wounded a few minutes before him, and Major Brooke nearly at the same time. He is of opinion that Massena was the best French general to whom he was ever opposed.

'He said that Bonaparte had not the patience requisite for defensive operations. His last campaign (before the capture of Paris) was very brilliant, probably the ablest of all his performances. The Duke is of opinion that if he had possessed greater patience he would have succeeded in compelling the Allies to retreat; but they had adopted so judicious a system of defence that he was foiled in the impetuous attacks he made upon them, and after a partial failure which he met with, when he attacked Blücher at Laon and Craon, he got tired of pursuing a course which afforded no great results, and leaving a strong body under Marmont to watch Blücher, he threw himself into the rear of the Grand Army. The march upon Paris entirely disconcerted him and finished the war. The Allies could not have maintained themselves much longer, and had he continued to keep his force concentrated, and to carry it as occasion required against one or other of the two armies, the Duke thinks he must eventually have forced them to retreat, and that their retreat would have been a difficult operation. The British army could not have reached the scene of operations for two months. The Allies did not dare attack Napoleon; if he had himself come up he should certainly have attacked him, for his army was the best that ever existed.' (Vol. i. pp. 71, 72.)

'*Whersted, December 10th.*—I left Woburn on Thursday night last, and got here on Friday morning. The Lievens, Worcesters, Duke of Wellington, Neumann, and Montagu were here. The Duke went away yesterday. We acted charades, which were very well done. Yesterday we went to shoot at Sir Philip Brooke's. As we went in the carriage, the Duke talked a great deal about the battle of Waterloo and different things relating to that campaign. He said that he had

50,000 men at Waterloo. He began the campaign with 85,000 men, lost 5,000 men on the 16th, and had a corps of 20,000 men at Hal under Prince Frederick. He said that it was remarkable that nobody who had ever spoken of these operations had ever made mention of that corps, and Bonaparte was certainly ignorant of it. In this corps were the best of the Dutch troops; it had been placed there because the Duke expected the attack to be made on that side. He said that the French army was the best army that was ever seen, and that in the previous operations Bonaparte's march upon Belgium was the finest thing ever was done—so rapid and so well combined. His object was to beat the armies in detail, and this object succeeded in so far as that he attacked them separately; but from the extraordinary celerity with which the allied armies were got together he was not able to realise the advantages he had promised himself. The Duke says that they certainly were not prepared for this attack, as the French had previously broken up the roads by which their army advanced; but as it was in summer this did not render them impassable. He says that Bonaparte beat the Prussians in a most extraordinary way, as the battle was gained in less than four hours; but that it would probably have been more complete if he had brought a greater number of troops into action, and not detached so large a body against the British corps. There were 40,000 men opposed to the Duke on the 16th, but he says that the attack was not so powerful as it ought to have been with such a force. The French had made a long march the day before the battle, and had driven in the Prussian posts in the evening. I asked him if he thought Bonaparte had committed any fault. He said he thought he had committed a fault in attacking him in the position of Waterloo; that his object ought to have been to remove him as far as possible from the Prussian army, and that he ought consequently to have moved upon Hal, and to have attempted to penetrate by the same road by which the Duke had himself advanced. He had always calculated upon Bonaparte's doing this, and for this purpose he had posted 20,000 men under Prince Frederick at Hal. He said that the position at Waterloo was uncommonly strong, but that the strength of it consisted alone in the two farms of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte, both of which were admirably situated and adapted for defence. In Hougoumont there were never more than from 300 to 500 men, who were reinforced as it was necessary; and although the French repeatedly attacked this point, and sometimes with not less than 20,000 men, they never could even approach it. Had they obtained possession of it, they could not have maintained it, as it was open on one side to the whole fire of the English lines, whilst it was sheltered on the side towards the French. The Duke said the farm of La Haye Sainte was still better than that of Hougoumont, and that it never would have been taken if the officer who was commanding there had not neglected to make an aperture through which ammunition could be conveyed to his garrison.' (Vol. i. pp. 39-41.)

On the occurrence of the French Revolution in 1830, Mar-
mont came to London, and Mr. Greville had more than one

conversation with him on military affairs. It is interesting to compare his account of the position of the contending forces in the campaign of 1814 with that of the Duke of Wellington.

'At night.—Went to Lady Glengall's to meet Marmont. He likes talking of his adventures, but he had done his Paris talk before I got there; however, he said a great deal about old campaigning and Bonaparte, which, as well as I recollect, I will put down.

'As to the battle of Salamanca, he remarked that, without meaning to detract from the glory of the English arms, he was inferior in force there; our army was provided with everything, well paid, and the country favourable, his "dénée de tout," without pay, in a hostile country; that all his provisions came from a great distance and under great escorts, and his communications were kept up in the same way. I repeated what the Duke of Wellington had once told me, that if the Emperor had continued the same plan, and fallen back on Paris, he would have obliged the Allies to retreat, and asked him what he thought. He rather agreed with this, but said the Emperor had conceived one of the most splendid pieces of strategy that ever had been devised, which failed by the disobedience of Eugene. He sent orders to Eugene to assemble his army, in which he had 35,000 French troops, to amuse the Austrians by a negotiation for the evacuation of Italy; to throw the Italian troops into Alexandria and Mantua; to destroy the other fortresses, and going by forced marches with his French troops, force the passage of Mont Cenis, collect the scattered *corps d'armée* of Augereau (who was near Lyons) and another French general, which would make his force amount to above 60,000 men, and burst upon the rear of the Allies so as to cut off all their communications. These orders he sent to Eugene, but Eugene "révait d'être roi d'Italie après sa chute," and he sent his aide-de-camp Tascher to excuse himself. The movement was not made, and the game was up. Lady Dudley Stewart was there, Lucien's daughter and Bonaparte's niece. Marmont was presented to her, and she heard him narrate all this; there is something very simple, striking, and soldierlike in his manner and appearance. He is going to Russia.' (Vol. ii. pp. 33-6.)

Turning to the Duke of Wellington's comrade and colleague, Sir Robert Peel, we find his career, merits, and character as clearly delineated and as sharply canvassed as those of the hero of Waterloo: the same infusion of asperity, and the same unreserved acknowledgment of his undoubted power and ability. There is this difference, that while the author knew and liked the Duke of Wellington, he does not seem to have been on terms of familiarity with Peel (as indeed very few people were) or to have found him congenial. He only once speaks of meeting him in society, and thus describes him:—

'November 13th, 1833.—To Buckenham, where I met Sir Robert Peel. He is very agreeable in society. It is a toss-up whether he

talks or not; but if he thaws, and is in good humour and spirits, he is lively, entertaining, and abounding in anecdotes, which he tells extremely well.' (Vol. iii. p. 35.)

We infer from this that he was not one of his intimates, or we should not have had to wait till the third volume for this testimony to his conversational powers, which we believe to be entirely deserved. To his debating ability he does ample but rather unwilling justice; but grumbles at his cold temperament, and condemns his political inconsistency. Among many notices of his political career, few of them without considerable indications of dislike, or at least distaste, the following account of the position which he occupied in 1834 is the most elaborate, and on the whole the fairest:—

'Peel's is an enviable position; in the prime of life, with an immense fortune, *facile princeps* in the House of Commons, unbacked by party connexions and prejudices, universally regarded as the ablest man, and with (on the whole) a very high character, free from the cares of office, able to devote himself to literature, to politics, or idleness, as the fancy takes him. No matter how unruly the House, how impatient or fatigued, the moment he rises all is silence, and he is sure of being heard with profound attention and respect. This is the enjoyable period of his life, and he must make the most of it, for when time and the hour shall bring about his return to power, his cares and anxieties will begin, and with whatever success his ambition may hereafter be crowned, he will hardly fail to look back with regret to this holiday time of his political career. How free and light he must feel at being liberated from the shackles of his old connexions, and at being able to take any part that his sense of his own interests or of the public exigencies may point out! And then the satisfactory consciousness of being by far the most eminent man in the House of Commons, to see and feel the respect he inspires and the consideration he enjoys. It is a melancholy proof of the decadence of ability and eloquence in that House, when Peel is the first, and, except Stanley, almost the only real orator in it. He speaks with great energy, great dexterity—his language is powerful and easy; he reasons well, hits hard, and replies with remarkable promptitude and effect; but he is at an immense distance below the great models of eloquence, Pitt, Fox, and Canning; his voice is not melodious, and it is a little monotonous; his action is very ungraceful, his person and manner are vulgar, and he has certain tricks in his motions which exhibit that vulgarity in a manner almost offensive, and which is only redeemed by the real power of his speeches. His great merit consists in his judgment, tact and discretion, his facility, promptitude, thorough knowledge of the assembly he addresses, familiarity with the details of every sort of Parliamentary business, and the great command he has over himself. He never was a great favourite of mine, but I am satisfied that he is the fittest man to be Minister, and I therefore wish to see him return to power.' (Vol. iii. pp. 64, 65.)

This tribute is to a considerable extent extorted: for in

many prior passages he looks rather with alarm than pleasure to his future power. In 1835, we have this renewed testimony to his ascendancy in debate :—

‘ On Friday night, on the debate upon Irish Tithes, Peel, bowled down his opponents, Howick, Rice, and Thomson, like so many nine-pins ; for, besides his vigour and power in debate, his memory is so tenacious and correct, that they never can make any mistakes without his detecting them ; and he is inconceivably ready in all references to former debates and their incidents, and the votes and speeches of individual members. It cannot be denied that he is a great performer in his present part. Old Sir Robert, who must have been a man of exceeding shrewdness, predicted that his full energies would never be developed till he was in the highest place, and had the sole direction of affairs ; and his brother Lawrence, who told this to Henry de Ros, said that in early youth he evinced the same obstinate and unsocial disposition, which has since been so remarkable a feature of his character. I wish he was not hampered with the Irish Church fetters, which he cannot throw off.’ (Vol. iii. pp. 232, 233.)

In the prior references to Peel there is a suggestion, apparently quite falsified by the event, that there had been a momentary coolness between him and the Duke of Wellington, arising out of Peel’s refusal to join the Government which the Duke attempted to form in May 1832. In one passage he attributes to Lord Lyndhurst the following description of the demeanour of the two great chiefs at the Cabinet :—‘ That in the Cabinet, he (the Duke of Wellington) was always candid and reasonable ; not so Peel. He, if his opinion was not adopted, would take up a newspaper and sulk.’ And again, in reference to the resignation of Lord Grey in 1832, of which the author gives a long and curious account, he says :—‘ No cordiality, however, can exist again between him (Peel) and the Duke and his friends ; and should the Whig Government be expelled, the animosity and disunion engendered by these circumstances, will make it extremely difficult to form a Tory administration.’ He adds, however, this note :—‘ In a short time it was all made up—forgiven if not forgotten.’ (Vol. iii. p. 328.)

Taken as a whole, however, the part of the criticism on this great statesman’s political character which seems to us to be most substantially just is that on the consistency of his public conduct. The rest had doubtless some foundation in the temperament of the man ; but the strong expressions which our author applied to him, as those in which he sometimes speaks of the Duke of Wellington, must be taken as the expression of a momentary impression rather than his deliberate opinion. Peel was quite capable of attaching, and he did attach to him

a circle of warm and devoted followers, whom his sagacity singled out to be, and who have since proved, leaders of affairs and of opinion in this country. So far was he, as our author suggests, from being cold to the rising statesmen of the day, he chiefly, if not alone of the ministers of this century, fostered the early promise of public men—a great quality in the leader of a party, and one too often neglected. He outlived the unfavourable impressions which his course on the Catholic Relief Bill had created, and which his resolute and manly policy on the Corn Laws entirely overshadowed; and went down to his untimely grave honoured and lamented by all parties, leaving behind him the fame, not of a great debater merely, but of a great and successful Minister.

Our space will not allow us to follow out in the same detail the other prominent portraits in the gallery. That of Lord Stanley, the future Lord Derby, is, perhaps, nearer the truth than most of them. Mr. Greville is too disparaging and severe in some of the epithets which he applies to Lord Grey; nor can a Whig read without something of indignation the slighting terms in which he speaks of one to whom the Liberal party and the country owe so deep a debt of gratitude. That a statesman who had won his early laurels forty years before, and had held the banner flying through many dark years of depression and desertion—who had earned the rest which he coveted, as he himself said,

‘Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease,’—

should have felt the troubles and intrigues of the stormy period of 1831 press hardly on his nerves, or even on his temper, is neither wonderful, nor a fit subject for sarcasm. Yet Mr. Greville does ample justice to his great oratorical power; and those who venerate his memory might find the fullest testimony to the constancy, fidelity, and loftiness of his character in the narrative which these volumes contain. Mr. Greville justly calls him ‘the most finished orator of the day’ (vol. ii. p. 88). He tells the following anecdote, illustrative of his intellectual vigour:—

‘Stanley said there would be a great speech from Lord Grey, talked of his power in that line, thought his reply at five in the morning on the Catholic question the most perfect speech that ever was made. He would rather have made it than four of Lord Brougham’s. He gave the following instance of Lord Grey’s readiness and clear-headed accuracy. In one of the debates on the West India question, he went to Stanley, who was standing under the gallery, and asked him on what calculation he had allotted the sum of twenty millions. Stanley explained to him a complicated series of figures, of terms of years,

interest, compound interest, value of labour, &c., after which Lord Grey went back to his place, rose, and went through the whole with as much clearness and precision as if all these details had been familiar to his mind.' (Vol. iii. p. 10.)

He adds, 'It is very extraordinary that he should unite so much oratorical and parliamentary power with such weakness of character. He is a long way from a great man after all.' So Mr. Greville says of him as of most of his contemporaries; but his vision was narrowed by too close vicinity to his object. The country has judged him differently, and nothing in these volumes will disturb their verdict.

The author reserves all the vials of his asperity for his character of Brougham. Full of unspeakable admiration for his transcendent and wonderful ability, and of scorn, contempt, and denunciation of his conduct and motives, are the many pages which he devotes to an analysis of the qualities of that most extraordinary man. The following is the first impression of him described in the *Journal*, in 1828:—

'About three weeks ago I passed a few days at Panshanger, where I met Brougham; he came from Saturday till Monday morning, and from the hour of his arrival to that of his departure he never ceased talking. The party was agreeable enough—Luttrell, Rogers, &c.—but it was comical to see how the latter was provoked at Brougham's engrossing all the talk, though he could not help listening with pleasure. Brougham is certainly one of the most remarkable men I ever met; to say nothing of what he is in the world, his almost childish gaiety and animal spirits, his humour mixed with sarcasm, but not ill-natured, his wonderful information, and the facility with which he handles every subject, from the most grave and severe to the most trifling, displaying a mind full of varied and extensive information and a memory which has suffered nothing to escape it, I never saw any man whose conversation impressed me with such an idea of his superiority over all others. As Rogers said the morning of his departure, "This morning Solon, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Archimedes, Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Chesterfield, and a great many more went away in one postchaise." (Vol. ii. pp. 117, 118.)

Even then, however, he adds:—'After all Brougham is only a living and very remarkable instance of the inefficacy of the most splendid talents, unless they are accompanied with other qualities which scarcely admit of definition, but which must serve the same purpose that ballast does for a ship.' Subsequently, in 1830, he writes, after the formation of the Grey Government:—

'November 22nd.—[The day on which Brougham took his seat on the Woolpack.] Dined yesterday at Sefton's; nobody there but Lord Grey and his family, Brougham and Montrond, the latter just come

from Paris. It was excessively agreeable. Lord Grey in excellent spirits, and Brougham, whom Sefton bantered from the beginning to the end of dinner. Be Brougham's political errors what they may, his gaiety, temper, and admirable social qualities make him delightful, to say nothing of his more solid merits, of liberality, generosity, and charity; for charity it is to have taken the whole family of one of his brothers who is dead—nine children—and maintained and educated them.' (Vol. ii. p. 69.)

Four years after, the following entry occurs, which is creditable to the writer's candour if it be not in some part, at least, a key to his sentiments:—

'His friends think him much altered in spirits and appearance: he has never shaken off his unhappiness at his brother's death, to whom he seems to have been tenderly attached. It is only justice to acknowledge his virtues in private life, which are unquestionably conspicuous. I am conscious of having often spoken of him with asperity, and it is some satisfaction to my conscience to do him this justice. When the greatest (I will not say the best) men are often influenced by pique or passion, by a hundred petty feelings which their philosophy cannot silence or their temperament obeys, it is no wonder that we poor wretches who are cast in less perfect moulds should be still more liable to these pernicious influences; and it is only by keeping an habitual watch over our own minds and thoughts, and steadily resolving never to be turned from considerations of justice and truth, that we can hope to walk through life with integrity and impartiality. I believe what I have said of Brougham to be correct in the main—that he is false, tricking, ambitious, and unprincipled, and as such I will show him up when I can—but though I do not like him and he has offended me—that is, has wounded my vanity (the greatest of all offences)—I only feel it the more necessary on that account to be on my guard against my own impressions and prejudices, and to take every opportunity of exhibiting the favourable side of the picture, and render justice to the talents and virtues which cannot be denied him.' (Vol. iii. pp. 76, 77.)

The author, in his narrative, traces very graphically Brougham's remarkable career, from the period of the Queen's trial, until his great and as it proved permanent downfall in 1835. To his wonderful powers of debate he is never tired of recurring; and in one passage, on the Irish Church Bill, when Peel and Stanley had it all their own way, he wonders how it would flutter the Conservative camp could they have but one half hour of Brougham.

Of the charges of insincerity and treachery which so often recur in these volumes it is needless to speak here. It is not the first time they have been made; but Mr. Greville leaves us, as others have left us, much in the dark as to the specific acts on which they have been founded. Some things, however, are plain enough. Brougham certainly wanted ballast, as Mr.

Greville said. There was a dash of eccentricity and excitable restlessness which tinged all his career. He was sharp in speech, and cared not sometimes if he trod on the tenderest susceptibilities even of those intimate with him. He did not like 'a brother near the throne,' and was jealous as well as ambitious when his own advancement was in question. He was volatile, reckless, and forgetful, one set of ideas driving out their predecessors in marvellous succession. Such a one makes enemies in the mere wantonness of power and excitement. But of his relations with the Whig party in 1830 Mr. Greville gives us some revelations. When we find members of the party he had led to victory in the House of Commons rejoicing that his wings were clipped and his influence neutralised by his removal to the Lords, can we much wonder that when he discovered this he meditated some reprisals? The want of confidence was not entirely on one side, if this picture be true, nor could those expect party loyalty who failed to give it. If Brougham was jealous of others, others were jealous of him; and without believing, with Mr. Greville, that the insult of being offered the post of Attorney-General was the source of the discontent, we do not think the causes of the ultimate result require any mystery to be solved to ascertain them. Brougham was probably a restless uncomfortable colleague, given to indiscreet remarks, and not prone to conceal or refrain from ridicule or contempt. In or out of season his arrogant and imperious spirit was impatient of control, and despised inferior minds, the greatest mistake a man who aspires to leadership can commit. Finding himself only welcomed because he could not be excluded, he naturally looked to strengthen his own position, perhaps not regarding much that of others who were ready to sacrifice him. All this does not necessarily imply the imputation of perfidious conduct, although having thrown for the stake and lost, it is not surprising that he was not allowed his revenge. The retrospect is sad enough; but in the memory of what he did, we had rather not remember what faint friends, more than open enemies, have sometimes accused him of doing.

O'Connell and Lyndhurst are the remaining portraits, both very well painted. O'Connell's rise and reign form very prominent features in the book; his immense influence, his social position, and extraordinary power of popular speaking are first recounted. Then comes the Clare election, and Mr. Greville concludes he will fail in the House. Then he speaks from the bar of the House, and Mr. Greville concludes that he will succeed. The rest of his career, or at least that which was

the most important part of it, is fully narrated, and the character of the great agitator given in too minute detail for us to transcribe. Mr. Greville met him once in society, and says of him that there was nothing remarkable in his conversation, but that he seemed well bred and at his ease. O'Connell indeed was entirely a man of the world, and was of mark in any society he entered.

Lord Lyndhurst, as he appears in the scattered notices in the Journal, is a livelier sketch. There are few hard words about him, and much pleasant and lively talk recorded. His politics sat very lightly on him; he was not trammelled by earnestness or enthusiasm of any kind; had a genial sparkling spirit which was sympathetic with that of the journalist, and no very fixed or unbending opinions. It was new to us to know, as Mr. Greville informs us, that Lord Grey would have made Lyndhurst Chancellor if he could. We cannot pause over the characteristic traces of this most accomplished and remarkable man which many pages of these volumes contain. They are all refreshing and agreeable, and contrast pleasantly with the sombre shades which Mr. Greville has frequently on his palette. Sombre as they are, however, these are the tints in which a keen observer can hardly fail to depict what he sees around him in social and political life. Mr. Greville's highest merit, as a chronicler of his times, seems to us to be his searching analysis of *character*. With inimitable penetration and with great felicity of style, he has drawn his contemporaries as they were. It is the rarest quality in a writer of history to trace such portraits alike without concealment and without malice, and we doubt not that they will go down to posterity as they are depicted in these pages.

To some persons it may appear, however, that the main interest and merit of this work does not consist so much in the author's anecdotes of distinguished men as in his narrative of the secret and less familiar history of very important and familiar events. The book begins in 1819—when the Holy Alliance, the Six Acts, and the highest of Toryism were in the ascendant. It ends in 1837, when every trace of them had perished. There is no better or more graphic history of these remarkable events extant than is to be found in Mr. Greville's contemporaneous memoranda—and his habit of leaving his daily impressions uncanceled, while it impairs the accuracy of his opinions, adds greatly to the vividness of his book as a history. Nothing can be more interesting than to watch, through these faithful pages, the gradual decay of old abuse, and the rise of genuine constitutional popular in-

fluence. The squabbles of men and cabinets, and the intrigues of party, as we now look back on them through a vista of forty or fifty years, important and absorbing as they were at the time, were but the indications of elements over which cabinets and statesmen had little power. But it is through that medium that we can trace most accurately the growth and progress of that great political revolution through which, in the space of fifteen years, this country passed, happier than its neighbours, without anything which deserved the name of popular tumult, and with increased security and stability to all its ancient and constitutional institutions.

ART. X.—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates for the Session of 1874.* April to August. London: 1874.

ON March 19, 1874, commenced the first session, since that of 1841, in which the 'Conservative' party could boast of a substantial majority assembled to support a 'Conservative' government. Never did session open with fairer promise. The appeal to the constituencies, so suddenly made by Mr. Gladstone, had resulted in the total discomfiture of his forces and the positive dislocation of the Liberal party. The Gladstone Ministry had not only fallen, but in their fall had broken up the phalanx, which had sustained them in power, more completely than any political party has been broken up in this country since the days of the first Reform Bill. Clergy, Nonconformists, Permissive-Bill men, Publicans, suspended their differences among themselves to join in common hostility against a government which had managed to rub them all up the wrong way. The men who desired continual and rapid progress in a democratic direction were dissatisfied with the pace of the Ministry, while that very pace had frightened out of their wits no inconsiderable portion of the more quiet and sober part of the community. A general dread of what was to come next appeared to pervade the country, and that 'Conservative reaction,' the existence of which had been so often denied, proved to be a living reality, which its greatest opponents were at last forced to admit. Mr. Disraeli was carried into power as the harbinger of rest to a people weary of over-legislation, as the champion of every class and interest which had been 'harassed' and 'worried,' as the statesman who alone could remedy the 'plundering and blundering' of the recent administration, who would oppose 'unnecessary' 'restraint and meddling interference' with the affairs of the

people; and who desired that there should be 'a little more energy in our foreign policy, and a little less in our domestic legislation.'* The Church was to be preserved, the 'strength and stability of England' maintained, and salutary Conservative progress to take the place of reckless Radicalism and revolutionary concessions to the spirit of democracy.

Seldom, if ever, has a minister had greater opportunities of carrying out a policy and consolidating a party. No doubt, the responsibilities of power had come upon him somewhat suddenly, and the usual time for the preparation of Government measures had, from the force of circumstances, been denied to him. But, on the other hand, the country neither desired nor expected any great novelties in legislation. Upon certain social reforms public opinion had not only made up its mind, but the measures necessary to carry those reforms into effect were actually ready to hand. The obvious course before Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues was to deal with those subjects, and with as little else as need be, during the session of 1874, leaving until next year those efforts of legislative genius for which the preparation of the autumn months might be necessary.

This course, indeed, appears to have naturally suggested itself to the Conservative Cabinet, as may be gathered from the contents of the Queen's Speech, delivered at the opening of the session. In this document, after the usual allusions to passing events, her Majesty called the attention of her Parliament, in the first instance, to 'the delay and expense attending the transfer of land in England,' which 'have long been felt to be a reproach to our system of law, and a serious obstacle to dealings in real property.' Secondly, the extension to Ireland of 'the re-arrangement of the judicature, and the blending of the administration of law and equity which were effected for England by the enactment of last session,' were recommended to the notice of Parliament. Allusion was next made to Scotland, and the Legislature was invited to 'consider the most satisfactory mode of bringing the procedure upon appeals into harmony with recent legislation,' whilst it was also intimated that measures would be introduced 'for amending the law relating to Land Rights, and for facilitating the Transfer of Land' in that portion of Great Britain. Then, after a passing allusion to the defective state of the laws 'affecting the relationship of Master and Servant,' to inquire into which a Royal Commission had been issued, her

* See Mr. Disraeli's Address to the Electors of Buckinghamshire.

Majesty's Speech concluded with the promise that a bill should be introduced 'dealing with such part of the Acts regulating the sale of Intoxicating Liquors as have given rise to complaints which appear to deserve the interference of Parliament;' and that the attention of Parliament should 'also be directed to the laws affecting Friendly and Provident Societies.'

It cannot be denied that the above programme was one fairly in accordance with the promises made by Conservative candidates throughout the country at the recent general election. It certainly contained no foreshadowing of any measure which could be called 'sensational,' an epithet which had been freely, and perhaps not always unjustly, applied to the legislation of Mr. Gladstone's administration. On the other hand, it gave promise of various steps in the direction of social improvements, and dealt with subjects rather of practical interest to the community than of political advantage to one party or the other. This, indeed, was what had been hoped for and expected by the large numbers of moderate men who, wearied by the continued course of exciting legislation which had marked the last five years, threw in their lot with Conservatism at the elections, and placed in power the minister whose natural and inevitable policy appeared to be one of a character the reverse and opposite of excitement.

Nor is it easy to understand why the programme set forth in the Queen's Speech should not have been fully carried out. Not only had Mr. Disraeli that which is called in parliamentary phraseology 'a good working majority' at his back in the House of Commons; not only did he enjoy that advantage of an equal majority in the hereditary branch of the legislature which had been denied to his predecessors, but his power was enormously increased by the total and entire disorganisation of his opponents. Never was a party more dispirited and unnerved than that which had ruled the destinies of the country for the previous five years. The great leader whom they had followed had not only shattered their forces by the precipitate dissolution which had taken them, rather than their adversaries, by surprise, but had deemed it right and wise, after the first few nights of the session, to leave them to themselves, only returning at a later period for special reasons to which we shall hereafter have to allude, and when his presence scarcely compensated for the months of uncertainty and disorganisation which his followers had meanwhile endured. Indeed, so doubtful was it whether Mr. Gladstone would still consent to lead the Liberal party, and whether the

united Liberal party would consent to be led by Mr. Gladstone, that during the earlier months of the session other names were freely mentioned, and the relative claims canvassed of several of the more prominent members of his late government.

All these things combined to make Mr. Disraeli the undisputed master of the situation, and to render it certain that any measures which his Cabinet agreed to push forward resolutely would become law during the coming session of Parliament. Under such circumstances it becomes interesting to compare the speech delivered at the close of the parliamentary campaign with that which heralded its commencement. How has the programme been fulfilled? With what success has the Prime Minister used his opportunities, and utilised the majority given him by the general election? How has he profited by the dissensions of his opponents, the loyal unanimity of his friends, and the strong current of public opinion which bore him so triumphantly to his present position? We read with attention the Speech with which the session has been closed. We pause for a few moments to consider it in the light of the occurrences of the last two months, and we throw up our hands in astonishment.

Is this a reality? Are the two speeches the work of the same hand? Do we stand in the presence of the strong Conservative Government which was to effect so many wise and salutary social reforms, to remedy the grievances of the 'harrassed' classes, and to give comfort and security to everybody? Or have we been living for the last six months in the presence of a solemn sham? Are these men, after all, no better than those who went before them, and has nothing been changed except the names of our ministers?

The first thing which strikes us is, that the 'measures of general interest and importance,' the passing of which her Majesty 'observes with satisfaction,' are by no means those measures the introduction of which was promised on March 19. There is indeed allusion made to 'the measures for facilitating the Transfer of Land in England, for re-arranging the Judiciary of England and Ireland, and for establishing an Imperial Court of Appeal.' But alas! this allusion is only made in order that her Majesty may express her 'regret that the pressure of business in the House of Commons has made it necessary to suspend the consideration' of all these measures, which are relegated *en masse* to 'a future session.'

Indeed, with the exception of a 'legal measure' with reference to 'Land Rights and Conveyancing in Scotland,' not

one of the quiet, useful, domestic, unsensational reforms promised in March forms the subject of her Majesty's congratulation to her faithful Parliament in August. 'Friendly and 'Provident Societies' have dropped out of sight, the Royal Commission upon the working of the Master and Servant's Act 'has not concluded its labours in time for legislation this 'year,' and Scotland has only received an instalment of the 'measures relating to her special interests,' which were announced in a separate paragraph of the opening Speech, and had doubtless kindled a lively hope in the breasts of our northern brethren, who had in the last Parliament become almost jealous of the time and trouble bestowed on Irish, to the detriment and neglect of Scotch, legislation.

One measure, indeed, promised somewhat prominently in March, had become law by August, and, strange to say, this was the only promised measure which partook somewhat of the 'sensational' character ascribed to the proposals of Mr. Gladstone's Government. The bill for 'regulating the sale of 'intoxicating liquors' might indeed fairly deserve that epithet. It was (with an exception to be named hereafter) the one attempt which was to be made to undo the 'harassing' legislation of the last Parliament.

In almost every county and borough of England the 'worried' class of licensed victuallers had made themselves heard and felt. It is the fashion at the present moment to assert that 'the trade' which, by its organisations and exertions, undoubtedly exercised a considerable influence over the late elections, was excited and roused to action, not by the Licensing Act of 1872, but by the bill introduced by Mr. Bruce in 1871, which fell by the weight of its own unpopularity before it could reach the stage of the second reading. There is no doubt that the bill of 1871 did infinite mischief to the Cabinet which unwarily suffered it to be introduced, and to the party who, however unfairly, were identified by the publicans with the measure so introduced, to which they never had the opportunity of stating their objections in Parliament. It is equally true, however, that the Act of 1872 was also strenuously condemned by 'the trade,' and that the addresses of 'Conservative' candidates teemed with denunciations of its severity; those who had not sat in the Parliament of 1868 declared that they 'should have opposed' the bill had they been there, and those who had seats in that Parliament, and who, in common with the whole of the Conservative party, had been consenting parties to the passing of the bill, suddenly became aware of its imperfections and freely promised to

remedy the grievances of which 'the trade' complained. Mr. Disraeli himself, in his famous Glasgow speech, had been supposed to refer specially to the licensed victuallers as a 'harassed' trade, and his accession to power was aided in no small degree by the action taken by these oppressed men throughout the country. It was natural, therefore, and indeed necessary, that an amending bill should be forthwith introduced by the 'Conservative' Government, and we cannot be surprised that this promise, at least, should have been fulfilled, and the measure duly passed.

But how passed and how fulfilled? It is by no means our intention to enter into a minute criticism of the provisions of the Licensing Laws Amendment Act, or to contend that some alterations have not been made which were desired by 'the trade.' Such alterations, indeed, are almost always necessary after the working of any important new Act has been tested for a year, and there is very little doubt that they would equally have been effected if the late Government had remained in office. But the measure actually passed was (in the words of the 'Times' newspaper) 'a feeble relic of that which was put 'on the table of the House of Commons.' Intended as a measure of relaxation, it has become a question whether it is not rather one of further restriction, and this has assuredly been the case so far as concerns the point upon which the loudest complaints had been made, namely the hours of opening and closing public-houses.

Upon this point nothing could exceed the vacillation of the new Home Secretary, who in his extreme and good-natured anxiety to please everybody very nearly succeeded in satisfying nobody. Eventually, an extra half-hour was given to London (which we believe had already been half promised by Mr. Lowe during his short reign at the Home Office), but in the country towns the publicans must have been sorely disappointed at the result of their friends' legislation. The bill which Mr. Cross introduced in April proposed that in towns being urban sanitary districts and containing ten thousand inhabitants or more, public-houses should be closed at half past eleven, and in other places at eleven. The bill when it became law enacted that, out of London, eleven should be the latest hour of closing, and this only in 'populous places,' the hour elsewhere being fixed at ten. As no argument can prove this to be anything else than a restriction, it can hardly be said that the hustings promises of relaxation have been fully realised.

Then, whereas the local magistrates had, under Mr. Bruce's

Act, a discretionary power of fixing the hours of closing within certain limits, it was formally announced, as a concession to the publicans who objected to this power, that it should no longer be suffered to exist. However, when difficulties arose as to the hours of closing in country districts, the Home Secretary left it to the licensing committees to decide in what localities, being 'populous places,' public-houses might remain open until eleven, instead of being arbitrarily closed at ten. But, inasmuch as no definition of 'populous places' was given to guide the local authorities, it is obvious that their discretionary power remains. One licensing committee may be of opinion that a population of a thousand people within two square miles constitutes a 'populous place,' whilst the next local authority may require the same population to be massed within half that area. The discretion, therefore, to which so much objection was raised, is virtually left, and the concession to the publicans is practically 'nil.' Indeed, the different and varying decisions which have been given by 'Licensing Committees' since the passing of the Act, prove to demonstration that, instead of settling a vexed question, it has introduced a fresh element of uncertainty and made confusion worse confounded. Again, upon the question of the hours of opening in the morning, Mr. Cross showed himself lamentably weak, shifting his opinion between five, six, and seven o'clock, and eventually taking refuge under the plea that, after all, the question of hours was really only one of detail.

With regard, then, to this bill—the *one* government measure, promised in March, which reached maturity—it must be confessed by any impartial observer that it fell very far short of the promises made and the expectations entertained upon the subject with which it dealt. Nor, indeed, was the failure undeserved. Perhaps there never was a more unjust, ungenerous, and unfair piece of electioneering strategy than that which united the brewing and licensed-victualling interest throughout the country in favour of Conservative candidates at the general election. Not only was the Conservative party equally responsible with their opponents for the legislation of 1872, but during its progress they made no attempt whatever to protest against its restrictive character, and Mr. Disraeli himself took no part either in the debates or the divisions upon the subject. The truth is that the country had determined to legislate upon the matter, and all parties concurred in the necessity for legislation. The party which did not happen to hold office at the moment, after joining in the demand for that legislation and generally supporting it, did not scruple to take

advantage upon the hustings of its temporary unpopularity, and the most bitter condemnation of their selfish and unpatriotic course is to be found in the fact that, having acceded to power with a substantial majority, they have been able to make no serious changes in the law, have restricted rather than relaxed, and have been obliged to lay upon the table of the House of Commons reports from local authorities throughout the kingdom which tend to show the good working of the 'unpopular' Act and the injustice of their own outcry at the elections.

But if only one 'promised' measure can be mentioned in the Speech with which the session was closed, it cannot be denied that our attention is fairly called to other 'measures of general interest and importance.' The Act 'for improving the Health of Women, Young Persons and Children employed in Manufactures,' belonging, as it does, rather to Mr. Mundella than to Her Majesty's Government, need not be touched upon in the present article. Mr. Sclater Booth's 'Valuation of Property' Bill, also, may be passed by without comment, being, in fact, nothing more nor less than a portion of Mr. Stansfeld's rating bill of last session, of which fact the Government were so clearly aware that, with natural modesty, they have refrained from alluding to it at all in the Speech. The bill, however, is a good bill as far as it goes; and one satisfactory result of the accession of the Tories to office is to be found in the fact that the House of Lords consented to pass, with little debate and no alteration, the very measure of which they could not see the merits, but rejected with contumely, when proposed by the Liberal Government.

But two measures which are mentioned, and one which is not mentioned, in the Speech, occupied much of the time of the session, and call for our attentive consideration. We allude, of course, to the Church Patronage (Scotland) Act, the Public Worship Regulation Act, and the Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill. With regard to the first-named measure, few words only will be necessary. Although opposed with much vehemence, notably by the ex-premier in the House of Commons, it passed by large majorities, and was supported by no inconsiderable number of Liberals in both Houses of Parliament. The only remark we would make is upon the fact that this important bill should not have been foreshadowed among the promises of Scotch legislation, whilst others of possibly less interest were promised only to be omitted in the legislative programme. Whether it result in the strengthening of the Church of Scotland, according to the wishes of its supporters, or whether, as its opponents predict,

it must inevitably lead to the disestablishment of that Church, it cannot be denied that in its scope and character this was a bill to which a prominent place should have been given in the Speech from the throne, and which should not have been introduced excepting as one of those measures of first-class importance to which such place is commonly assigned.

The two other bills require fuller discussion, not only on account of their intrinsic importance, but because of the light which they shed upon the constitution, harmonious action, and administrative capacity of the Government. As is well known, one of these was and one was not introduced as a Government bill, and to neither was any allusion made in the Queen's Speech in March. Probably it was not the intention of the Government at that time to deal with either of the subjects which they embraced, although some action would in any case have been necessary with regard to the Endowed Schools Commissioners, whose powers would have lapsed during the present year unless extended by Parliament. It is not our desire to criticise too closely the conduct of the Commissioners. The opinion of the House of Commons probably reflected that of the public out-of-doors, and may be expressed in the words of the hackneyed quotation that these officials had lacked the 'suaviter in modo,' while practising the 'fortiter in re.' However, since another quotation may also be aptly introduced—'De mortuis nil nisi 'bonum,' we should be indisposed to visit their sins upon the defunct Commissioners, even if those sins were of a graver character. They had many enemies and were not without zealous defenders in the House of Commons, and it is neither our business to attack or defend them here. Suffice it to say that in their fall they have had the satisfaction (if satisfaction it be) of materially injuring their destroyers.

Seldom indeed has any ministry introduced and conducted a measure in a manner so damaging to itself. The simple abolition of the Endowed Schools Commissioners would have been a step hardly unpopular either with Parliament or the country. They had discharged disagreeable functions in a manner not particularly agreeable, and the transfer of those functions, whether to the Charity Commissioners or elsewhere, would have caused comparatively little discussion. Unfortunately, however, the Government resolved upon doing something more. Whence came the suggestion or whose the influence which inspired the Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill may never be known. It was remarked, however, during the progress of the bill, that its provisions bore a marked resemblance to the amendments moved by Mr. Hardy in the commit-

tee upon the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 which sat in 1873, and to a certain speech made by the Marquis of Salisbury in the same year. Be this as it may, the bill not only provided for the destruction of the Endowed Schools Commissioners and the transfer of their powers to the Charity Commissioners, but it proceeded to deal with those ominous subjects, the interpretation of founders' wills, and the character of religious instruction in certain schools.

We purposely forbear from any minute scrutiny of the particular clauses of the bill, because it is the time and manner of its introduction with which we are at this moment concerned, rather than with the intrinsic merits of the measure itself. Whether good or bad, this bill, like the Church Patronage (Scotland) Bill, was one which dealt with matters of great public interest, and, if necessary to be considered at all in the session of 1874, should have been prominently noticed and introduced as one of the important measures of the Government programme, instead of being left unmentioned in the Queen's Speech. What actually happened? The division upon the second reading only took place upon the 14th July, a few days after the bill had been introduced by Lord Sandon in a speech which deserves separate and especial notice, as marking the 'animus' and spirit by which a section of the present Government and their supporters (more powerful perhaps from their quantity than their quality) are actuated upon religious and educational questions.

During the discussions in the last Parliament upon the Endowed Schools Bills, the Elementary Education Bills, and other measures upon kindred subjects, wise and moderate men upon both sides of the House exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent questions of such general and national importance from falling into the category of subjects which could be legitimately made the property of one political party or the other. The formula 'this is no party question,' was urged upon the House of Commons over and over again, and one at least of the causes of the defeat of the Liberal party at the polls was the determination of a certain section of Nonconformists to bind every Liberal candidate within the narrow limits of their own sectarian views.

There were those, indeed, who stood out boldly against such dictation, and not a few moderate Liberals, in and out of Parliament, had taken a firm stand upon the question of religious education, irrespective of the pressure of party and the possible risk to their own political existence. If these men could be driven nearer to that section of their party which they had hitherto

opposed, such speeches as that of Lord Sandon would, more than anything else, conduce to such a result. It is but fair to say that the House of Commons was evidently astonished at such a speech proceeding from such a speaker. Lord Sandon is generally known as a young nobleman of a disposition singularly gentle and amiable, conscientious in the discharge of his public duties, and although warmly attached to the Church of England of which he is a member, so thoroughly imbued with what are called 'Low' church principles as to be very much in sympathy with the great body of Protestant Dissenters. From such a person we should have expected a studied moderation of tone and sentiment upon a question requiring peculiar delicacy of touch in the presence of such an audience as the House of Commons.

Unfortunately, however, this was entirely wanting in Lord Sandon's address. The words 'the Conservative Party' and 'the Liberal party' were of themselves ominous of evil in a discussion upon an Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill, and the whole tenor of the speech was to show that 'the Liberal party' had done something against the Church and religious education which 'the Conservative party' were about to undo by this bill, now that they had obtained a Parliamentary majority. The Nonconformists were alternately threatened and cajoled—being at one moment 'political Nonconformists' against whom battle was to be done, and at the next instant 'my Nonconformist brethren' who were to receive with meek affection the gifts of the Education department. In a word, the speech was one which, coming from such a quarter, did more to inflame religious animosity and stir up sectarian bitterness than any speech which has for years past been delivered from the front benches on either side of the House of Commons.

The effect of the bill and the speech combined was one probably unexpected by the Government. The scattered fragments of the Liberal party re-united almost as one man. Those Dissenters who had loudly exclaimed against the concessions to Church prejudices supposed to have been made by the Gladstone Government, and who had attempted to banish Mr. Forster from Parliament, if not to ostracise him altogether from the Liberal party, saw at a glance that something worse might be feared from the genuine Toryism and sectarian zeal displayed by the new Vice-President of the Council, and recognised at once the fact that they could no more afford to dictate to the Liberal party than the Liberal party could afford to ignore their just claims to consideration. Conscious that they

had pushed matters too far, and that they stood a good chance of marching out of the frying-pan of Forster into the fire of Sandon, they gladly rallied once more to their former friends, and a glimpse of Liberal re-union was seen by those who had begun to fear that the days of Liberal union were over.

Thus far, then, the Government had committed two grave blunders; first, in introducing a bill in July which involved the consideration of matters far too momentous to be hurried through at the fag end of a session, and secondly, in dealing with those matters in a manner which afforded to the opposition an opportunity of healing their differences and finding a common point of agreement for which they might otherwise have sought in vain. But their blunders did not end here. Mr. Forster's motion for the rejection of the second reading was negatived by 291 to 209. Nothing daunted, Mr. Fawcett moved an amendment upon the next stage of the bill to the effect that, 'in the opinion of this House it 'is inexpedient to sanction a measure which will allow any 'one religious body to control schools that were thrown open 'to the whole nation by the policy of the last Parliament.' These words sufficiently indicate the supposed tendency of the Government bill and the causes of the determined opposition which it encountered. The debate upon the amendment, commenced on the 20th, terminated on July 21st, when the division showed 193 for, to 262 against, being a reduction of the Government majority from 82 to 69; and it became evident that the bill could not pass in its then shape without further long and vehement discussions, every hour of which tended to the consolidation of the Liberal party and exposed the differences existing among the supporters of the Government.

Wednesday and Thursday, the 22nd and 23rd July, were consumed by discussions in committee, most damaging to the Government, the members of which seemed unable either to explain the provisions of their bill or to agree in their explanation, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Cross, and Mr. Hardy having delivered speeches the incongruity of which was ably exposed by more than one Opposition speaker. The affair had really become almost ludicrous, and the debates upon the latter clauses of the bill would so evidently have still further injured the position of the Government that a change of front appeared absolutely necessary.

It may well be doubted, however, whether the manner in which this was effected was not at least as disastrous as would

have been perseverance with the objectionable clauses. When the bill next came on for discussion, Mr. Disraeli rose in his place to announce the abandonment of the clauses in question and the restriction of the bill to the mere abolition of the Endowed Schools Commission and the transfer of their powers to the Charity Commissioners. His speech, however, was one of the most extraordinary ever delivered by a Prime Minister on such an occasion. He noticed the fact that the disputed clauses had given rise to great difference of opinion as to their construction and meaning, and declared that, although the confession might seem to prove his incapacity to fill the position he occupied, he must confess that after hours of anxious consideration, the clauses were unintelligible to him—they had been so drawn that he was positively unable to understand them. He had accepted them on the faith of 'the adepts' and experts' to whom he had looked for instruction in such matters—they had failed him, and the meaning of these clauses of his own bill was obscure and hidden from his comprehension. They would therefore be withdrawn, and the bill reduced to the smaller compass above mentioned, while the Government would postpone to another session the amendments in the law which they might deem necessary.

Never was a greater triumph achieved by a minority than that which these words conveyed to the Liberal Opposition. They had been again and again charged with having interposed unfair obstructions to the bill, the clauses of which they had declared to be of an interpretation not admitted by the Government, and one of the Solons of the back Tory benches (whose interposition at critical moments of a debate had more than once excited the good-natured ridicule of the last Parliament) had, in tones absurdly grandiloquent, accused them of 'factious opposition.' Now, however, by the confession of the Prime Minister himself, they were proved to have been correct in their declaration that the latter clauses of the bill were ambiguous and obscure, and their course of 'obstruction' was more than justified by the highest authority.

The opportunity was too good to be lost. Mr. Gladstone, who had gallantly fought the battle of the moribund Commissioners, pointed out with withering scorn the vacillating conduct of the Ministry, and the inconsistency of its individual members. He showed how that, whatever excuse might have been found for the removal of men from the performance of duties which were about to be changed in their scope and measure by the application of a new or a modified principle, that excuse perished at once with the abandonment of the clauses

which directed and defined such application. The bill, therefore, sank into a personal question, and became one (as Mr. Childers aptly remarked in the course of the debate) for the removal of three persons appointed by the late, and the substitution of three to be appointed by the present Government.

But Mr. Gladstone's speech, powerful and telling as it was, hardly damaged the Administration so much as the scene which immediately followed. Member after member rose upon the Conservative side, deprecating or approving the course of the Government, each according to his own particular view. Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Talbot, and others eagerly caught at the concluding words of the Prime Minister, as implying a pledge that the Government would introduce more intelligible clauses in the next session of Parliament, securing to the Church that control over certain endowed schools which they had hoped to have secured under the clauses about to be abandoned. Mr. Charles Lewis, on the other hand, representing an Irish constituency containing many Protestant Nonconformists, and alleging that he spoke for many Conservative members around him, declared his approval of the course adopted by the Government, denied that any pledge had been given or implied by the Prime Minister, and trusted that no such clauses or any of the same character would be again introduced.

The discussion was altogether one of the most damaging which the Government had as yet undergone. The general impression was left that the clauses which had been the subject of dispute had been introduced into the bill at the express desire of the more Conservative section of the Cabinet, and in order to satisfy the pledges upon the subject of Church and religious education given by many of the Conservative party for the purpose of conciliating and securing that clerical support which had so greatly aided them at the elections. Their abandonment, therefore, was regarded as a proof of the comparative weakness of that section when encountered by the more Liberal element of Disraeli-Conservatism by which the Cabinet, the Government, and the Conservative Party has of late years been leavened. It proved, moreover, that the compactness and unity of that party was more apparent than real, and that a breach existed which circumstances might at any moment widen and deepen in the time to come.

Nor, indeed, was the abandonment of certain disputed points in a Government bill the worst feature in the case against the Government. The blame openly cast by Mr. Disraeli upon the draughtsman was at once so ungenerous and so unusual in Parliamentary warfare, that it left an impression upon the public

mind which has by no means been effaced by the subsequent words of the Lord Chancellor 'in another place,' to the effect that he 'should deprecate nothing so much, and of nothing should 'he be more ashamed, than that the Government of which he 'was a member should attempt to throw upon draughtsmen the 'responsibility which rested on themselves.' It is no excuse for Mr. Disraeli that the charge against the draughtsmen is utterly absurd to any person conversant with official life, because this is not the case with the great majority of the public, who would read and accept as true the statement of the Prime Minister on such a matter. The truth is, that (unless we are to pre-suppose an idle and incompetent Ministry which does not or cannot attend to the ordinary business of official life), no Government bill goes into the draughtsman's hands without the most precise and careful instructions from that department of the Government which is about to be responsible for its conduct through Parliament. On leaving the draughtsman's hands, such a bill, before its introduction into either House of Parliament, is invariably submitted to the most careful scrutiny of the same department, the head of which usually goes clause by clause through the bill with the draughtsman, and makes himself thoroughly conversant with its clauses and their construction. We may add that anyone acquainted with Sir Henry Thring will need no assurance from us to convince him that in this as in every other case nothing was left to chance, the instructions given by the Educational Department were clearly understood, and the bill drawn in strict accordance with those instructions. If a Prime Minister, or any other official person, were once to be allowed to shift the responsibility, which properly attaches to himself, on to the shoulders of a non-political official, irresponsible to Parliament, the whole framework of our Constitutional Government would be shaken, and the principles destroyed upon which our Parliamentary debates are conducted. It must therefore be conceded, even by his friends, that Mr. Disraeli's statement upon the occasion in question was a grave error, and one which could not but be damaging to the Government of which he is the head.

The climax, however, had yet to come. As soon as the bill had been reduced to the narrower compass in which it was to pass, the Prime Minister was importuned for the names of the three new Commissioners who were to replace those about to be abolished. After a delay, not unnatural under the circumstances, Mr. Disraeli chose his own time to make the desired announcement to the House, and, in passing, it may be observed

that no objection can be fairly taken to the names of the gentlemen selected. Canon Robinson, having already served on the Endowed Schools Commission, will bring the advantages of experience to the assistance of his colleagues; Mr. Longly has also official knowledge to justify his selection, and the character of Lord Clinton is sufficiently well known to give ample security for the due and conscientious discharge of the duties which he is about to undertake.

But, unfortunately for himself, Mr. Disraeli took the opportunity of making this announcement to enlighten the House of Commons still further upon the birth and progress of the abandoned clauses. It had been imputed to Lord Sandon, he said, that he alone was responsible for the bill which had been under discussion. Such, however, was by no means the case. It was a complete mistake. *The bill was the bill of the Cabinet, and had been prepared by them.* He, Mr. Disraeli, had requested his noble friend (Lord Sandon) to introduce the bill as the organ of the Government, and the representative of the Educational Department in the House of Commons, from his habitual wish to 'give a chance' to the 'rising statesmen' of the day.

This, indeed, was a confession. The bill which the Prime Minister had declared to be unintelligible to his mind, after 'hours of careful consideration,' had, after all, been the work of his own Cabinet! Men began to ask themselves what sort of Cabinet this could be which prepared measures beyond the comprehension of their chief? and what sort of a Prime Minister was it who could request a subordinate to introduce and explain to Parliament a measure which he himself had failed to understand?

The answer to these inquiries, and the general result of the introduction of, and the debates upon the bill, could not but be unfavourable to the Government. Confident of their ability to sweep away the unpopular Commissioners, they had endeavoured to introduce under the shadow of that proposal the alterations in the law relating to endowed schools which had been pressed upon them by the most intolerant and probably least wise of their supporters. Finding themselves thereby brought face to face with an opposition the strength and vehemence of which ought to have been foreseen by statesmen of ordinary sagacity, but which appears to have been by them quite unexpected, they shifted from pillar to post, exposed their own internal differences as plainly as their most bitter opponent could have desired, evinced an indiscretion in debate rarely equalled in the British Parliament, and after having declared

through the mouth of Cabinet ministers that great alterations in the Act of 1869 were indispensable to its good working, finally consented to pass their bill without any such alterations, and to leave it more than doubtful whether they will make any further attempt to re-open the question. The law will be administered by fresh hands indeed, but it is untouched and unaltered, and the only thing damaged has been the reputation of the Ministry, which, with a large majority in both Houses of Parliament, has been obliged to yield to the minority upon a question which, in opposition, they had made a constant weapon of attack against their predecessors, and which they have now been obliged to confess themselves unable to understand, and still more unable to present in a satisfactory shape for alteration or amendment before the legislature of their country.

The third bill, unmentioned in the Speech at the opening of Parliament, but upon the passing of which congratulations have been offered in the Speech delivered at its close, is one which differs materially from those to which allusion has already been made, in that it was not introduced at all as a Government measure. The Public Worship Regulation Bill was brought into the House of Lords by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York upon their own responsibility.

As to its origin and intention there can be but little doubt. The innovations in the conduct of the services of the Church which have been introduced by various clergymen throughout the country, in many instances not only without consulting the feelings and wishes of their parishioners but in direct opposition thereto, have for some time past given rise to scandals which have threatened to sap the very foundations of the Establishment. It is not only that the innovations themselves have been unpopular, but the manner of their introduction has frequently tended to increase that unpopularity. Moreover, the importance of the whole matter, and the probability of its working mischief to the Church, have been greatly aggravated by the tone and temper with which certain of the innovators have acted, declaring themselves superior to the law when decided against them, and refusing to acknowledge the validity of decisions given by competent authority.

There cannot be two opinions upon this point. In our free England any man has a right to interpret 'the Law of Christ' as he pleases, and to act according to his interpretation, so long as in so doing he does not offend against public order and morality. But no man has a right to become an officer of the Established Church of England, to hold a benefice therein, and to participate in the advantages derived from such a position,

unless he is prepared to submit to the laws and conform to the discipline by which the Established Church is controlled and governed. As a sworn officer of the Establishment, it is his duty to subordinate his individual opinion as to the 'Law of Christ' to that which has been pronounced to be such by the authorities to which the Establishment submits, and if he finds himself unable to do this with a clear conscience, the sooner he gives up his preferment and quits the Establishment the better. Those, therefore, who remain as beneficed clergymen of the Church of England, and refuse to obey the law, should doubtless be rendered amenable thereto without unnecessary delay or expense being entailed upon those whose duty it is to put that law into execution.

This, doubtless, was the main object of the two Archbishops in introducing the bill now under discussion. It was avowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his opening speech; and although attempts were afterwards made to show that the measure was intended to be impartial in its operation, and indeed sins of omission as well as those of commission were eventually included in its scope, it became abundantly clear throughout the discussions in both Houses that Ritualistic excesses had produced the bill, and that its operation was mainly to be directed against those Romanising tendencies which were attributed to that section of the clergy by whom such excesses had been introduced and practised.

It is unnecessary to state the arguments for and against this particular measure in an article which assumes to touch upon it only in relation to its treatment by the Government of the day. Much may be said upon the question whether legislation upon so delicate a matter as the internal discipline of a Church does not carry with it inherent difficulties which may easily outweigh and overbalance the possible advantages to be gained. It may be alleged with no little force that a broad foundation and an elastic discipline are indispensable to the existence of a National Established Church, and that anything must be injurious which tends to tighten the one or to narrow the other. Moreover, it may be stated with truth that a measure aimed at one party in the Church may be turned against another, and that to facilitate the legislative action of one section against another within the same Establishment is certain eventually to play the game of those who would disestablish altogether.

But whatever may be the merits or demerits of legislation upon Church matters in general, or of the Public Worship Regulation Bill in particular, it can scarcely be denied that

the subject was one of a magnitude which should have secured to it the position of a Government question. No doubt the Archbishops and Bishops should have been consulted upon such a question, but a bill which dealt with matters relating so closely to the connexion of Church and State should have been in the hands of the responsible Ministers of the Crown.

Far from this having been the case, Government not only stood aloof in the first instance, but the differences existing in the Cabinet upon this bill were over and over again exposed, and even unnecessarily paraded, during its passage through Parliament. In the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor gave the measure a helping hand, whilst Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon evidently regarded it with no friendly eye. In the debate upon the second reading in the House of Commons, Mr. Hardy vehemently denounced the bill, and in the divisions which subsequently took place Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord John Manners, and several of their colleagues of lesser note, voted in a direction hostile to the measure. On the other hand, Mr. Cross and Mr. Cave had spoken in its favour, and much doubt existed as to the course which would be taken by the Conservative leader and his personal adherents.

The reason of the course ultimately adopted by Mr. Disraeli will perhaps never be exactly ascertained. Two causes might appear probable to the attentive observer of passing events; but perhaps it would, after all, be untrue as well as uncharitable to attribute to either of these the attitude and action which at once secured the passing of the bill and rendered impossible either opposition or material alteration. One of these possible causes was the sudden reappearance upon the scene of Mr. Gladstone, and the strategical error which accompanied that reappearance. Between the opponents of the bill on either side of the House a plan of action had been arranged which seemed likely as far as possible to unite in one lobby those who from widely different reasons objected to the measure. An amendment proposed and seconded by Mr. Hall, the new member for Oxford, on the one side and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen on the other, advocated delay in facilitating the execution of the law whilst the law itself was in an uncertain condition. A motion for adjournment upon the first night of the debate upon this amendment had been supported by 114 members against 275, the minority including about an equal number from either side of the House, and comprising the names of several ministers and ex-ministers. But Mr. Gladstone thought fit to interpose with a notice of a series of resolutions to be moved

at a subsequent stage of the bill, which materially disconcerted the plans of the opponents and strengthened the hands of the supporters of the second reading.

The opportunity was too tempting to be resisted. Mr. Disraeli perceived in the resolutions of his great rival a golden road to popularity and his own triumphant establishment as the champion of Protestant ascendancy. The latter position was indeed challenged at a later period by Sir William Harcourt, who completely threw into the shade Messrs. Newdegate and Whalley, and may be held to have equalled if he could not eclipse the Prime Minister in the ardour of his professions of attachment to Protestant principles and the warmth of language with which he denounced 'the Ritualists.' But, for the moment, Mr. Disraeli was unrivalled. He declared that the resolutions of Mr. Gladstone had placed the matter in a new light altogether; but for these, he might have suffered the bill to take its chance like any other measure in the hands of a private member, but now it would be his duty to afford every facility for its discussion and to forward its chance of passing by the giving of 'government days' for its consideration.

There might, indeed, as we have said, have been another cause for Mr. Disraeli's interference. Since the bill had reached the Commons public attention had been called to it in a far greater degree than before, and the petitions in its favour considerably outnumbered those which were presented against it. This indication of public opinion, together with the majority which had supported Mr. Russell Gurney in resisting the motion for adjournment, had not escaped the observation of the astute minister, and, after all, it was easier to throw over a colleague or two (an operation to which he was not wholly unaccustomed) than to persuade and overcome a Protestant majority in the House of Commons. Certain it is that from whatever cause Mr. Disraeli's action proceeded, it was one which changed the whole position of the bill and secured its passing into law.

There were those who were unable to perceive how the scope, character, and importance of a measure could be entirely altered by the placing upon the table by an ex-minister certain resolutions which were afterwards withdrawn without explanation or discussion. Others there were who felt that the longer Mr. Disraeli dwelt upon the importance of the bill the more convincingly did he prove that such a measure should have been introduced by a Government, and not left in the hands of a private member. But, whatever may have been

thought by outsiders, the fact remained the same. The bill which had been elsewhere described as a bill to facilitate procedure was emphatically announced by the Prime Minister to be a 'bill to put down Ritualism,' and its opponents were from that moment exposed to all the taunts and reproaches of those who accepted the definition and approved the object.

It was of little consequence to Mr. Disraeli that the discussion of a measure which, dealing as it did with matters bordering upon religious controversy, required to be conducted with especial calmness, should have been embittered by words which would have been injudicious if spoken by any statesman, but which were doubly so when coming from the Leader of the House of Commons. Neither did it matter to the Prime Minister that some of the most influential of his colleagues were placed in a somewhat awkward position by his sudden adoption of the Archbishops' bill. There was something, however, which *did* matter considerably, and which it would have been well for Mr. Disraeli to have remembered before he committed himself to active partisanship in favour of the measure in question.

There were other measures to which his Government stood pledged, and which had commanded a more general approbation than usually falls to the lot of Government proposals. The Judicature and Land Transfer Bills had passed through the House of Lords, moulded by the joint application of such minds as those of Lord Cairns and Lord Selborne, and there is no reason to doubt that they would have safely encountered the ordeal of the Lower House. True it is that they were not bills by means of which public opinion could be excited or party passion kindled, but all the more were they measures to have been steadily pressed forward by a Government which had expressly denounced the 'exciting' and 'sensational' legislation of its predecessors. They were eminently useful and practical measures, precisely such as might have been expected from men who had been constantly preaching upon the necessity of an epoch of quiet practical legislation upon social and domestic matters.

But when, in addition to the time wasted upon the abortive attempt to reverse the Endowed Schools' legislation of 1869, the Prime Minister undertook to give Government time for the discussion of the Public Worship Regulation Bill, one of two consequences was inevitable. Either the great Law Bills must be abandoned, or Parliament must be asked to sit to a later date than had been contemplated. An earnest, active minister would have chosen the latter alternative, and sub-

mitted to the personal inconvenience and the temporary unpopularity which would have been incurred with holiday-loving legislators, rather than have sacrificed the most important Government measures of the session. Mr. Disraeli preferred the former course, and without scruple threw overboard the two bills, which a very little extra exertion would have passed into law. Nor is it easy to find an excuse for their abandonment. After all, the House of Commons had done comparatively little work. It had met some seven weeks later than usual, and had in fact scarcely begun real work before April. Then there had been fewer 'morning sittings' than for many years past; and in fact, if recourse had been had to the system of morning sittings, and the House of Commons could have restrained its impatience to be prorogued for one week longer, the Law Bills of the Government could in all probability have been passed, and the scandal avoided of the abandonment of legislation upon the two subjects which had been most prominently recommended by her Majesty to the attention of Parliament.

It is certain that by the course which he thought fit to take Mr. Disraeli placed himself in a dilemma from which it is not easy to discover the way to escape. Either the Public Worship Regulation Bill was a bill of such primary and pressing importance that it should have been boldly taken in hand by the Government, and announced in the Queen's Speech as one of their principal measures for the session, or else it was a bill of less importance than the Judicature and Land Transfer Bills, in which case the latter should not have been sacrificed in order to secure it a safe passage through Parliament. In either case, the action of Mr. Disraeli was not that of a wise and far-seeing minister; and in spite of the momentary popularity which it may have secured for him, at the expense of some of his colleagues, will probably be found to have added as little to the stability as to the harmony of his Cabinet.

The meetings of the latter, indeed, towards the close of the session, must have been of a somewhat exciting character, unless (as is very possible) the Public Worship Regulation and Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bills were subjects to which allusion was, by common consent, avoided. Even in this case, however, there must have been trying moments for the Conservative Cabinet, especially after the scene with which the debates upon the Archbishops' Bill finally closed.

An amendment had been inserted in the Committee of the House of Commons, upon the motion of Mr. Holt, one of the members for Lancashire, giving an appeal to the Archbishops in the case of a Bishop deciding against the institution of pro-

ceedings in the event of a complaint against a clergyman in his diocese. This amendment, warmly opposed at first, had only been carried by a greatly reduced majority, on the report of the bill, when Mr. Gladstone had moved its rejection. It was struck out in the House of Lords, on the return of the bill to that august assembly, and Lord Salisbury, in opposing it, alluded to the feeling among the Peers against reversing a decision of the House of Commons in terms which offended the susceptibilities of certain members of that honourable House. It turned out, indeed, that these terms had been misunderstood, and that the words 'blustering majority of the House of Commons' to which exception was taken, had actually never been used. This fact, and the exact words which had really been employed by Lord Salisbury, could without difficulty have been ascertained in a few minutes by Mr. Disraeli.

Nevertheless, when Sir William Harcourt (in a speech as remarkable for the contempt which it evinced for his own leader as for the extravagant laudation which it bestowed upon the Prime Minister, whom it contrasted with his colleagues in terms by no means flattering to the latter) had called attention to Lord Salisbury's reported words, Mr. Disraeli deemed it right and fair to an absent colleague, not only to assume at once that the words had been spoken as quoted by Sir William Harcourt, but to refer to them and to Lord Salisbury in the following terms:—'My noble friend was long a member of this House, and is well known to many of the members even of the present Parliament. *He is not a man who measures his phrases. He is one who is a great master of gibes, and flouts, and jeers*; but I don't suppose there is anyone who is prejudiced against a member of Parliament on account of such qualifications. *My noble friend knows the House of Commons well, and he is not perhaps superior to the consideration that by making a speech of that kind, and taunting respectable men like ourselves as being a "blustering majority," he probably might stimulate the amour propre of some individuals to take the very course which he wants, and to defeat the bill.* Now I hope we shall not fall into that trap. *I hope we shall show my noble friend that we remember some of his manœuvres when he was a simple member of this House, and that we are not to be taunted into taking a very indiscreet step, a step ruinous to all our own wishes and expectations, merely to show that we resent the contemptuous phrases of one of my colleagues.* I trust, therefore, that the House will consider this question, *not with reference to some expressions in a speech*

'which may have had the calculated intention of inducing members of this House to give a rash vote.'

This defence of a colleague, which provoked 'laughter,' 'renewed laughter,' and 'cheers and laughter' throughout, was perhaps such a defence as no statesman, serving in the same Cabinet with another, had ever undergone at the hands of his chief, and was certainly in marked contrast to that which would have been offered by prime ministers who have flourished in our own time. Well do we remember the words of Lord Palmerston, when the attempt was made by an opposition orator to depreciate the conduct of the then Foreign Secretary, Lord Russell, and at the same time ostentatiously to exculpate the head of the Government from any participation in the blame attributed to that statesman. 'I cannot accept a compliment,' said Lord Palmerston, 'at the expense of my colleague,' and the House of Commons of that day recognised the chivalrous honour and loyalty of the words.

But the days of Palmerston are passed, and loyalty to a colleague is no longer the prevailing sentiment of prime ministers. Mr. Disraeli accepted without reluctance the adulation of Sir William Harcourt, and his 'noble friend' was left to submit as best he could to the imputation of having made a speech with a 'calculated intention' to effect something which he did not express a desire to effect, of being a man who 'does not measure his phrases,' and a politician whose 'manœuvres' are to be remembered and guarded against by his colleagues and the House of Commons. It is of course impossible to calculate the amount of humiliation which men will consent to undergo for the achievement of some cherished object. Those, however, who know Lord Salisbury cannot but be aware that, whatever may be his faults, no object binds him to official life under Mr. Disraeli save a singleminded desire to serve his country according to the best of his ability. Lord Salisbury, after the events of 1867, can only have joined the present Government from a conscientious belief that it was his duty to assist in the consolidation of the Conservative party, and the exclusion from power of a Government which, according to his views, had been rapidly drifting into democracy and imperilling the safety of the country by its frequent attacks upon institutions which are sacred in the eyes of Toryism. There is a point, however, at which the sacrifice of personal feeling to political exigency can no longer be made, and Lord Salisbury, having already performed that sacrifice in again linking himself with the political leader from whom his alienation since 1867 has been so conspicuous and complete,

can hardly be expected to submit to treatment which would be galling to a person of a far less high spirit and keen sense of honour than he is known to possess.

But incivility to a colleague, and the sacrifice of good measures, are not the only mistakes which Mr. Disraeli has committed with reference to the bill under discussion. Having ignored the subject altogether at the commencement of the session, having only thrown himself into the fray when the tide had evidently set in one direction, and having done so in direct opposition to several of his Cabinet, Mr. Disraeli actually had the hardihood to claim for his Government, in his speech at the Mansion House, the credit of having, as a Government, 'grappled with the mysterious disturbance which has risen up amongst us,' and led the popular feeling for the indication of which he had carefully and silently waited before declaring any opinion at all upon the matter. The cool assurance of this claim would provoke a smile, did not its disingenuousness compel one to blush for the statesman who could make it. The Public Worship Regulation Bill of 1874 has been passed with the concurrence and approbation of the great majority of the people of this country, who dislike ritualistic excesses and desire the enforcement of salutary discipline in the Established Church. It has been passed by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament, and its passage has doubtless been facilitated by the attitude eventually taken by the Prime Minister when stirred into action by the reappearance of Mr. Gladstone upon the stage. But to attribute the bill or its success to the Conservative Government would be as unjust and untrue as to give them credit for the Ashantee campaign which was undertaken by their predecessors, or for the creation of the surplus which they found ready to their hands upon their accession to office.

Nor indeed is it indicative of a healthy and satisfactory condition of public life, when we find Cabinet Ministers taking, some one side and some another, upon a question which has greatly stirred the public mind, and the Prime Minister himself, at first standing aloof, then throwing his weight into the heaviest scale at the critical moment, and afterwards claiming for his Government the credit of having directed and supported a popular movement which, so long as its popularity was doubtful, had been 'an open question' upon the Treasury Bench.

We have a right to expect from our ministers some consistency of conduct and unity of action, and if upon subjects of such importance as that in question differences prevail in the

Cabinet, those differences should not be paraded before Parliament but arranged in the council-chamber. If they are differences of a vital character, the men who differ are unfit to serve together in the same Cabinet; if they are of a minor degree and importance, the one section must yield to the other. But differences among Cabinet Ministers upon subjects of great public interest ought not to be exhibited upon the floor of the House of Commons. Parliament and the country have a right to expect an expression of opinion from a united Cabinet upon questions of such a character, and the exhibition of the past session has neither added to the credit and stability of the Administration, nor tended to strengthen that system of Parliamentary government of which we are so justly proud.

It is not only, however, in respect of the legislation with which they have dealt that the Conservative Government have failed to satisfy the expectations which their hustings' promises had excited in the breasts of their countrymen. They have to answer for sins of omission as well as for those of commission. The 'army and navy' were words of ominous import to Liberal candidates at the general election. It was said, widely and loudly, that 'the two services' had been sadly mal-administered and grossly neglected by Mr. Gladstone's Government. Conservative candidates did not scruple to assert that great discontent existed among our soldiers and sailors, a discontent at which no one could be surprised who believed one half of the record set forth of mistakes and mismanagement.

The abolition of purchase in the army had struck, we were told, a fatal blow at our military power, and had been effected in a manner most unfair upon the officers. So much was this the case, in the opinion of the Conservative party, that the son of the present Secretary at War, Mr. J. S. Hardy, speaking at Rye immediately before the election, and in the presence of his father, actually boasted that he 'had the satisfaction of fighting against that measure upon every occasion,' and declared that it had been passed 'for the benefit of the poor officers of the army, but when the new system was worked it was found that they were losers.' Moreover, it was confidently asserted by Conservative orators that the measures of the late Government had engendered desertion among the men, had rendered recruiting difficult, and had, in a word, seriously impaired the efficiency of our army.

The condition of the navy was represented as even worse. In the pursuit of a false and visionary economy, the Liberal Administration had closed dockyards, discharged men, cut down

estimates, and so terribly mismanaged matters that we had now a fleet of unseaworthy ships, short of men, only existing upon paper, and altogether unequal to the wants and requirements of the greatest naval power in the world. These grave charges were so frequently and confidently advanced, that it is no matter of surprise if they were more or less believed by the electors throughout the different constituencies of the country, and if they had been true, the condemnation and expulsion of the ministry against whom they were made would undoubtedly have been justly deserved. But the best way to judge of their truth is to examine the conduct of those who have succeeded to the places held by the members of the late Administration, with the special mission to supply their deficiencies and remedy their mistakes.

Mr. Hardy has now presided at the War Office for more than six months, and for all that he has said or done, Lord Cardwell might as well have remained there. There has been no confirmation of the alleged difficulty in obtaining recruits, no allusion to the increase of desertions, and what is more, no attempt to reverse any portion of the policy of the late Secretary at War. Indeed, so contented and tranquil does the army appear to have been, that Mr. Hardy has had time to spare from the special business of his own department in order to pay that amount of attention to the Endowed Schools and Public Worship Regulation Bills which has brought him into such uncomfortable collision with his chief. Never was there a more triumphant vindication of a minister's policy by his successor than that which has been exhibited by the silence of Mr. Hardy upon the matters of which complaint had been so bitterly made against the preceding Government. For Mr. Hardy is not a man who objects to attack his political opponents, or who (to borrow Mr. Disraeli's expression) 'measures his phrases' in the attack. Had there been sufficient justification for the Conservative abuse of Lord Cardwell and his policy, the session of 1874 would not have passed without a withering exposure from Mr. Hardy of the evils which he had found in the War Office, and the mischief which had resulted from the mismanagement of the late Administration. The absence, therefore, of any such exposure, and the quiet manner in which Mr. Hardy has conducted the Parliamentary business of his department, must be taken as tolerably conclusive evidence of the slender foundation upon which rested the hostile criticism of Conservative candidates upon Lord Cardwell and his measures, and should strike the

critics with shame as they reflect upon the practical refutation which their criticisms have received.

The attacks upon the recent naval administration have been sustained no better. Mr. Ward Hunt certainly gave them some colour when, early in the session, he made a dismal speech about fleets which existed only upon paper, and held out such expectations of increased estimates to be forthwith introduced, that people really began to believe that the navy was in an inefficient and discreditable condition. Upon this point Mr. Goschen's observation was unanswerable: 'To tell the country,' he said, 'that they (Mr. Gladstone's Government) had been starving the dockyards, that what had been done was insufficient, and yet to abstain from measures to correct the evil, while they had a surplus of six millions, could not be endured. If the late Government had left the navy inefficient, they had at least given their successors a surplus of between five and six millions, and he therefore asked the Government not at the same time to denounce their parsimony, while taking advantage of their surplus to apply it to other objects.' When, however, the Secretary of the Admiralty was put up to soften matters down, to confess that we still possessed a fleet sufficiently strong to overcome the combined fleets of any two or three other nations, and that the estimates were not after all to be increased as had been threatened by his departmental chief, men's minds gradually calmed down, and they perceived that after all, Mr. Hunt had only with commendable honesty carried the opinions of opposition into Government, and must be excused for having required a little more time than some of his colleagues to ascertain and confess that those opinions were inconsistent with the facts, and that the conduct of the preceding Administration had not been marked by that folly and recklessness with which it had been credited by Tory orators and embryo Tory statesmen.

There was also the further excuse for Mr. Hunt that ships and naval matters were quite strange to him, nor indeed could he have had much opportunity of preparation for his new work, since he could hardly have expected that a party who had so loudly blamed Mr. Gladstone for placing at the Admiralty such untried landsmen as Mr. Childers and Mr. Goschen would be content to see the same place filled by the good-natured Northamptonshire squire who had undergone his previous official training in an entirely different department. One is inclined to be sorry for Mr. Hunt, who must have felt the humiliation of having to submit to the practical disclaimer

by his colleagues of the big words with which he introduced his estimates; but he is not the first statesman who, when invested with the responsibilities of office, has felt the inconvenience of rash and reckless statements made in opposition.

This inconvenience must indeed have pressed severely upon several members of the Government during the financial discussions which occupied the earlier part of the session. It is not within our province to-day to enter into a defence of the financial policy of Mr. Gladstone's Administration. Against that policy the Conservative opposition consistently protested during the Parliament of 1868, as indeed they had similarly protested against a like policy during Mr. Gladstone's previous guidance of the Exchequer under Lords Palmerston and Russell. The first act, however, of Mr. Disraeli was to entrust the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to that statesman among his colleagues who was Mr. Gladstone's pupil, and whose financial views had been matured in the same school as those of that great statesman.

Certainly it would have been difficult for the new Conservative Government to have justified the predictions of failure with which they had greeted the financial schemes of their opponents, or to have attempted the reversal of that policy which had proved so completely successful. During the five years 1868-74 the Gladstone Government had in round numbers paid *twenty millions* on account of extraordinary charges, remitted *twelve millions* of taxation, and reduced the capital of the national debt by *twenty-five and a half millions*. They had practised a rigid economy, and introduced valuable administrative reforms, which had brought down upon their devoted heads no small measure of abuse and obloquy. The result, however, was to leave a magnificent surplus, foreshadowed by Mr. Gladstone in his address to the electors of Greenwich, but the existence of which was disputed by the very men to whom ultimately fell its distribution.

There can be little doubt that, had Mr. Gladstone remained in office, the country would have been once more electrified by one of those brilliant budgets by which his financial fame has been established. The promise that the Income Tax should be abolished would have been carried out, though, in all probability, its abolition would have only formed part of a fiscal scheme of a magnitude to equal some of the mighty transactions of days gone by. The opportunity was denied him, and the scheme has never been disclosed, but the surplus justified the expectations held out in the Greenwich address, and one of the first duties of Sir Stafford Northcote was to grace-

fully acknowledge the error of the Conservative denial of its existence, and to excuse himself from any participation in that denial.

But although he had at his disposal the largest surplus ever yet distributed by a British Minister, the difficulties in the path of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer were not inconsiderable. The Conservative opposition had been generally willing to support any independent proposal to remit taxation, whilst at the same time they had constantly and consistently joined in demands upon the public exchequer which will probably even now rise up in judgment against them before their tenure of office has endured much longer. They had pledged themselves to the relief of local burdens; no inconsiderable portion of them had advocated the claims of malt to be considered in the next remission of taxation; and they had angrily disputed the right of Mr. Gladstone and his friends to speak of the abolition of the Income Tax as a Liberal idea, when, according to their election addresses and platform harangues, it was in reality part of the programme of the Tory party. The question of brewers' licenses was also an awkward one for some of the majority in the new Parliament, and various other minor matters were likely to prove troublesome to the statesman who found the National Exchequer so unexpectedly placed under his control.

Indeed it was hardly possible for Sir Stafford Northcote to deal with the inherited surplus at all without wounding susceptibilities, treading upon tender places, and giving offence to certain Conservative orators and politicians who had spoken more boldly than warily upon the great questions of Taxation and Finance. Sooth to say, good Sir Stafford himself was not exempt from the inconvenience consequent upon such rash utterances as those to which we have alluded. No later than April 28, 1873, he had criticised at some length the financial policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Mr. Gladstone's Government, especially with regard to the proposed reduction of the sugar duties; and alluding to a remark of Mr. Lowe's that 'the complications of the system of the sugar duties are quite intolerable, and that it would be a point in financial ethics to get rid of them,' had observed, 'The right honourable gentleman must excuse us, if we say there are other people who might be allowed to enlarge upon the complications of the Income Tax, and if we may be allowed to measure financial ethics on one side against financial ethics on the other, *I am not at all sure that the moral philosopher would not give a preference to striking off the Income Tax.*'

In the same speech Sir Stafford had declared that 'strictly speaking, sugar cannot be described as the food of the poor;' and after asking, 'whether, if we went on reducing the tea and sugar duties until we reached a point at which it would be better to abolish them altogether, we could in justice refuse to do the same for malt,' had gone on to state that 'malt may not be among the food of the people, *but it enters more largely into the consumption of the people than sugar.*' During the whole of this speech, somewhat remarkable when contrasted with his financial statement in the present year, Sir Stafford endeavoured to undervalue the benefit to be received by a reduction of the sugar duties, and to contrast it with the greater relief to be afforded by the abolition of the Income Tax.

Nor had Sir Stafford Northcote stood alone in his doubts and fears as to the Budget of 1873. Mr. Hunt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Disraeli's last Administration, had doubted very much 'whether the consumer would get the benefit of the reduction of the sugar duties,' had contrasted the relative claims to reduction of malt and sugar, and had boldly declared that 'as between malt and sugar it might be disputed which was a necessary and which was a luxury to the working classes; but he felt quite sure that if he asked the working men in Northamptonshire their opinion on the subject, *every hand would be held up in favour of the remission of the duty on beer in preference to the remission of the duty on sugar.*' The same high authority had asked with an air of deep concern, 'If the *sugar duties were abolished, what source of revenue would be left?*' and the minor lights of 'the Tory party' had followed in the same track.

It must, therefore, have been with feelings of a mixed and curious nature that, upon his accession to office, Sir Stafford Northcote found himself obliged to follow in the track of his Liberal predecessor, and to propose the abolition of the sugar duties. Mr. Hunt had of course, by this time, convinced himself that some sources of revenue would still be left to us, even after that abolition, and was therefore able to sit quietly by the side of his colleague and concur in the measure which he had so much deprecated in the previous year. Discontent, however, was rife among the followers of the Government, and had not Colonel Barttelot acted as the decoy animal, the wild elephants below the gangway would have worked mischief even at the early period of the session at which the financial discussions were held.

Fortunately for the Government, the honourable and gallant member for West Sussex had in the previous Parliament been

entrusted with the conduct of the Malt Tax case, and thereby occupied a position which enabled him to counteract the movements of simple-minded, honest politicians like Mr. Fielden, who could not understand why malt should be preferable to sugar in opposition and sugar so much to be desired before malt in office. It must, however, be confessed that as far as the country is concerned Sir Stafford Northcote's budget was generally satisfactory, and the financial inconsistencies to which we have alluded are small items of account in the history of a political party so habitually and constantly inconsistent as the followers of Mr. Disraeli.

Nor indeed have other departments of the Government been managed without credit to those concerned in their direction. Whilst Lord Salisbury has evinced the vigour and ability in Indian administration which the country expected from a statesman who had already shown so much of both qualities, it would be unjust not to omit mention of the fact that he has been ably seconded by his subordinate in the House of Commons. Lord George Hamilton has gained deserved credit during the session by the manner in which he has conducted the business of his department, and has amply justified his selection by the Prime Minister for the office which he fills.

The Colonies also have been in good hands, although only two questions specially connected therewith have been prominently before Parliament—namely, the war on the West Coast of Africa and the proposed annexation of Fiji. With respect to the former, Mr. Disraeli had, in his manifesto at the general election, declared that, 'when our honour is vindicated, it will be the duty of Parliament to inquire by what means we were led into a costly and destructive contest which neither Parliament nor the country have ever sanctioned, and of the necessity or justice of which, in its origin, they have not been made aware.' These words, however, were little more than the claptrap of an electioneering address, and as soon as he was invested with the responsibilities of office the Prime Minister took a different tone. The Ashantee affair (which cost less than a million, and thus favourably contrasted with Mr. Disraeli's Abyssinian war) was discussed upon the motion of an independent member (Mr. Hanbury) and the amendment of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, with the only result of showing an apparent unanimity of opinion among the present and late officials of the Colonial Office; nor did one word of censure of the policy of their predecessors escape from the present occupants of the Treasury bench. In fact, the complete success which had attended Sir Garnet Wolseley's expedition,

planned under Lord Kimberley's rule and direction, justified the policy of the latter, and practically left little for Lord Carnarvon to do as regarded the past save to bestow honours and congratulations upon those who had taken part in the operations. His future policy upon the Gold Coast may be open to criticism, but it received none from the front bench of the Opposition, save in the shape of a general protest against the acceptance of any territory in which slavery exists. Perhaps even this protest might as well have been spared, since slavery cannot exist in any country which has once become British territory, and Lord Carnarvon is little likely to entangle himself with complications upon such a question.

The debate upon the possible or probable annexation of the Fiji Islands came on late in the session, and was rendered interesting by the speech delivered by Mr. Gladstone, in which he magnified the difficulties and dangers of annexation and supported an amendment, moved by Sir Charles Dilke, to the motion of approval submitted by Mr. M'Arthur. Even after this speech, however, it was impossible to forget that it was Mr. Gladstone's own Cabinet which had sent out the special commissioners whose report furnished the text for this debate, and that their instructions directed them to inquire into the course of action which it might be most desirable for this country to take, with an evident leaning to annexation, as that which seemed best to us at home, so far as we had evidence upon the subject in our possession.

It therefore became the duty of Mr. Gladstone's late Under-Secretary for the Colonies to set forth some of the reasons which might be urged in favour of annexation, and to uphold Lord Carnarvon's policy, which, so far as it had gone, had been precisely that indicated by Lord Kimberley in his letter of instructions. The difficulties pointed out by Mr. Gladstone were not unknown to those who had advised the course which his Cabinet had adopted, but they were only those which, in the formation of her colonies, this country has encountered before, and which she must be prepared to encounter again, unless those doctrines are to prevail which are advanced by that small and unpopular school which holds colonies and colonisation to be a source of weakness rather than strength to the empire. As regards Fiji, the debate clearly showed the tendency of the feeling of the House of Commons in favour of annexation, and their desire to avoid embarrassing her Majesty's ministers in their conduct of an affair peculiarly belonging, at this stage, to the executive government rather than to the deliberative assembly of the nation.

Little need be said as to the conduct of 'Foreign Affairs' during the past session. We have looked indeed in vain for 'a little more energy in our foreign policy,' which Mr. Disraeli, in his address to the electors of Bucks, had declared to be so desirable, and probably the great majority of Englishmen believe that, whether the name of the statesman who holds the seals of the Foreign Office be Lord Granville or Lord Derby, the policy of England will be very much of the same character. In the House of Commons Mr. Bourke has had little to do, but that little he has done well; and indeed there is no unfavourable criticism to be passed upon any of the Under-Secretaries of the Conservative Government, who, having been confined to departmental duties, have discharged them satisfactorily, and are receiving an official training the want of which must be often felt by their chiefs in the Cabinet, who for the most part have leapt into their exalted positions without that preliminary service as subordinates which would have been of great advantage to them in the conduct of public business.

Of the Board of Trade and Local Government Boards we have not had occasion to speak: both are in the hands of respectable country gentlemen, whose intentions are doubtless of the best description, and whose administrative capacity may possibly be tested next session. During the present year Sir Charles Adderley and Mr. Sclater-Booth have got into no difficulties of which the public has been made aware; have not, as far as we know, differed materially from their colleagues, or, at all events, have not proclaimed their differences aloud in the House of Commons, and have been content to carry on the work of their predecessors in a quiet and unobtrusive manner. They may therefore be left unnoticed, in company with the Lords of the Treasury, the officers of the Household, and other respectable and inoffensive subordinates of the Government.

It remains to notice the Irish department, represented by Sir Michael Beach and Dr. Ball in the lower branch of the legislature. Impulsive and earnest, Sir Michael began the session by an unwise speech, which apparently showed his desire and readiness at once to repeal the Irish Church and Land Acts, and fall back upon the old Protestant 'no surrender' faction from which 'the Conservative party' has only in recent times been emancipated. But Sir Michael Beach speedily recovered himself, and his speeches and answers to questions from Irish representatives during the session have been firm, bold, and at the same time conciliatory to a degree

which gives promise of further Parliamentary success for the Irish Secretary. The Home Rulers have been somewhat less troublesome than was expected, and Irish affairs have hardly occupied much more than their fair share of Parliamentary time. It has indeed been already whispered by Tory partisans that under the rule of the Duke of Abercorn and Sir Michael Beach Ireland is already becoming more and more tranquil and prosperous. We are delighted to believe the statement, but it must not be forgotten that this increase of prosperity and tranquillity follows immediately upon the passing of those great remedial measures for Ireland, conceived and accomplished by Mr. Gladstone and warmly opposed by the members of the present Government. We hope that we have seen symptoms in the more recent speeches of Sir Michael Beach that this fact has not escaped his notice; and if he can make up his mind to accept the present condition of things, disregard the counsels of ultra politicians, and infuse a spirit of moderation into Irish affairs, we see no reason why he should not succeed in conducting the Irish business of the House of Commons in a creditable and satisfactory manner.

Upon a careful review, then, of the whole session, we come to the conclusion that in those departments in which little has been attempted save to proceed along the old lines marked out by their predecessors, that little has been tolerably well done by the present holders of office, and the subordinates of the Government have, as a rule, proved themselves to be fairly competent to the discharge of their official duties.

It cannot indeed be denied that the Government commands something less of public confidence and respect at the end than was accorded to it at the beginning of the session, but this is due to causes which we have already clearly indicated. It may be attributed, first of all, to the internal differences which have been so painfully exhibited; secondly, to the one attempt made to convert into a reality that 'Conservative reaction' which, although successful as an electioneering cry, cannot ever really be put into a practical shape; and, in the third place, to the vagaries and inconsistencies of the Prime Minister himself.

In all three causes there is hope for the Liberal party. There must always be internal differences in such a Government as the present, which is composed partly of men who have honestly disapproved of and opposed all the progressive measures of recent years, and would gladly see them repealed; partly of men who are to all intents and purposes as much Whigs as any who sit on the Liberal side of the House, and who are only associated with Tory colleagues because the

leaders of the Liberal party have too frequently allowed Radical men and Radical doctrines to over-ride those Whig principles of progressive improvement which are the only safe basis for a Liberal party in this country.

The Whig party will always be strong in England, because the Whig party is the moderate party, and Englishmen like moderation. But, by the force of circumstances, a large section of the moderate party (which, united, would be by far the strongest party in the state) sit on either side of the House, divided from each other by lines which are almost wholly imaginary and imperceptible when put to the test of inquiry and examination. So it is that the extremes on either side have an alternate advantage, according to the temporary inclination of the moderate party out of doors to one side or the other. If Mr. Gladstone had leaned more on his Whigs and less on his Radicals, he would be Prime Minister still; if Mr. Disraeli leans more on his 'moderates' and less on his Tories, he will maintain his position. But as Mr. Gladstone weakened his government, alarmed the moderate party in the country, and eventually lost power by relying upon the more advanced Liberals and despising his Whigs, so will Mr. Disraeli do precisely the same if he relies upon the real Tories of his party.

Probably he will be too clever to do so. His inclination at the present moment appears to be towards Ecclesiastical legislation; and if he can succeed in taking a firm hold upon the Protestantism of the nation, it may stand him in good stead, even though it result in the loss of a colleague or two, and the alienation of a section of his old party. Even this, however, may be avoided by care and dexterity. The docility evinced by the great Conservative party in 1867, when, after years of battle against extension of the franchise, they swallowed household suffrage at the bidding of the great magician, may be equalled, if it cannot be surpassed, in the future. Mr. Disraeli may with impunity snap his fingers at the reactionary section of his followers, if he rightly appreciates the strength of his own position.

The country desires progress, but is determined that progress shall be cautious and gradual. The Cabinet of Mr. Gladstone fulfilled one half and entirely disappointed the other half of the country's wish. They gave us progress enough and to spare, but instead of making that progress gradual, they attempted in five years enough to have lasted us for twelve, and proportionally shortened their own tenure of office. The question now to be decided is whether such progress as the

country desires, and has failed to obtain under Mr. Gladstone, can be secured under Mr. Disraeli.

There must be no mistake about it. Failure to progress will be as fatal an error in one direction as a too rapid progress in the other. Any attempt to conciliate the classes whom he has drawn into his political net, by exciting their hope of obtaining 'reactionary' legislation, would do something, perhaps, to restore his credit for consistency, but would infallibly ruin his Government. The Duke of Richmond has succeeded in lowering the standard of education for the people, but no further steps must be taken in this direction. Endowments which have been declared national must not be claimed exclusively for the Church. There must be no stepping backward either in political or religious legislation; and if he desires to retain power, Mr. Disraeli must do so as the virtual leader of those Whigs who call themselves 'Liberal Conservatives.'

From the tenor of the above remarks it will be seen that, whilst we have freely criticised the conduct of Mr. Disraeli and his Government during the past session, we have no wish for his displacement in the present condition of the Liberal party. Indeed, if those Whig principles, which we believe to be the foundation of liberty and good government, can be better secured and advanced under an administration nominally 'Conservative,' we have very little objection to such a state of things. On the other hand, if by attempting to follow such a course Mr. Disraeli should break up the party upon the benches behind him, we can only hope that the leaders of the Opposition, grown wise by experience, will avoid the errors which destroyed the Gladstone Government.

The past session has proved two things clearly, if it has done nothing else. First, that the party which now holds the reins of power is by no means that united party which we had been taught to believe; and secondly, that in the Liberal party no man has as yet arisen who could replace Mr. Gladstone in the leadership with the general concurrence of Liberals. The first proposition is one which can have surprised no politician who has studied the events of the last few years. The Conservatives have achieved a political success; not by their advocacy of any great principles or measures, but by the union in their favour of a number of interests which had opposed the measures of their predecessors. Everybody who felt himself aggrieved by any legislation passed by Mr. Gladstone's Government was ready to ally himself with those whose object was to destroy that Government. As the measures of reform and change were so numerous during the last five years, and

as each such measure necessarily offended some 'vested interest' or another, it followed that the number of persons ready to join in the anti-Gladstone alliance was proportionally large. The work of destruction, therefore, prospered, and the Government fell.

But although an opposition may destroy, an administration must construct, and it is when construction became necessary, that the difficulties of the victors began. During the past session, what with the leavings of their predecessors, and the fair excuse which they had for doing very little in the way of legislation, they have managed to surmount those difficulties for the moment. But the time of trial is at hand. The concurrence of fortuitous atoms which shattered the Gladstone Government cannot easily be concentrated in the support of any measure introduced by the Disraeli Cabinet: that Cabinet, indeed, which can scarcely unite its own members cannot command unity outside the council-chamber. The experience of last session must inevitably be repeated in the next, and although differences may be patched up for the present, the discordant elements which have brought the present Government into power cannot long present the front of an united party.

We have spoken of Mr. Disraeli as possibly acting in the position of leader of those Whigs who sit upon his side under the name of Liberal Conservatives, and following a policy of moderate progress. But the difficulties in the way of such a course are not only inherently great, but are rendered greater by the nature and temperament of Mr. Disraeli himself. The calm guidance of men's minds is not so congenial to the Prime Minister as it might be to a leader of less brilliancy and genius. He is more likely to entrap his Tories into sudden Radicalism than to lead them quietly along the paths of Whig moderation. Too sagacious by far to allow himself to be tempted by the disciples of an impossible reaction, he may find his only chance of retaining power in the adoption of a programme which will place his followers in the same position with regard to certain 'popular' questions as that in which his strategy of '67 placed them with regard to Parliamentary Reform. A Disraelite Tory and a Radical of to-day are beings not more dissimilar than a Derbyite in 1865 and a Derbyite in 1867. History repeats itself; and the leader who having in 1859 stated it to be his mission to stem democracy, within eight years advanced further upon democratic lines than any statesman had hitherto ventured, may possibly not scruple to repeat the process if he should find

it convenient at a later period of his Parliamentary career. Mr. Disraeli can scarcely have required the teaching of the past session to learn its first lesson, and his policy will be directed to hold together the discordant elements out of which his Government has been formed, so long as they can be held, and afterwards to construct for himself, from the strongest surviving section of his followers, such a party as can be formed out of the materials at his command.

The second lesson of the session requires few words of comment. The absence of Mr. Gladstone from the debates of the House of Commons was scarcely necessary to prove that he has no equal upon the benches of the Opposition. How far that absence was judicious, and with what feelings Liberals may have contrasted the conduct of their great chief in abandoning them at the moment of defeat, with that of the Conservative leader when left in a similar position in 1868, are questions with which we are not concerned to-day. It may be observed, indeed, that a party left, not without a leader, but with a leader who does not take the lead, is hardly placed in a position favourable for the development of talent in its subordinate members; and if no one of the latter has advanced himself beyond his compeers during the past session, it may be owing in no small degree to the strange uncertainty of the position, and the natural desire of those who had served under Mr. Gladstone to do nothing which might appear to indicate a desire to alter his position with regard to the Liberal party.

It is evident enough that whilst Mr. Gladstone attends the House of Commons, though it be only occasionally, and takes part in the debates, no other man can be named for the leadership of the Liberals. But the Liberal leader at the present day has to play a game of patience which is perhaps scarcely congenial to Mr. Gladstone's character. The Conservative position cannot be carried by assault, and, having been provisioned by its opponents, may require a siege of some duration. There are always, of course, the accidents of war, and at any moment the dissensions of the garrison may prove fatal to their security. But, to drop the language of metaphor, the hopes of the Liberal party must rest at present upon quiet observation rather than hostile movements against the enemy. The opportunity for the latter will come in good time, but must not be sought too soon.

Unhappily, the want of unity is not confined to the Conservative side of the House, but has been conspicuously displayed even upon the front Opposition benches. Such a display must be avoided for the future. To organise and consolidate

are the principal duties of Liberals at the present juncture. Moreover, although the peculiar circumstances of the position may have placed the party and its leaders at some disadvantage, there has also been to some extent an equivalent gain. Liberals who distrusted the supposed Conservative tendencies of certain members of the late Government, especially upon religious and educational questions, must have learned that there is something still more opposed to their own views and wishes in the principles of the men who cheered Lord Sandon to the echo and still threaten reactionary attempts in the future. Those who looked coldly upon the late Administration because their own particular crotchets were not favoured, must have begun to see that those crotchets meet with no more support from the present Government, and have gained nothing by the change. In a word, the disciples of progress have received some few lessons, which they much needed, to teach them that progress is unlikely to be made well, wisely, and safely by those who have consistently opposed progress throughout their political existence, and that the substitution of a so-called 'Conservative' for a Liberal Government is little calculated to advance those Liberal principles which they profess to admire.

Future sessions will add to and improve the lessons of the year, but the retrospect which we have taken brings us to the conclusion that the Government of Mr. Disraeli, having come into office with golden opportunities, afforded by the strategical errors of its opponents, and their consequent unpopularity with the country, has, so far as it has gone, frittered away its opportunities, encouraged its adversaries by its display of internal dissensions, and, by its failure to redress the grievances upon which it traded at the elections, has in more than one respect proved the unworthiness of the means by which it obtained its majority in the House of Commons.

Next session, no doubt, will be the testing point of this Government. Much may be excused at present, in consideration of the newness to office of the men and the shortness of time for the preparation of the measures submitted to Parliament. These excuses, however, will not avail them next session. With ample time before them they have to arrange a programme which shall command the support of the various sections of their party. It is possible that circumstances may work in their favour, and that the great Law and Land Bills, with some measures of minor importance, may be eked out by ecclesiastical legislation, which the Prime Minister may manipulate with sufficient dexterity to enable him to postpone.

action upon other matters more likely to stir up the latent differences existing among his followers.

On the other hand, the Government will have to act in the presence of an Opposition which has already begun to recover from the blow which fell upon it at the commencement of the present year. Every Government measure will be keenly scrutinised by vigilant eyes, and the Liberals will enjoy the advantages so freely used by their opponents during the last five years, of uniting in their favour the objectors to every Government proposal without the necessity of suggesting an alternative scheme. We shall await with interest the development of the Disraeli policy; but if it cannot be submitted to Parliament without at least some apparent unity in the Cabinet, some little courtesy of language between one colleague and another, and some show of consistency in the explanations of ministerial orators, we cannot anticipate either a long or a satisfactory existence for the new Government.

NOTE

*to Article VI. in Number 285, p. 201 of this volume, on the
'Canon of Beauty in Greek Art.'*

A correspondent has courteously called our attention to two errors of the press in our article in the July number of the 'Edinburgh Review,' on the 'Canon of Beauty in Greek Art,' which had escaped our own correction. In the table of heights, on page 193, the word 'femur' has been printed instead of 'sternum;' as an anatomist or an artist will readily have conjectured. And in the last line but one of the same table, the height from the upper part of the visible prominence of the ankle bones to the crown has been printed 804 lines instead of 864; which is the figure that coincides with the fraction, and with the upward measurement.

Another correspondent, in reference to the same article, remarks on the simple and beautiful series of dimensions which is presented by the girths; which he makes more striking by referring them to the girth of the shoulders, the largest horizontal dimension, as unity. All the other girths form aliquot parts of this dimension. If this horizontal maximum be divided, as the vertical height has been divided, into 960 lines, the series of 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 15, 24, 40, multiplied into 14 of these lines, will give the respective girths of the little finger, little toe, thumb, great toe, wrist, ankle, neck, and head. We have to thank our correspondents for the care with which they have perused an article which enters, necessarily, into so much detail. The elucidation of proportion, by presenting it at a glance, possesses much value and interest for the artist; although we do not think that it is of sufficient importance to lead us to depart from the simple rule of expressing every dimension, of every possible figure, in the nine-hundred-and-sixtieth part of its own vertical height.

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